O Kwangun (1689-1745)

O Kwangun was a late Chosŏn period civil-official. His family’s ancestral home is in Tongbok, his courtesy name was Yŏnghaek and his pen name was Yaksan. His father, O Sangsun, was the First Secretary (tojŏng) of the Royal House Administration (Tollyŏngbu). In 1719 he passed the augmented civil service examination (chŭnggwang shi) and then served as the Fifth Tutor (sŏlsŏ) for the future King Yongjo (r. 1724-1776). After this in 1728 he served at the Office of the Special Counsellors (Hongmun’ gwan), first as Sixth Counsellor (such’ an) and then as Fifth Counsellor (kyori).

At about the time that the Yi Injwa Rebellion of 1728 broke out, Yŏngjo implemented his t'angp'yŏng ch'aeck (policy of impartiality) that sought to appoint men from each of the four colours (sasaek), or factions to an equal amount of positions in the government. O was instrumental in the implementation of this policy. By the appointment of an equal number of officials from the Old Doctrine (noron), Young Doctrine (soron), the Southerners and the Northerners, the government achieved a state of balance that it had not experienced for some time. This served to greatly enhance royal authority and provide political stability through the long reign of Yŏngjo and the subsequent reign of Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1800). However, even this far-sighted policy was not able to eradicate the roots of political factionalism.

O continued his rise in the Chosŏn government and was appointed as Inspector (anhaeksa) of the Yŏngham region in 1729 and then as Inspector-General (taesahon). In 1737, he was appointed as Censor-General (taesagan). In 1740, along with Wŏn Kyŏngha and Chŏng Uryang of the soron faction, O issued the statement: ‘if the political factionalism were to disappear, then there would be a resultant reverence for moral obligations and justice.’ In 1743 O was appointed to the Board of Rites (Yejo) as the Second Minister (ch’amp’ an) and in 1744 was appointed as Governor General of Kaesŏng.

Extant literary works of O include the preface in Yu Hyŏngwŏn’s Pan’gye surok (Pan’gye’s Treatises) and a collection of his own writings,Yaksan man’go. He was posthumously conferred the rank of Minister (p’anso) of the Board of Rites and Director (taejehak) of the Royal Office of Decrees (Yemun’gwan).

Ö Yunjung (1848-1896)

Ö Yunjung was a politician of the Enlightenment Movement of late Chosŏn. His family’s ancestral home is in Hamjong, his courtesy name was Sŏngjip and his pen name Iljae. He was born in Po’ŏn of Ch’ungch’ŏng Province.He passed the civil service examination at twenty-one and was appointed as Recorder (chusŏ) in the Royal Secretariat (Sŭngjŏngwŏn). After this he held a variety of positions including Fifth Counsellor (kyori) at the Office of the Special Counsellors (Hongmun’gwan), Fourth Inspector (chip’yŏng) at the Office of the Inspector General (Sahŏnbu) and Magistrate of a large county (kunsu) in Yangsan. In 1877, he was appointed as Secret Inspector (amhaeng ḍsa) in Chŏlla Province and for nine months he investigated diverse matters in each of the districts throughout Chŏlla and then reported to the court on cases of official graft, corruption, or illegal use of conscripted labour. Ö proved to be quite conversant with the problems confronting the farmers of the region and he proposed a number of reforms including the abolition of miscellaneous taxes, reform of the land tax system and the elimination of the samsup’o (grain and cloth tax for the military). Although King Kojong (r. 1863-1907) and the court deliberated on these measures, they did not become law. It not until the Reforms of 1894 (kapo kyŏngjang) that Ö himself personally brought in these and associated measures.

In 1881, some sixty Koreans were sent to Japan on the so-called ‘gentleman’s sightseeing tour (shinsa yuramdan)’ that was, in reality, a fact-finding mission on the progress and effects of the Japanese modernisation. Ö Yunjung, Cho Chunyŏng, Pak Chŏngyang and
Hong Yongshik were among those who were on this journey that had a profound impact upon the members. At this time, Kim Hongjip, the ambassador to Japan, received some books from the counsellor to the Qing delegation in Japan, Huang Zunxian. One of these, entitled Chaoxian celiie (A Policy For Korea) and written by Huang himself, stressed that Korea should adopt Western institutions to strengthen herself against foreign aggression and form treaties with China, Japan and even America to keep Russian imperialism at bay. Before returning to Korea, Ō travelled to Shanghai to study the Chinese situation. After his stay of more than a year in Japan and China, he returned to Korea with a clear vision of the reforms that were necessary for Chosön in order to improve her situation both domestically and internationally.

Upon his return to Korea, Ō was appointed as Inquirer (munūigwan) and he again travelled to China. During his stay there he had frequent contact with Li Hongzhang for the purpose of concluding a friendly commercial treaty with the United States. However, before Ō could finish this mission, the Military Mutiny of 1882 (imo kullan) erupted in Korea and he returned to Korea with the Qing army. Once the mutiny had been quelled, Ō again returned to China and at this time concluded the Chosön-China Land and Sea Trade Accord (Chaj-Chung suryŏk muyŏk changjŏng) which somewhat reformed the former unequal trade treaties that had existed between Qing and Chosön. In 1883 Ō was appointed as Northwestern Area Diplomatic Commissioner (sŏbuk kyŏngnyaksˇa), subsequently completing the Chunggang Trade Regulations (Chunggang muyŏk changjŏng) and then the Hoeryŏng Trade Regulations (Hoeryŏng t’ongsang changjŏng).

After the Coup d’Etat of 1884 (kapshin chŏngbyŏn), in which Ō played no part, and the subsequent government that centred on the political faction of Queen Min (1851-1895), Ō’s role in the government was unimportant. However, with the outbreak of the Tonghak Rebellion in 1893, he was sent to Po’in County as the Military Commander of Cholla and Ch’ungch’ŏng provinces (yangho sunmus’a) where he attempted to persuade the Tonghak army to disband. The Tonghak were particularly outraged at the corruption of the Min government and demanded that changes be made. Ō, however, was not successful in breaking up the Tonghak Army.

With the enactment of the Reforms of 1894 (kapo kyŏngjang) Ō joined the new government led by Kim Hongjip as the Minister of Finance (t’akchi taeshin). Here, he sought to enact sweeping tax and fiscal reforms for the new government. However, with the backlash that followed from the Japanese assassination of Queen Min in 1895, the pro-Japanese government of Kim Hongjip was ousted by the pro-Russian faction. At this time, Ō was among the members of the Kim Hongjip government killed in the power struggle.

Among the writings of Ō that are extant, Chongjŏng yŏnp’yo covers his life in government service and his views on many of the important events that surrounded the final years of the Chosön Kingdom.

Ōbu sashisa (Fisherman’s Calendar)  [Literature]

Odae Mountain

Situated east of Kangnŭng in Kangwŏn Province, Mt. Odæ (1,563 metres), along with Mt. Sŏrak to the north, is part of the T’aebaek Mountain Range. Piro Peak, the mountain’s highest point, is surrounded by Horyŏng, Sangwang and Turo Peak. To the south-east of Piro Peak stand Mt. Tongdae (1,434 metres), No’in Peak (1,338 metres) and Mt. Hwangbyŏng (1,407 metres).

Unlike Mt. Sŏrak to the north, Mt. Odæ is characterised by round summits and relatively few areas of exposed rock. With its deep layers of soil, the area supports abundant plant life. In addition, the mountain is home to approximately 17 mammal species, 35 bird
species, 474 insect species and 20 species of fresh-water fish. In the winter, many hikers are attracted to the area because of its gentle terrain. Even when it snows, the trails are passable, and there is little danger of avalanches.

From earliest times, the mountain has been associated with Buddhism. According to the Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms (Samguk yusa), the monk Chajang went to China’s Mt. Wutai (Kor. Mt. Odae) in 636 C.E. in order to see the Munsu Buddha. Chajang received a Sanskrit verse in a dream, which was later interpreted by a mysterious monk (who was actually the Munsu Buddha). Chajang was told to return to Mt. Odae in Korea which ‘ten thousand Munsu Buddhas make their permanent abode.’ Following the monk’s advice, Chajang returned to Mt. Odae where he indeed met with the Munsu Buddha. Years later, Wŏlchŏng Temple was founded on the site of Chajang’s old hermitage. Still active, the temple houses a number of important historical artifacts. Sangwŏn Temple, located just east of Mt. Odae’s main peak, was also founded by Chajang. In addition, Saja, Kwانûm, Sujŏng, Chijang and Mirŏk Hermitage are also located in this area.

To the east of Mt. Odae, the gentle terrain gives way to the rocky crags and picturesque gorges of the Sogŭmgang Valley. The area gets its name from the Chosŏn Confucian scholar Yi I (1536-1584), commonly known by his penname Yulgok. In his travelogue Ch’ŏnghak san’gi, Yulgok described the area as a miniature (so) version of the Diamond (kumgang) Mountains. This scenic valley contains many famous sites, including Shipcha Pool, Shiktang Rock and the lovely Kuryong (Nine Dragons) Waterfall. Remains of Ami Fortress lie near the waterfall, marking the site of a battle between Koguryŏ and Shilla troops. In order to preserve the area’s pristine environment and important historical heritage, Mt. Odae, along with Sogŭmgang Valley to the east, was designated Odae-san National Park in 1975.

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Odong Island

As part of Yŏsu in South Cholla Province, Odong Island occupies an area of 0.12 sq. kms. This tiny island consists of hilly, forested terrain with foreboding sea cliffs. At times during Chosŏn, Odong served as a naval training base. In 1935, a 768-metre-long, 7-metre-wide causeway was built connecting the island to the mainland. There is a lighthouse on the island’s south coast. In order to preserve the area’s natural beauty, Odong Island was designated part of Hallyŏ National Marine Park in 1968.

Office-land tax (chikchŏn) [Taxes]

*Ogamdo* (Crow's Eye View) [Literature]

Ogyo kusan sect [Buddhism]

*Oju yŏnmun changjŏn san’go* (Random Expatiations of Oju)

*Oju yŏnmun changjŏn san’go* is an encyclopaedic work of late Chosŏn shirhak (practical learning) scholar Yi Kyugyŏng (1788-?). This huge collection consists of sixty fascicles in a like number of volumes and is handwritten. This work is valued highly by scholars of Korean history and philosophy for the vast array of information it contains, under some 1
400 topics. These include astronomy, calendars, mathematics, history, geography, economics, literature, phonetics, the Confucian classics, Western literature, religion, metallurgy, medicine, land surveying techniques, flora and fauna. The subjects discussed the depth of Yi's scholarship, and show the breadth of shirhak learning.

Shirhak scholarship played an important role in the latter part of Chosŏn after it had been transmitted from China and propagated in Korea. The importance placed on empirical learning vis-à-vis the heretofore neo-Confucian scholarship that stressed vague theoretical issues can be seen in works such as Oju yŏnmun changjŏn san'g'o, which represents the culmination of shirhak learning. During the colonial period Ch'oe Namson reproduced an edition of this work, which is now kept at Kyujanggak Library. In 1958, Oju yŏnmun changjŏn san'g'o was republished by Dongguk Munhwasa in a two-volume set.

Okch’ŏn County

Situated in the southern part of North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, Okch’ŏn County consists of the town of Okch’ŏn, and the townships of Kunbuk, Kunsŏ, Tongi, Annam, Annae, Iwŏn, Ch’ŏngsan and Ch’ŏngsŏng. The county covers an area of 535 sq. kms. and as shown by 1989 statistics, had a population of 73,301. Located where the Noryŏng Mountain Range splits from the Sobaek Range, the county’s terrain is mountainous with Mt. Kŭmjŏk (652m) rising in the north, Mt. Ch’ŏnggŭm (465m) and Mt. P’arŭm (762m) in the east, Mt. Wŏri (551m) and Mt. Mani (640m) in the south and Mt. Hwan (581m) and Mt. Masŏng (497m) in the west. Mountain winds make for sharp fluctuations in daily temperatures during both early summer and early autumn. In general, the local climate is characterised by sharp season fluctuations, with January temperatures averaging -3.8°C., and an August average of 26.0°C. The county receives an annual rainfall of 1,135mm.

About 11,600 hectares of the county area are arable. Of this, almost half grows rice and half grows dry-field crops such as barley, bean, potato, sweet potato and red pepper. Cotton is also grown. Stock breeding and sericulture also contribute to the local economy. Mineral resources found in the area include alluvial gold, graphite, anthracite, silica and feldspar. The city’s industrial sector, overshadowed by that of nearby Taejon, is limited to ko-hemp wallpaper, wig-making, tie-dyed fabrics, silk mills, and tobacco drying plants.

The county has a number of scenic and historical attractions. From Mt. Masŏng, there is a commanding view of the Okch’ŏn basin and the city. On the summit can be seen remnants of Masŏng Fortress. Fragments of earthenware from the Three Kingdoms suggest that the fortress dates from this time. Southeast of the mountain in Samch’ŏng Village lies Yongun Temple. Founded by Ŭishin in 552, this ancient monastery houses a magnificent rock carving of a standing Buddha, a pair of stone pagodas and two altar paintings. In Chŏngsŏng’s Changsu Village, is Kangjŏl Cave. Discovered in 1975, this limestone cave is believed to have formed around six hundred million years ago. A short distance from the entrance is a twenty-one sq. metre chamber with a sandy floor. Just metres past the chamber stalagmites can be seen, together with a small pond. Bowing to safety considerations, this ancient cave has not been opened for tourism.

Old Confucian schools found in the area include Okch’ŏn Hyangggyo in Okch’ŏn’s Kyodong Village and Ch’ŏngsan Hyangggyo in Ch’ŏngsan’s Kyop’yŏng Village (both founded in 1398) and Samgye Sŏwŏn (founded in 1621) in Iwŏn’s Kangch’ŏng Village. As for shrines, there is Samch’ŏngsa in Okch’ŏn’s Samch’ŏng Village built in honour of the scholar Kwak Shi and Wŏndŏksa in Iwŏn’s Yongbang Village built in honour of the progenitor of the Miryang Pak clan.

Ondol

[House]
Administratively part of the Inch’ŏn Metropolitan City, Ongjin County consists of 37 inhabited, and 98 uninhabited islands. The county covers an area of 204 sq. kms. and has a population of about 22 000. With a maritime climate, the county’s weather is relatively mild with an average annual temperature of 12.1 deg.C. and an average annual rainfall of 1 090 mm.

Since most of the islands that make up the county are mountainous, only 6 000 hectares or so are arable, but this is off-set by high soil fertility. Of the land under cultivation, some 3 000 hectares grow rice, while slightly less is used for dry-field crops. Local marine products include yellow corbina, skate, blowfish, flatfish, shrimp, crab, clam and seaweed. In addition, the area’s extensive salt pans are commercialised.

There are several historical sites within the county. On Taeyŏn’yp’ŏng Island in Songnim Township, is Ch’ungminsa, a shrine dedicated to General Im Kyŏngop (1594-1646, styled Ch’ungmin). In former times, the shrine was used for periodic rituals when the seafaring villagers would pray for an abundant catch. Other important sites include Ssanggye Temple on Taebu Island and a stele commemorating the March First Movement of 1919 in Chin Village on Tŏkchŏk Island.

Onjin Mountain

Situated in Hwanghae Province in Suan County, Mt. Onjin is the main peak of the Onjin Mountain Range which runs along the provincial border between Hwanghae and South P’yŏngan Province. Although the mountain’s summit is flat, the terrain of the area is characterised by steep cliffs and bare rock faces. The mountain has abundant mineral resources, including gold, silver, molybdenum and copper. However, the area’s irregular rock formations prevent easy access to the area. The famous Buddhist monasteries, such as Sujŏng, Pulgak and Panya Temple, that once stood here, have all gone to ruin.

Onmun chi (Record of the Korean Language)

Onmun chi is a comparative study of han’gŭl and hanmun (Sino-Korean writing) and was written by Yu Hŭi in 1824. The work is titled after the popular designation for the Korean script ‘ŏnmun,’ in the early nineteenth century. It was not published as an independent book, but included as part of the author’s collected works Munt’ong. Yu’s work, began at the end of Chosŏn, cited and criticised the scholarship of many of his predecessors, such as Shin Sukchu, Ch’oe Sejin and Yi Yongik, in establishing his own theories concerning the Korean language. The work is written in Sino-Korean and is quite short. The contents consist of an introduction, the fifteen initial sounds in Korean, explanations of the changes in the sounds of Korean, a list of the fifteen vowels in Korean, and various explanations of the differences of vowel sounds, among other items.

In 1937, the Society of Korean Language Research (Chosŏn Hakhoe) reproduced Onmun chi and this served as the basis for the 1958 version of the work that was translated by Yu Ch’angdon and published under the title of Onmun chi chuhae (Record of the Korean Language, with Annotations). The original work is presumed to have been destroyed during the Korean War. Onmun chi is prized by present-day scholars of the Korean language as both a record of the language during the early nineteenth century and for the linguistic theories that the author advocates.

Onyang Folk Museum

Situated in Onyang in South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, the Onyang Folk Museum (Onyang Minsok Pangmulgwan) was established by Kim Wŏndae in October 1978 with Kim Hongshik as chief curator. The museum’s collection consists of more than seventeen
thousand items contained in three regular, and two special exhibition halls. The first hall contains items associated with coming-of-age ceremonies, weddings, ancestral rites and funerals. In the second hall are work implements that were used for agriculture, fishing, hunting, weaving and livestock breeding. The third hall contains items related to handicrafts, folk beliefs, recreation and academic studies. The museum's two special halls are set aside for exhibitions of folk paintings and Buddhist art.

Örang Stream

Örang Stream flows 103 kms. from the southern part of North Hamgyŏng Province to the East Sea. With its source on Kwesan Peak (2 277m) in the Hamgyŏng Mountain Range, the Örang joins Myŏnggan Stream near Ponggang Railway Station before entering Kyŏngsŏng Bay. At first, the stream flows southwards but its mid-section changes to an easterly direction. Topographically, the upper-reaches flow through granite while the middle and lower sections are contained by basalt formations. In Örang Township, the stream has formed the Örang Plain, an area used for rice, barley, wheat and corn cultivation, as well as sericulture and cattle breeding. Along the middle section of the stream is Samp'o Hot Spring and on the lower section are Changyŏn and Mugye lakes.

Örini (see Magazines)

Oryun

Osan

Osan is situated in southern Kyŏnggi Province. The area's terrain is generally flat, but has a number of low hills. Hwangguji Stream flows past the city in the northwest and Osan Stream flows to the southeast. In addition, there are a number of reservoirs, the largest of which is Sŏrang Reservoir north of Nojŏk Peak (160m).

With numerous reservoirs for irrigation and approximately 40 per cent of the area of arable land, the city has ideal conditions for agriculture. Rice and grains used to be the main crops, but emphasis is now placed on dry-field crops, fruit-growing and garden plants. In addition, a number of poultry and dairy farms exist. Located on the Kyŏngbu Expressway on the way from Seoul to Taejŏn, Osan has recently undergone development as an industrial centre. Factories produce textiles, manufactured goods, electrical appliances, electronics and chemical goods (including perfume). As for education, Tertiary education needs are met by Hanshin University in Yangsan-dong.

The city has a number of important historical relics. In Chigot-dong, there is Tok Fortress, which is believed to date from the Three Kingdoms period, and next to the fortress stands Pojŏk Temple. Confucian sites include Kwŏllisa in Kwŏldong. This shrine was originally founded as a library and lecture hall by Kong Sŏrin, who was sixty-four generations removed from Confucius. Legend has it that there was a drum hanging from the gingko tree in the courtyard that Kong would strike to keep his students alert during lectures. In 1792, King Chŏngjo changed the name to Kwŏllisa and had a memorial portrait of Confucius enshrined. Rites are still held here in the autumn and spring. In the northern area of the city near Panwŏl Peak (118m), there is a memorial stele commemorating the first battle of U.N. troops in the Korean War. The battle was fought here on 5 July 1950, just 10 days after the beginning of the war.

Oship Stream (Kangwŏn Province)

With its source on Mt. Paekpyŏng (1 259m) on the border of Samch’ŏk and T’aebak in
Kangwŏn Province, Oship Stream flows for 52 kms. to the East Sea. Until late-Chosŏn, the Oship was fringed by a dense forest catchment, but during the Japanese occupation, wholesale felling was carried out for timber needed by regional coal mines, and consequently it became heavily polluted, chiefly by waste from the mines. The name Oship (Fifty) comes from the numerous bends on the stream’s lower section. More recently, work has been done to straighten the stream’s course. Since 1969, the Oship has been stocked with salmon fingerlings from the Samch’ŏk fish hatchery. The Chuksŏru Pavilion is a local scenic attraction and is located close to Chuksŏ Bridge in central Samch’ŏk.

Oship Stream (North Kyŏngsang Province)

From its source on Mt. Taedun (905m), Oship Stream flows through the centre of North Kyŏngsang Province’s Yŏngdŏk County into the East Sea. Its tributaries include Shinan, Kwandong and Taeso streams. For most of its 40-kms. the Oship is followed eastward by Highway 34. On the west side of the town of Yŏngdŏk, the stream gradually widens as it turns southward to accompany Highway 7. At Kanggu Village, where it discharges into the sea, is Kanggu Beach. In earlier times, large quantities of sweetfish were caught at Kanggu Port, but today the stocks of this fish are greatly depleted.

P’ahan chip (Jottings to break up idleness)

The P’ahan chip by Yi Illo (1150-1220), is an anthology of literary essays, historical narratives, Chinese verses, and accounts of ancient and contemporary life and customs, especially of the western capital, now P’yŏngyang, and of K’aegyŏng, now Kaesŏng. It was written in 1260 and comprised three volumes and one fascicle.

The volume of P’ahan chip was published in photostat during the Japanese occupation of Korea by Kosŏ kanhaenghoe (Association for the publication of old books).

P’aju

Situated in northwest Kyŏnggi Province, P’aju is comprised of the towns of Kŭmch’on, Munsan, Pŏbwŏn and P’aju, and the townships of Kwang’tan, Kyohwa, Wŏllyong, Chŏksŏng, Chori, Chindong, T’anhyŏn and P’ap’yŏng. Mt. Kamak (675m), Mt. Nogo (401m), P’aril Peak (464m) and Aengmu Peak (622) rise along the city’s eastern border, while the Imjin River flows through the city before joining the Han River in the southwest.

The low plain along the lower reaches of the Han and Imjin rivers is one of the nation’s key grain producing regions. Of the P’aju area, about 34 per cent is arable and most of this is devoted to rice cultivation. With two large rivers, numerous streams and a number of small reservoirs, the area has an extensive irrigation system. Dry-field crops such as legumes, Chinese cabbage, cucumber, and watermelon, along with orchard crops of apple, pear and peach are also harvested here, while the area’s speciality crops include hot peppers, garlic and ginseng.

P’aju’s industrial development has lagged behind other areas of Kyŏnggi Province; however, a number of medium-sized factories have been set up, producing wigs, sweaters and electronics for export. The Kyŏnggŭi Railway Line and Highway 1 link the city with Seoul.

The demilitarised zone (DMZ), separating North and South Korea, cuts through the northwest corner of the city. Many tourists come to visit the truce village of P’anmunjŏm, since this is the only location in the DMZ where visitors are permitted. From 25 October 1951 until the end of the Korean War, peace talks were held here. In the years following the conclusion of the war, P’anmunjŏm has continued to be the centre of a number of historical events. In 1968, the kidnapped crew of the American warship USS Pueblo were
sent to South Korea via the village, and in 1976, two American servicemen, while attempting to chop down a tree in front of an observation post, were hacked to death by North Korean soldiers. An American soldier defected to North Korea from here in 1983, and a year later, a Russian tourist defected to the South, triggering a battle that left three North Koreans and one South Korean dead. In 1989, this was also the place where the Hanguk University student Lim Soo-kyong and Catholic priest Moon Gyu-Hyon came back to Korea after an illegal visit to the North. Both were immediately arrested and charged with violating the national security law. On the southern side, foreigners are permitted to visit the village, but Koreans are not allowed unless they have special permission. Similar tours are also run by North Korea on the northern side.

P'aju also has a number of historical relics and sites. In Kwang'tan Township’s Punsu Village, there is an interesting 17.4-metre high rock carving of two Buddhist figures (Treasure No. 93). The carvings show similarities with others at Andong’s Ich’ŏn-dong and Ich’ŏn’s Yŏngwŏl Hermitage. Built during the Koryŏ period, the figures wear round and square hats, a Koryŏ period innovation used to prevent the rain and elements from damaging the faces. According to local legend, the figure on the left is male and the one on the right is its female counterpart. Other Buddhist artefacts can be seen at the Pogwang and Yongsang temples.

There are several Confucian schools in the area, such as Chaun Sŏwŏn in Pŏbwŏn’s Tongmun Village, P’asan Sŏwŏn in P’ap’yŏng Township’s Nullo Village, Kyoha Hyanggyo in Kŭmch’ŏn’s Kŭmnung Village, P’aju Hyanggyo in P’aju, Yongju Sŏwŏn in Wŏllong Township’s Tōgŭn Village and Chŏksŏng Hyanggyo in Chŏksŏng Township’s Kuŭp Village.

**P’alcho pŏp** (Eight-article Law)  

**P’algong Mountain**

Situated north of Taegu in North Kyŏngsang Province, Mt. P’algong is part of the T’aebaek Mountain Range. Piro Peak, the mountain’s highest point, rises up 1,193 metres between West (Sŏ) Peak and East (Tong) Peak. In ancient times, Mt. P’algong was called Mt. Kong or Puak. The mountain gets its present name from historical events surrounding the fall of Greater Shilla. In 927, Kyŏnhwŏn, the leader of Later Paekche, stormed Sŏrabol (present-day Kyŏngju), the Shilla capital. Wang Kŏn, the leader of Later Koguryŏ, led a force of 5,000 soldiers south to attack Kyŏnhwŏn. When the two armies met in the Mt. P’algong area, Kyŏnhwŏn’s forces managed to surround Wang Kŏn’s army. However, a general by the name of Shin Suyŏm, disguised as Wang Kŏn, suddenly drove his horse carriage into the enemy lines. During the pitched battle that ensued, Shin and seven other generals were killed. Wang Kŏn, who barely managed to survive the ordeal, later become the first King of the Koryŏ Dynasty. Thereafter, the mountain was named after the eight ministers (p’algong) who valiantly gave their lives to save the king.

The mountain is also connected with the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598). At that time, the monk Yujŏng, responding to Hyujŏng’s call to rise up against the Japanese invaders, gathered together a monk army which he commanded from Tonghwa Temple. Nowadays, the monastery is one of the main temples of the Chogyo Order. The temple contains many cultural relics including a seated Buddha figure (Treasure no. 243) carved onto the face of a rock at the temple’s entrance. Other famous temples, such as ŭnhae, Songnim, Puin, P’agye and Kwanŭm, are located on the mountain, as well as numerous hermitages. Due to its historical importance and value as a tourist destination, the mountain has been designated P’algong-san Provincial Park.

**P’algwanhoe**  

[Society]

[Agricultural rites; Buddhism; Dance]
P'alman taejanggyǒng  (see Buddhist Canon, Korean)

P'alsea  (For the Instruction of Eight-Year Olds)

*P'alsea* is a primer for Manchus that was compiled in Chosŏn during the early eighteenth c., and was a one-volume wood-block print. The content of *P'alsea* is quite similar to that of *Soaron* and *Ch'ŏngō nogŏldae*, and was designed to teach Manchu for use by Korean envoys. The original editions of this work are no longer extant, but many copies exist of the 1777 revised version that combined *P'alsea* and *Soaron*, and was edited by Kim Chinha and Chang Chaesŏng. The title of this work is derived from the story within that concerns an eight-year old boy who answers a series of difficult questions posed to him by the emperor.

It is a valuable resource for the study of the Manchu language. Copies are now kept at the Kyujanggak Library and The British Library among other places. In 1956 Tongbanghak Yŏn'guso reissued this book.

P'anmunjŏm  [National Defence]

P'ansori  [Music; Literature]

P'o  [Clothing]

P'och'ŏn County

Situated in Kyŏnggi Province, P'och'ŏn County is comprised of the town of P'och'ŏn, and the townships of Kasan, Kunnae, Kwanin, Naech'ŏn, Sohŭl, Shinbuk, Idong, Ildong, Yŏngbuk, Yŏngjung, Ch'angsŭ and Hwahyon. Branches of the Kwangju Mountain Range run along the north, east and south. As some of the area's highest peaks, Mt. Kwangdŏk (1046m), Mt. Paegun (937m) and Kungmang Peak (1168m) rise on the county's northeastern border.

Agriculture is hindered by the county's rugged terrain and poor quality soil. As a result, farming is primarily centred around dry field crops such as beans, barley, potatoes and green vegetables. There are also a large number of dairy farming and stock breeding operations, while sericulture is common as a supplementary source of income. Industrial development in the area is limited, but there are some factories producing foodstuffs for the military forces and liquor. P'och'ŏn is especially famous for its makkŏlli (unrefined rice wine) which is made with water from the Paegun-dong Valley.

With high mountains and picturesque valleys, the county boasts a large number of tourist attractions. Throughout the year, visitors come to see the lovely Paegun-dong Valley. Considered one of the county's 'eight wonders,' Mt. Paegun has several oddly-shaped rocks as well as Yang Pongnæ Cave, which is said to have been frequented by the calligraphy master Yang Sŏn (styled Pongnæ) in the early Chosŏn period. Mt. Hyŏndŭng (936m), located in Hwahyon Township, is another scenic mountain popular with hikers. With its interesting rock formations and clear streams, this mountain has been referred to as the 'Lesser Diamond Mountains' (Sŏgŭmgang). Among its sights, Hong (Rainbow) Waterfall is considered to be one of the county's 'eight wonders.' The mountain also contains remnants of a fortress wall that is said to have been built by Kungye (?)-918, founder of Later Koguryŏ) in his struggle against Wang Kŏn (r. 918-945, founder of Koryŏ kingdom). On the mountain, one also finds Hyŏndŭng Temple, which was rebuilt by National Master Pojo (Chinul, 1158-1210), and a three-storey stone pagoda.
There are a number of other historical sites and relics scattered throughout the county. In Kasan Township’s Kŭmhyŏn Village, there is a giant dolmen, and other dolmen have been found throughout the area. Several old shrines can also be seen here. Ch’ŏngsŏngsa (Kyŏnggi Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 64), in Shinbuk Township’s Kach’e Village, commemorates the great Shilla scholar Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn, while Ch’ŏnghaesa, in Ch’angsu Township’s Ch’udong Village, was built in honour of Yi Chiran who helped Yi Sŏnggye found the Chosŏn dynasty.

There are also a number of old Confucian schools in the area, including Kasan Township’s Hwasan Sŏwŏn, Kunnae Township’s P’och’on Hyanggyo (founded in 1173) and Shinbuk Township’s Yongyon Sŏwŏn. Modern schools in the area include Daejin University and Pochon CHA Medical University.

P’ohang

Situated in North Kyŏngsang Province, P’ohang is comprised of the towns of Hŭnghæae, Kuryongp’o, Och’ŏn and Yŏnil, and the townships of Chukchang, Ch’ŏngha, Kigye, Kibuk, Songna, Shin’gwang, Taesong, Taebu and Tonghae. The present city was formed by combining P’ohang city with Yŏngil County. Hyangno Peak (930m), Mt. Ch’imgok and other peaks of the Taebaek Mountain Range run through the northwest part of the city and the Hyŏngsan River flows south of the central area into Yŏngil Bay.

Rice is the area’s major crop. In addition, green vegetables, tobacco, peaches, grapes and mushrooms are grown in the area. Fishing is another important source of income. Fishing boats, operating out of Kuryongp’o and other ports, bring in large catches of mackerel, cuttlefish, octopus, gizzard shad, yellowtail and filefish. In addition, there are abalone and seaweed farming operations in both Kuryongp’o and Yangp’o.

P’ohang Port is the largest on the east coast and it was the first port in Korea to be able to accommodate cargo ships of over 100,000 tonnes. Taking advantage of the city’s modern port facilities, a number of industries have been set up in the area. Most notably, the city is home to POSCO (P’ohang Iron and Steel Company), the world’s second largest steel maker. Founded in 1968, the company employs over 200,000 workers.

This heavily industrialised city has attracted a number of important research projects. In Hyoja-dong, one finds Pohang University of Science and Technology, a premier Korean research institution. At the university, there is the P’ohang Accelerator Laboratory, a project that was started in 1988 and finished in 1994. This is the largest scientific project in Korean history. Pohang Iron and Steel Company and the Korean government funded the project, with a total investment of about US $180 million. In addition to the university, there are Pohang Junior College in Hiinghae’s Chukchon Village, Handong University in Hiinghae’s Puk District and Pohang Industrial College near the city centre.

Local tourism is centred around the city’s numerous beaches. Located just north of the central area, Songdo Beach is particularly popular. Pukpu Beach, located to the north, is 1.7 kilometres long, making it the longest beach on Korea’s east coast. Visitors also come to the area to see historical sites such as Pogyŏng Temple in Songna Township. Founded by Ilcho during the reign of King Sŏngdŏk (702-737), the monastery houses a number of artefacts including a stupa and stele commemorating National Master Wŏnjin (1171-1221) and a five-storey pagoda. In the valleys around the temple, there are twelve spectacular waterfalls, and Mt. Naeyŏn (710m) and Hyangno Peak (930m) rise to the west. South of the central area, lies Honggye Waterfall, Oŏ Reservoir and Mt. Unje’s Oŏ Temple, which was founded by Chajang during the Shilla period. Other Buddhist artefacts include ten ancient niche-carvings which were recently discovered in a natural cave in Chihaeng Township’s Imjung Village.
A number of Confucian schools exist in the area, including Kokkang Sŏwŏn, Sammyŏng Sŏwŏn, Sŏsan Sŏwŏn, Haksan Sŏwŏn in Songna Township, Ibam Sŏwŏn in Chukchang Township, Kwangnam Sŏwŏn in Kuryong'o's Sŏngdong Village, Och'on Sŏwŏn in Och'on's Wŏn Village, Chungnim Sŏwŏn in Chiaeng's Umae Village, Changgi Hyanggyo in Chiaeng Township, Yongil Hyanggyo just south of P'ohang Industrial College on the Hyongsan River and Hŭnggae Hyanggyo in Hŭnggae's Oksŏng Village.

In Taebo Township stands the Changgigap lighthouse. Built in 1903, this 26.4-metre structure was the first lighthouse to have been built in Korea. In 1984, a lighthouse museum was constructed at the site. Since P'ohang was the scene of intense fighting during the Korean War, there are also a number of war memorials in the central area.

Near the central business district in Yonghŭng-dong, is Yŏnhwa Peak. Also known as Mangbu-san (Watching for Her Husband Mountain), the peak is associated with a legend going back to Shilla times. It is said that in the years leading to Greater Shilla's fall, the kingdom's monarchs and officials had become extremely decadent. At this time, there lived a man named Sorang who had a wife famous for both her looks and virtue. The king, hearing rumours of the wife's outstanding beauty, thought up a plot to have his way with her. Since a Japanese envoy was then visiting the Shilla court, the king order Sorang to go back with the visitor as an envoy to Japan. During Sorang's absence, the king brought Sorang's wife to the palace and tried every form of enticement to get her to sleep with him, but she adamantly refused. Furious, the king finally confiscated all of the couple's belongings and sent her away. The wife wandered until she came to Mt. Mangbu which overlooked the East Sea. There she built a hut and waited for her husband to return. However, Sorang's ship sank on the return voyage, and the wife, unaware of the mishap, spent the rest of her days on the peak, patiently waiting. After she died, a shrine was built (which is not extant) and the peak's name was changed to Mt. Mangbu.

**P'ohang Steel Company**

**P'ungyo** (Distant air)

**P'ut kut**

**P'yehŏ** (see Magazines)

**P'yohae rok**

**P'yŏngch'ang County**

Situated in Kangwŏn Province, P'yŏngch'ang County is comprised of the town of P'yŏngch'ang, and the townships of Toam, Taehwa, Mit'an, Pangnim, Pongp'yŏng, Yongp'yŏng and Chínbu. Encompassing 1,460 square kilometres, P'yŏngch'ang is the largest county in Kangwŏn Province. As the area where the T'aebaek and Ch'aryŏng mountain ranges meet, most of the county's terrain is mountainous with Mt. Hwangbyŏng (1,407 metres), Mt. Parwang (1,458 metres) and Mae Peak (1,173 metres) rising in the northeast, Mt. Kariwang (1,561 metres) in the east and Mt. Hŭngjong, Mt. T'aegi (1,261 metres) and Mt. Paektŏk in the west. In the northeast, the Yongdong Express Way, built in 1975, crosses the 830-metre high Taegwallyŏng Pass to link the Kangnŭng area with Seoul. In the south, the mountains give way to lower elevations.

Due to the area's rugged terrain, a mere ten per cent of the county's area is arable and only two percent of this is used for rice cultivation. In the remaining area, dry field crops such as potatoes and garlic are grown. Corn, which was previously one of the area's main crops,
is now being replaced by alpine vegetable farming. In particular, the county provides nearly all of the nation’s seed potatoes.

With cool summer temperatures that do not dry out pastures, the Taegwallyŏng area is ideal for stock breeding and dairy farming. Several of the nation’s largest cattle breeding operations are located here, including the Samyang Taegwallyŏng Cattle Station as well as Hanil Nongsan. Taking advantage of the area’s Alpine climate, a number of research agencies such as the National Animal Breeding Institute, the Kangwŏn Province Potato Seed Research Station and the Alpine Experiment Station of the Rural Development Administration have been established in this area. Numerous alpine vegetable crops, including radishes, cabbages, lettuce and carrots, are also grown in Taegwallyŏng’s high altitudes.

The county’s tourism is centred around Mt. Odae National Park (See Odae Mountain) in the north and the Yongp’yŏng Ski Resort, which opened in 1974 in Toam Township. The resort, also known as Dragon Valley, is covered with snow throughout the winter. Hoenggye Village, just north of the resort, is famous for its dried pollacks. Brought in from Chumunjin on the east coast, the pollacks are soaked in Hoenggye Stream for a night and then hung on racks to dry throughout the winter. Much of the county’s remote mountainous area has not been touched by industrial development or tourism. As a result, this is one of the few remaining places in South Korea where deer are still occasionally seen in the wild.

In addition to natural wonders, there are a number of old historical sites in the region. Besides the numerous Buddhist artefacts enshrined in Mt. Odae’s Sangwŏn Temple and Wŏlchŏng Temple, there are a number of relics in P’yŏngch’ang, including three five-storey stone pagodas, in Chung Village, Sang Village and Yudong Village (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 30) and a seated stone Buddha figure in Pangnim Village. In Chinbu Township, there is a three-story stone pagoda (Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 29).

There are also several ancient stone fortresses, including remnants of the No Fortress at P’yŏngch’ang’s Chung Village, remnants of the Mt. T’aegi Fortress in Pongp’yŏng Township and the Taehwa Fortress in Taehwa Township. Examples of Chosŏn architecture include the P’yŏngch’ang Hyanggyo (county public school, Kangwŏn Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 101), founded in 1658, and the Pongsan Sŏwŏn (private academy) in Pongp’yŏng Township.

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**Pyŏngwhwa Broadcasting Corporation (PBC)**  
[Broadcasting companies]

**P’yŏngjo hoesang**  
[Music]

**P’yŏngp’ung Mountain**

Situated east of Maengsan on the border of South Hamgyŏng and South P’yongan Province, Mt. Pyŏngp’ung (1 353 metres), along with Mt. Sasu (1 747 metres) and Modo Peak (1 833 metres), is part of the Nangnim Mountain Range. Numerous ridges extend out from the mountain’s flat summit, and the entire area is covered with broad-leaved trees. The east side of the mountain gives way to cliffs and deep gorges, whereas the western slope is relatively gentle.

**P’yŏngt’aek**

P’yŏngt’aek is situated in Kyŏnggi Province, to the south of Seoul. With the Kyŏngbu Expressway running through the eastern sector of the city and a train line running through
the western sector, the city is easily accessible from Seoul or other major cities. P'yöng't'ae is characterised by flat terrain and elevations around sea level. In fact, tidal waters from the Yellow Sea occasionally used to flow into the area creating large reservoirs. However, after dykes were built and the Asan Seawall was completed in 1973, the flooding was stopped, making the area suitable for agricultural production.

With its flat terrain, the area is ideally suited for rice cultivation. In hilly areas, there are numerous orchards, which grow apples, pears, plums and other fruits. Since goods are easily transported to the Seoul metropolitan area, the city also has a large number of factories. In spite of its location near Seoul, the area receives relatively few tourists. It has few mountains or lakes and few important historical sites. On Mt. Sámgak, there is the Hyöngch'ung Memorial and a large pavilion. At the foot of the mountain, there is Myöngbop Temple, a monastery run by Buddhist nuns. In Sosa-dong, there is a stele (Kyönggi Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 40) commemorating the Law of Uniform Land Tax (taedong pŏp), which was implemented in 1608. The stele was erected in 1659.

P'yöngyang

Situated between South P'yöngan Province and North Hwanghae Province, P'yöngyang is the capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) (North Korea). Most of the city area consists of plains and low hills. It has an average yearly temperature of 9.4°C with sharp fluctuations between summer and winter temperatures, and it receives 924mm. of rain annually. The Taedong River flows through the city before reaching the port city of Namp'o and the Yellow Sea.

Along the Taedong River lies the P'yöngyang Plain. This limestone plain mostly consists of terra rosa, a type of soil that retains moisture. As a result, rice grows well here in spite of the area's fairly low rainfall. Local farms also grow beans, millet, apple, garden plants and green vegetables. Sericulture and stock breeding operations also exist in quantity in P'yöngyang.

Mines and quarries in the region produce coal, gold, graphite, clay and limestone. Coal was originally mined in small quantities for use as a household fuel, but during the Japanese occupation, large-scale operations were established to provide coal principally for the Japanese navy. Factories in the city, taking advantage of the water and land transportation network, ample power supply and large work-force, produce a wide array of items among which, steel, sugar, flour, clothing, machinery, liquor, cement, rubber and ceramics.

P'yöngyang was traditionally one of Korea's top commercial centres, and after it became an open port in 1898, it actively traded with China. During the Japanese occupation, the Japanese developed the city as a strategic base for their advance into China. As a result, large numbers of Japanese moved here to work in the city's developed commercial sector.

Nowadays, P'yöngyang is a very clean and quiet city with little traffic, even though a thirteen-lane boulevard links the city centre with the suburb of Kwangbok (only about three kilometres distant). Public transport includes a bus service and a tram and subway system. In the Taedong River there are two fountains that lift their water jets 150 metres into the air. There are also a number of parks in the city, such as Moran Park near Mt. Kŭmsu and Mt. Sŏgi Park. However, many of the city's tourists centre on the various monuments and sites praising the late leader Kim Il Sung (Kim Ilsong) and his son, the present head of state, Kim Jong II (Kim Chŏngil).

On the east bank of the Taedong River is a 170-metre high monument known as the Tower of the Juche (Chuch'e) Idea. From the top, one can get a panoramic view of the city. Across the river at the end of Moranbong Street stands the Arch of Triumph which marks
the spot where Kim II Sung made his first rallying speech after the departure of the Japanese at the end of World War II. Northeast of the arch lies Kim II Sung Stadium, one of the world’s largest sports stadiums, and south of the gate stands the Ch’ollima Statue, a bronze Pegasus commemorating North Korea’s rapid economic development. Next to the statue, stands the Grand Monument, a giant bronze statue of Kim II Sung with his right hand forward, flanked by his followers.

Behind the monument is the Korean Revolution Museum, founded on 1 August 1948, and on Yongung Street to the east lies the Victorious Fatherland Liberation War Museum. Built in 1953, the latter museum houses displays covering anti-Japanese guerilla activities and the Korean War. Between the two fountains on the west bank of the Taedong River, stands the Korean Central History Museum, which houses artefacts of Korean history from prehistoric times to the present. Other museums in the city include the Metro Museum and the Revolutionary Museum.

P’yongyang is also home to Kim II Sung University, North Korea’s top educational institution and Mansudae Assembly Hall where the DPRK state assembly meets. Other famous sites include the Students’ and Children’s Palace, the P’yongyang Embroidery Institute, Revolutionary School, P’yongyang Movie Studio, Central Zoo, Kwangbop Buddhist Temple, the Central Botanic Garden and the Revolutionary Martyrs Cemetery.

The city lays claim to a large number of artefacts going back to prehistoric times. Excavations in 1966 at Sangwŏn uncovered stone tools and fossilised faunal remains from dietary debris of early men of the Lower Paleolithic Age. These artefacts are thought to date from 400 to 600 thousand years ago making them some of the oldest signs of human habitation on the Korean peninsula. In addition, Neolithic artefacts have been excavated from over ten sites in the area.

As for Koguryŏ artefacts, a number of tombs have been found, especially in the Taedong River area. These tombs are distinctive for their elaborate wall paintings. The diverse subject matter of the paintings provides archaeologists with important information on everyday life in the Koguryŏ Kingdom. In Mujin Village, another group of ancient tombs has been discovered. During the reign of King Tongch’on (r. 227-248), construction was begun here on a royal palace and fortress. Ulmildae and Mansudae fortifications were erected at this time, as was Kujejung, a royal villa near Kirin Cave, but little remains of the structure. According to one theory, this villa was originally the royal palace of King Tongmyŏng (r. 37-19 B.C.E.), the founder of the Koguryŏ Kingdom. Here one also finds the Changan and Taesŏng fortresses. In terms of both length and size, the latter is one of the largest stone fortifications found in Korea.

During the reign of King Kwanggaeto, nine temples were built here. Of these, Yongmyŏng Temple is famous as a place where the monk Ado once resided. In 1109, the temple was moved to a site below Kirin Cave. Burnt down during the Sino-Japanese War in 1894, only Ch’ilsongdam (Seven Stars Hall), a stone lion and an octagonal five-storey pagoda remain. Koguryŏ-era Buddhist artefacts have also been discovered at the Taewang Temple site in Tongdaewŏn Village and at Kŭmgang Temple, which was founded in 497.

During Koryŏ, P’yongyang served as the kingdom’s ‘western capital.’ In 922, Chae Fortress was constructed followed by Na Fortress in 938. These two stone fortifications came to be known simply as P’yongyang Fortress. When the palace of the Western Capital was repaired during the reign of Sŏngjong (r. 981-997), six large gates were built. Of these, Taedong Gate was reconstructed at the beginning of Chosŏn and in 1575, the gate was refurbished as a three-storey structure which can still be seen today.

During the reign of Injong (r. 1122-1146), the monk Myoch’ŏng urged the king to move the capital to P’yongyang, claiming that the latter was geomantically more auspicious. In
response to Myoch’ong’s influence, the king built Taehwa Palace near P’yŏngyang in 1129. Eventually Myoch’ong and his faction, in opposition to the pro-China Kaesŏng faction, gathered together an army in P’yŏngyang and established a short-lived state known as Taewi (Great Accomplishment), but the rebellion was quashed in 1136 by government forces led by Kim Pushik.

Chosŏn-era artefacts in the area include Puk Fortress built around Moran Peak in 1714 and nearby Minch’ungdan, an altar built in memory of Chinese soldiers who died fighting in Korea’s defence against the Japanese during the Hideyoshi Invasions (1592-1598). Confucian schools in the city include Yonggok Sŏwn, Sŏsan Sŏwn, Ch’anggang Sŏwn and Sohyŏn Sŏwn. In 1993, the North Korean government announced the discovery of the tomb of Tan’gun, the mythological founder of Korea. Bones which purportedly belong to Tan’gun and his wife are on display in the grandiose tomb at the site.

P’yŏngyang chi (History of P’yŏngyang)

P’yŏngyang chi is a collection concerning the history, geography and customs of P’yŏngyang that was compiled in 1590 by the then governor (puyun) of P’yŏngyang, Yun Tusu (1533-1601). This wood-block print work consists of nine volumes in two fascicles. The first volume of this work detailed many items concerning P’yŏngyang including its territory, boundaries, historical records, castles and districts. The second volume relates matters concerning the educational, military and postal systems of the city, while the third includes inter alia the location of schools, post stations and temples along with population numbers etc., of the city. The fourth volume is chiefly devoted to historical facts about the city and the fifth includes literary matters, supernatural occurrences and miscellaneous affairs. The sixth through eighth volumes are devoted to literary works such as poetry and the ninth contains essays.

This work along with Yŏnan ŏpch’i (1581) and Hamju chi (1587) are the oldest descriptive geographies of Korea and therefore are quite valuable for the study of the late sixteenth century. However, of these three works, only the original edition of P’yŏngyang chi has survived to the present day, making it all the more precious. Given this work’s historical significance, it is not surprising that it has been included in many contemporary collections, most notably the 1990 Chosŏn shidaesach’’an ŏpch’i that was published by Han’guk Inmun Kwahagwŏn.

Paegam Mountain

Situated on the border of Wiwŏn and Kanggye County in North P’yŏngan Province, Mt. Paegam (1,823 metres) is a peak on the Chŏgyuryŏng Mountain Range that runs from east to west through the middle of North P’yŏngan Province. The upper elevations of the mountain are only covered with small shrubs, while the lower elevations support a forest of conifers interspersed with broad-leaved trees. The deep valleys on the south-side of the mountain have undergone erosion.

Paegoin sagŏn (Case of the One Hundred Five) [History of Korea]

Paegyang Temple

Paegyang Temple is located in South Chŏlla Province on Mt. Paegam. Founded in 632 by Yŏhwan, its name was changed to Chŏngt’o Temple when Chun’gyŏn reconstructed the monastery in 1034. In 1350, National Master Kakchin once again led a restoration of the temple, which was followed by Hwanyang’s restoration in 1574. According to legend, when Hwanyang recited the Lotus Sutra, white sheep, mesmerised by the melodic sound of the chanting, would wander over to the temple. Because of this, the monastery’s name was
changed back to Paegyang (White Sheep) Temple and Hwanyang received his name which means, 'Calling to Sheep.' The temple was again reconstructed by Hwansŏng in 1786, by Toam in 1864 and by Song Manam in 1917. During the thirty years that Song served as the temple's abbot, he founded a seminary and acted as the headmaster of the Chun'gang Buddhist Technical School.

As one of the main temples of the Chogye Order, Paegyang administers twenty-six branch temples. On Mt. Paegam, there are several affiliated hermitages, including Yaksa Hermitage, Yŏngch'ŏn Cave, Ch'ŏngnyu Hermitage (founded in 1351), Ch'ŏnjin Hermitage and Muroe Hermitage. The latter serves as a centre for monastic retreats. Several other hermitages dating from Koryŏ were burnt down during the Korean War (1950-53). Paegyang Temple houses several important artefacts, including a stone stupa that contains the remains of T'aenung (Grand Master Soyo), a famous Chosŏn period monk.

Paek Ijong (1247-1323)

Paek Ijong was a Confucianist of the Koryŏ period. His family's ancestral home is in Namp'o, his courtesy name was Yakhon and his pen name Ijae. His father, Paek Munjŏl, was a scholar at the Pomun Pavilion and Ijong was a disciple of An Hyang (1243-1306) who founded the neo-Confucian school in Korea.

In 1275 Paek passed the civil service examination and entered Koryŏ officialdom. In 1298 he accompanied a mission to Yuan to bring the crown prince back to Korea. After returning to Korea, he was again sent to Yuan by King Ch'ungson (1308-1313) to Yanjing where he remained for ten years. During this period he conducted deep study into the neo-Confucian theories of Zhu, and when he returned to Koryŏ he brought many books on this philosophy including Jiali (Kor. Karye, Family Rites) by Zhu. After his return to Korea, Paek concentrated his efforts on the cultivation of the next generation of neo-Confucianists, and his many disciples include notable scholars such as Yi Chehyŏn (1287-1356), Pak Ch'ungjwa (1287-1349) and Yi Kok (1298-1351).

The study and development of neo-Confucianism that Paek is directly responsible for had a major impact on the ruling ideology of Korea. His mentor, An Hyang, was the first to bring the neo-Confucian ideology to Korea, and Paek is largely responsible for its development and further propagation. The lineage of the transmission of the neo-Confucian ideology in Korea can be traced from An Hyang to Paek who then passed it on to his disciple Yi Chehyŏn who trained Yi Saek (1328-1396), who in turn transmitted it to Kwŏn Kŭn (1352-1409). After the inception of the Chosŏn period, the ideology flourished and helped form the guiding philosophy of the state. Paek's extant literary works include Yŏng'gŏ shi, Yŏngdangyo and Yŏhongae chipku.

Paek Kwanghun (1537-1582)

Paek Kwanghun was a poet of the mid-Chosŏn period. His family's ancestral home is in Haemi, his courtesy name was Ch'anggyŏng and his pen name was Okpong. He was the disciple of Pak Sun (1532-1589) and at thirteen travelled to Seoul to study under Yang Ungjong (1519-?) and No Sushin (1514-1590). In 1564 Paek became a literary licentiate (chinsa) but instead of striving to enter officialdom, Paek went to Hohae and concentrated on his poetry and writings. In 1572 when his teacher No Sushin travelled to Ming China as a part of an official mission, Paek went along and earned acclaim from the Chinese for his literary skills and was given the name Master Paekkang.

In 1577, for the first time, Paek entered government service as a Assistant curator (ch'ampong) in such places as the National Daoist Temple (Sogyŏksŏ). He became well known in literary circles and along with Yi Tal and Ch'oe Kyŏngch'ang (1539-1583) was one of the so-called Three Tang Talents of Korea. These Poets preferred the Tang-style
poetry to the later Sung-style writings. For them that it was only through Tang-style poetry that the true self could be expressed. Accordingly, in his poetry, Paek endeavoured to produce works that were faithful to the Tang tradition. Paek’s literary collection *Okpong chip* (Collected Works of Okpong) has been transmitted to the present time.

**Paek Mountain**

Situated in the northwestern corner of North Korea, Mt. Paek (1,875 metres) is the main peak of the Ch'ogyuryōng Mountain Range that runs from east to west through Chagang Province and North P'yongan Province. The mountain is characterised by rugged terrain and many bare granite outcroppings. Ch'onghaktae, the mountain’s highest peak, is surrounded by Mt. P'albong (1,457 metres) to the north and Moktan Peak (1,606 metres) and Mt. Kagwi to the west. There is a graphite mine in the area south-west of the mountain. In South Hamgyöng Province, there are three other mountains of the same name.

**Paek Pyöngdong** (see *Paik Byung-dong*)

**Paek Yongsŏng** (1864-1940)

Yongsŏng (Buddhist name, Chinjong; given name, Paek Sanggyu) is a towering figure in Korean Buddhism’s modern history. Admired for his political courage and unwavering attempts to enforce the traditional vow of celibacy, he is now considered something of a modern patriarch within the Chogye Order. His traditionalism was, however, augmented by a modern consciousness. He expressed this in his emphasis on modern educational methods and the necessity of the vigorous propagation of Buddhism within Korea by Korean priests. One of the primary means he employed was the translation of sutras from Chinese into vernacular Korean.

Yongsŏng’s early life showed a predisposition to the protection of all life formally emphasized in Buddhism, and it is said on fishing trips as a child he would stealthily release his father’s catch into the water. A more serious story recounts his efforts to feed and comfort a young worker on his family’s property who, having fallen ill, could not work for his food.

By the age of seven Yongsŏng began studying the Chinese classics in the village school, and at the age of thirteen he ran away and went to a temple with the intention of becoming a monk. His parents quickly brought him home, but two years later he fled to Haein temple where he took the formal vows. During this period he experienced an initial enlightenment which focussed his Buddhist devotion.

In 1884 he arrived at T’ongdo temple where he took the two-hundred-fifty vows of a celibate and the two-hundred-fifty vows of a Bodhisattva. While the former set of vows relate to the keeping of monastic discipline, the latter set embody the most profound aspect of Mahayana Buddhism: the promise to strive for the salvation all sentient beings. Throughout his life he would strictly adhere to both.

In 1885 while reading the *Chŏndŭng nok* (Transmission of the Lamp) at Songgwang temple he again experienced enlightenment, and the next year he had another awakening while wading across a river. He subsequently succeeded his teacher and became a yulsa (master monastic rules; vinaya master), studied sutras and commentaries, engaged in Sŏn meditation, and travelled widely around Korea.

Between the ages of 39 and 42 Yongsŏng began actively working on behalf of Korean Buddhism. He established Sŏn meditation assemblies at various temples, and in 1906, returned to Haein temple where he started the arduous task of restoring the eighty-thousand
wood printing blocks of the *Tripitaka Koreana*.

In 1907, Yongsŏng travelled through China where he visited temples and met with Chinese priests. It is said that one queried whether Korean monks took only the minor vows associated with novices. Yongsŏng, having taken all the vows, sternly informed the offensive fellow that the way of Buddhism was not limited to China.

In 1911 he finally became convinced that Korean Buddhism needed to be thoroughly restructured. As he walked through the streets of Seoul he was shocked to hear the ringing of church bells and to see the activities of the various religions, especially Christianity. Consequently, he resolved to propagate Sŏn. He built a temple called Taegak, and in 1912 erected another hall dedicated to spreading Sŏn.

Yongsŏng's efforts seem to have attracted many followers, and in 1913 he published *Kwiwŏn chŏngjong* (Returning to the Source of the True Teachings), a long polemical work which detailed his conviction of the superiority of Mahayana Buddhism. Yet he felt that any drastic change would require considerable funds, and so at the age of fifty-three he returned to China where he worked in the mining industry.

In 1919 Han Yongun asked Yongsŏng if he would be willing to sign the Korean Declaration of Independence. He simply said, "Yes" and entrusted to Han his seal. Han was nonplussed by the speed of his response to such a weighty matter, and he returned the following day to receive confirmation. During the ensuing trial his responses to the court were firm and brief. He stated that, given the chance, he would participate in future agitations, and when asked why, he simply said that he liked the idea of independence.

During his year and a half in prison Yongsŏng began studying vernacular translations of the Christian Bible. On gaining his freedom in 1921 he established a translation society, and by the time of his death he had translated some thirty of the most important sutras and commentaries.

Like Han Yongun, Yongsŏng believed that the traditional reliance on alms from the laity had made Buddhist monks social parasites. In 1922 he returned to Manchuria where he purchased land and attempted to put into practice the cornerstone of his Buddhist thought: *sŏmnong ilch'i* (the unity of Sŏn and farming).

Yongsŏng had returned to Seoul by April 1924, where he continued his translation work and wrote for Buddhist journals. At this time the Korean Buddhist community was riven by dissent over the prevalence of married monks, and in May and September of 1926 he wrote two separate petitions to the Japanese Governor General. He urged the government to enforce the monastic prohibition against the 'eating of meat and the taking of wives' in order to ensure both the moral and physical purity of the monasteries. In December 1926, however, the government made it legal for Korean monks to marry.

The following year Yongsŏng obtained a considerable amount of land and put into practice his central idea for the renewal of Korean Buddhism. He planted over ten-thousand persimmon and chestnut trees and attracted a community of monks who divided their days between farming and Sŏn meditation. This community remained vital for some fifty years.

The final thirteen years of Yongsŏng's life were spent in writing and translating. In addition to magazine articles, he continued making vernacular translations of Buddhist scriptures in the hope that the principles of Buddhism would be more accessible to monks and the laity alike. In this vein, he also wrote various Buddhist hymns based on passages from the sutras.

Yongsŏng was an eccentric individual. From the early 1920's he did not use the word
Buddhism, but rather taegakkyo (teaching of the great awakening) to describe what he taught. In 1922, he established a hall for the dissemination of the taegakkyo, but this was forced to disband by the colonial government in 1938. He seems to have taken this as a hard knock. On 23 February 1940 he bathed, changed his clothes, and called his students together. After thanking them for their efforts, he announced, “I’m leaving.” He then sat down and died. After his cremation, a funerary relic was found amongst his ashes, and this is now enshrined in a pagoda at Haein temple.

Bibliography


Paekcha ware [Ceramics]

Paekchŏng class

The term ‘paekchŏng class’ represents two diverse groups of people in Korean history. During Koryŏ it referred to the freeborn peasantry, and in Chosŏn it denoted the lowborn or outcast portion of the population.

In Koryŏ

The paekchŏng of Koryŏ were the freeborn peasantry who did not reside in one of the special administrative districts assigned for the lowborn. Paekchŏng refers to the lack of a fixed role to the state for this class of people, and accordingly, they were not eligible to receive a land allowance (from the state). The paekchŏng were farmers, many of whom worked state-owned lands called ‘people’s lands’ (minjŏn), and they were required to pay one-fourth of their annual harvest to the government as rent. If they worked land owned by the gentry families of Koryŏ, the rent was substantially higher, often reaching one-half of their harvest. Moreover, the paekchŏng were liable for special tribute taxes paid in cloth, and in some areas were further obliged to pay special product taxes which might consist of fruit or other crops, based on the specialised produce of an area. Further, all adult paekchŏng males, aged between sixteen and sixty, were liable for military and corvée labour service.

The lives of the paekchŏng were difficult, but the lack of rigid social-class stratification in Koryŏ provided them some social mobility. The most prominent path for social betterment was in military service. While the army was staffed mostly by a hereditary class of soldiers, when the prescribed levels of staffing dropped, new recruits were sought from among the paekchŏng and even from the ch’ŏnин (lowborn) class. Gaining a position in the military aided the paekchŏng family considerably, as it would be assigned an allotment of ‘soldier’s land’ (kuninjŏn), and two families to work it. Moreover, they would then be designated as a military household, thus ensuring the well being of their descendants as well. Examples can be cited of members of the paekchŏng class advancing into the officer ranks by virtue of their meritorious service.

The paekchŏng served as the foundation to the agrarian-based Koryŏ economy, and
although they were heavily tax-burdened and often exploited by the landed gentry, their situation was considerably better than the classes beneath them. Since the upper class relied upon the **paekchong** to farm their estates, there were various legislative attempts to keep the **paekchong** tied to the land. Thus, the Koryŏ government implemented relief programs such as the ‘righteous granaries’ (**ūich’ang**), designed to provide relief in times of famine, and special medical offices to care for the sick. Nonetheless, as the upper class and the Buddhist temples increased their exploitation in late Koryŏ, large numbers of the **paekchong** abandoned the land and many joined roving bands of marauders.

**In Chosŏn**

With the transition of Korean society from the end of Koryŏ to early Chosŏn, the term ‘**paekchong**’, which had broadly encompassed all the free peasantry of Koryŏ, was replaced with various other appellations for the freeborn class, such as **p’yŏngmin**, **yang’in**, **ch’onmin** and **paeksong**. On the other hand, ‘**paekchong**’ came into use to designate those that performed hereditary occupations such as butchers, tanners and wicker-workers, all of whom were considered as being beyond the pale. The origin of the term and its use for indicating those engaged in the lowborn hereditary occupations, is thought to date to 1423, when King Sejong (r. 1418-1450) issued an edict concerning this class of people. In earlier times, these workers had been labelled as **chaein** or **hwach’ok**; names often applied also to nomadic immigrants, such as the Malgal or Khitan, who had been absorbed into Korean society.

The **paekchong** class not only included the aforementioned low-class category, but also hunters, vagabonds, thieves, stock breeders and even those who had been removed from family census registers. Also included were travelling entertainers (**kwangdae**) and shamans (**mudang**). These individuals were abhorred by society and were expelled from the capital. They were even forced to live in separate hamlets away from the commoners (**yang’in**). During Sejong’s rule, attempts were made to assimilate these ostracised people into the peasantry and they were granted land and instructed in farming techniques. Hence, they became known as the ‘**paekchong**’ since this was the term traditionally used for freeborn farmers. This attempt to transform the **paekchong** into farmers did not, however, take root and they continued to engage in their hereditary occupations. Although in a legal sense the **paekchong** were accorded the same right as other commoners, this did not remove the discrimination they faced in almost every aspect of their lives. Among the many prohibitions, were those banning them from living among the freeborn peasantry, or marriage with anyone in a higher class.

With the Reforms of 1894 (Kabo Kyongjang) the class system of Chosŏn was officially abolished, and officially the **paekchong** ceased to exist. To the people of Korea, however, who had observed this social distinction for centuries past, those engaged in the traditional occupations of the **paekchong** continued to be treated as pariahs. Thus, there still existed prejudices concerning intermarriage or living close-by these outcasts. Additionally, discrimination against the **paekchong** existed in almost every other facet of society, for example, in education and employment opportunities. Thus, at the end of Chosŏn and the beginning of the Japanese colonial period, the social class of **paekchong** still existed. A census conducted by the Japanese Government General in the first years of colonisation, revealed that there were 7,538 **paekchong** households, with a total of 33,712 people. In fact, there are solid reasons to think that there were many more than recorded by the census.

During the colonial period, many attempts were made by those of the higher classes to eliminate the discrimination against those of the former **paekchong** class. Thus, through educational opportunities and economic success, many lowborn members of society were able to elevate their status. Moreover, as the remnants of hierarchical Chosŏn society continued to disappear, the distinction between those of the former **paekchong** class and the...
peasantry diminished dramatically. As the gradual process of social equality widened after liberation in 1945, discrimination against members of the former paekchông class receded still further. Nonetheless, even today there remains a social stigma attached to those that engage in many of the former paekchông occupations, and their children are discriminated against..

Paektu Mountain

Straddling the border between South and North Hamgyong Province, as well as the border between Korea and China, the 2 744-meter high Mt. Paektu is Korea’s tallest mountain. Mt. Paektu is actually part of a cluster of high mountains situated in Korea’s remote north-east region. The Mach’ollyông Mountain Range, which runs to the south-east of the peak, includes numerous other peaks over 2 000 metres in elevation, such as Taeyôngi Peak (2 360 metres), Mt. Kanbaek (2 164 metres), Mt. Sobaek (2 174 metres), North P’ot’ae Mountain (2 289 metres), South P’ot’ae Mountain (2 435 metres) and Paeksa Peak (2 099 metres).

Mt. Paektu is actually a volcano. Although it is presently dormant, records indicate that the volcano has been active in the recent past. According to the Chosôn wangjo shillok (Annals of the Chosen Dynasty), the volcano erupted as recently as 1597, 1668 and 1702. The caldera is now filled with water, forming the lake known as ch’ônji. This picturesque lake, made up of stream run-off and melted snow, averages about 200 metres in depth, but is over 300 metres deep in some places. The lake’s excess water flows over the rim to form the 68-meter high Piryong Waterfall. This waterfall is the source of the Songhwa River. The waterfall dries up during times of drought or when the lake freezes during winter. Due to the 400 to 500-meter high walls of the caldera, Ch’ônji Lake can only be accessed via Pyôngsa Peak or Tal Gate.

Due to the area’s sharp variations in temperature and elevation, the plant and wildlife that inhabit the mountain are very diverse. In elevations between 500 and 1,050 metres, there are conifers, such as larches, silver firs and white poplars, as well as broad-leaved trees such as white birches and poplars. From 1 050 to 1 750 metres, there are large virgin forests of conifers. Above this is the tree line; consequently, the area from 1 750 metres to 2 100 metres is characterised by the growth of low-lying bushes and shrubs. The area above 2 100 metres is hit by heavy winds and is overcast over 300 days a year. Moreover, the winter temperatures can drop as low as -45C in the winter. Of the plants that grow above the permafrost at this high elevation, one-third are varieties native to the Arctic Circle.

Mt. Paektu has been known by many different names. The earliest reference to the mountain is in the Sanhaijing, which calls it Mt. Buxian (Kor. Mt. Purham). In the Msamguk yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), on the other hand, the mountain, called Mt. T’aebaek, is referred to as the site where Hwanung descended to earth with a retinue of 3 000 followers to become the progenitor of the Korean race. After the Chinese Han Dynasty, the mountain was known by many other appellations, but almost all of the names incorporated the Chinese character for white (in Korean, paek), evidently a reference to the summit which was capped with snow almost year around. In recent times, North Korea has used the mythological associations of the mountain for propaganda purposes. Kim Chôngil, Kim Ilsong’s son and successor, is said to have been born on the mountain, and the cabin where he was born has become a North Korean tourist site.

Despite its inaccessible location, Mt. Paektu draws large numbers of South Korean pilgrims every summer, who come to see the lake from the Chinese side. Across the border, many North Koreans also visit the mountain. In addition to beautiful scenery, there are hot springs around the lake that run year around. The temperature of each spring varies from a scalding 82C to a lukewarm 37C. The mineral-rich water of these springs is thought to have therapeutic effects.
Paengnyông Island

Situated just below the 38th parallel in the Yellow Sea, Paengnyông Island is part of Ongjin County in the Inch'on Metropolitan Area. Geologically, the island is made up of limestone, shale and quartzite. With an elevation generally between 50 and 100 metres, most of the streams dry-up outside the summer monsoon season. The island has an average January temperature of minus 4.5 deg. c. an average August temperature of 25 deg. c. and an average rainfall of 755.8mm. As Korea's fourteenth largest island, Paengnyông has an area of 45.38 sq. kms. with a 56.75 km. coastline. With the coast of Hwanghae Province's Ch'angsan Point only 17 kms. distant, it is South Korea’s northernmost island. In spite of its remote location, however, over five-thousand people inhabit the island. Most of the island’s families are originally from North Korea.

Until the early 1970s, fishing was the key source of income, but residents had to convert to agriculture due to the frequent seizure of fishing boats by North Korean authorities. About 30 per cent of the island is arable, with almost 5 sq. kms. used for rice cultivation and 8.86 sq. kms. for dry-field crops such as barley, beans and sweet potato. Prices of consumer items are relatively high, reflecting the cost of transporting goods by boat from the mainland. Nearly all of the island’s residents are Christians. In Chunghwa-dong, there is a church which was built in 1896, making it one of the oldest in Korea. To meet the educational needs of the residents, there are two primary schools and two primary school branches, one junior high school and one high school. This remote island invites visitors to a number a number of scenic venues. For example, the extraordinary rock formations of Tumujin are particularly sought out by tourists.

Paengnyông (White Feathers), the name of the island, is said to derive from legend. It is said that a scholar and a young lady who once lived in nearby Hwanghae Province made a vow to marry. The father, who did not approve of the union, sent his daughter away to live on the remote Paengnyông Island. The scholar searched in vain for his lover until one night, he dreamed that a white crane came to him carrying a white slip of paper. He woke to find a slip of paper inscribed with the girl’s whereabouts. After finding the girl on the island, the two married and lived happily.

Painting

History

Our knowledge of Korean painting of periods earlier than the Chosŏn dynasty is fragmentary. From the Three Kingdoms Period, murals are extant in Koguryŏ (37 B.C.E. - 668 C.E.) tombs of the 4th to 6th centuries. They show portraits of the deceased and give some insights into the daily life and religious thought of the period. Remains from the kingdom of Shilla (57 B.C.E. - 935 C.E.), such as the ‘flying horse’ in Tomb No. 155 in Kyŏngju, and square tiles with relief designs of stylized animals, flowers or landscapes from Paekche (18 B.C.E. - 660 C.E.) suggest that both areas were influenced by Koguryŏ styles. According to historical records, Paekche painters, sculptors and brickmakers were involved in the construction of temples in Japan.

A Bureau of Painting was established at the Royal Court in Kaesŏng during the Koryŏ period (918-1392) in order to promote Buddhist painting and sutra copying. Renditions of the Buddha Amitabha and of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara are preserved in Japanese temples, such as the 'Avalokitesvara Holding a Willow Branch' at Sensōji, Tokyo, dated 1313, by Hyehŏ. A lacquer screen, dated 1307, of Buddhist figures in a landscape scenery by No Yong suggests an influence of the landscape style of the so called Guo Xi tradition, which dominated Northern China from the 11th to 14th centuries.
The most famous landscape painter was Yi Nyong. When he went to China in 1124, Emperor Huizong ordered Chinese study under his guidance. Contacts with Yuan China were especially close during the time of King Ch'ungsŏn (r. 1309 - 1313) who abdicated the throne and lived in the Chinese capital for most of his life. He was acquainted with Zhao Mengfu, a high official, painter and calligrapher and other literati painters.

Painting theory of the Koryŏ and early Chosŏn periods was strongly influenced by the Northern Song literati painters Su Dongpo and Mi Fu, while painting itself seems to have been related with styles of literati painters of the early Yuan who painted in the Guo Xi and Mi Fu traditions. A rare example is a painting of pine trees, bamboo and plum blossoms, called 'Three Friends in the Cold', by Haeae at Myŏmanji temple in Kyoto.

The earliest extant dated and signed Korean landscape painting is 'Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land', done in the style of Guo Xi by the court painter An Kyŏn in 1447 on the request of Prince Anpyŏng. The prince was famous for his collection of Chinese paintings. Well known literati painters of the period were the brothers Kang Hŭian (1419-1465) and Kang Hŭimaeng (1424-1483). Probably depending on Koryŏ traditions, their paintings show some connections with Yuan period Zen Buddhist painting and with works of the Chinese literati circle around King Ch'ungsŏn. Eminent Japanese master of the Muromachi period, Shubun and Reisai, came to Korea in 1423 and 1463 respectively and received inspiration for their ink painting. Ties were so close that the national identity of Munch'ŏng (Jap : Bunsei), whose works are preserved both in Korea and Japan, is still unclear.

An Kyŏn had many followers in the 16th century. A major work of the An Kyŏn school is an eight-fold screen, 'Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers', taken from Korea to Japan by a monk of the Daiganji monastery in the Hiroshima prefecture in 1539.

Around 1500, a new style was introduced from Ming China, the so-called Zhe school. Originally an academic style it was adapted to Korean taste by two scholar painters, Kim Che (1524-1593) and Yi Kyŏngyu'n (1545-1611). Kim Che's 'Boy Pulling a Donkey' which can be viewed at the Hoam Art Museum and Yi Kyŏngyu'n's 'Album with Figures and Landscapes' at the Horim Art Museum are masterpieces of the 16th c. Besides, the An Kyŏn school still flourished, with Yi Kyŏngyu'n's son, Yi Ch'ing (b. 1581), as a prominent follower. Around 1600, a new literati style, later to be called Southern school painting (namjongwha) was introduced to Korea. The earliest extant example is a landscape by Yi Kyŏngyu'n's brother Yŏn'gyun (1561-1611), imitating the late Yuan dynasty master, Huang Gongwang.

Due to the 1592-1598 invasions of Korea by the Japanese warlord Hideyoshi and by Manchu forces (1627 and 1636), painting of the 17th c. is mainly in the form of small album leaves on coarse paper or hemp. The Zhe school still prospered, with Kim Myŏngguk as the great master. Kim Myŏngguk travelled to Japan twice, in 1636 and 1643, as a member of an embassy. Later, in the 18th c., Ch'oe Puk (1712-1786) and Kim Yusŏng (b. 1725) brought Korean Southern school painting to Japan.

Typical for the transition between the Zhe school and the Southern school style are the works of Yun Tusŏ (1668-1715) and Chŏng Sŏn (1676-1759). Chŏng Sŏn became the most famous Korean landscape painter because of his 'true views' (chin'gyŏng) renditions of actual Korean scenery. Besides various portfolios of sites in the Diamond Mountains, the hanging scroll 'Mount Inwang' of 1751 in the Hoam Art Museum is one of his masterpieces. The 18th c. was dominated by literati painters like Cho Yongseok (1686-1761); Shim Sajŏng (1707-1769); Kang Sehwang (1713-1791); Yi Inyang (1710-1760); and professionals like Ch'oe Puk; Kim Hongdo (1745-post 1814); Yi Inmun (1745-1821); and Shin Yunbok (prominent around 1800). Kim Hongdo and Shin Yunbok are famous for
their genre scenes.

In the early 19th c. the scholar, calligrapher and painter Kim Chŏnghŭi (1786-1857) brought new inspiration to Korean Southern school painting. Orchids were his favourite subject, often combined with his virtuoso calligraphy. His students Yi Chaegwan (1783-1837) and Cho Hŭryong (1789-1866) - a lover of plum blossoms - are well known for their landscapes. Kim Such'ŏl (19th c.) produced highly decorative landscapes and pictures of flowers and butterflies. The last great master of the Chosŏn dynasty was Chang Sŭngŏp (1843-1897), who took up styles of the Chinese eccentric of the Qing period.

During the period of Japanese occupation Western style oil painting was introduced to Korea. Most successful in combining traditional ink painting with Western elements were Hŏ Paengnyŏn (1891-1977), Yi Sangbŏm (1897 1972), Pyŏn Kwanshik (1899-1975) and No Suhyŏn (1899-1978).

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Ink Painting

Favourite subjects of Korean ink painting were the 'Four Gentlemen'(being the orchid, chrysanthemum, bamboo and plum blossom); grape vine; flowers and insects; horses and oxen; Buddhist and Daoist figures; and of course, landscape scenery. In China, ink painting is usually associated with the literati, who practised the so-called 'Three Accomplishment' - poetry, calligraphy and painting; for leisure, but in Korea, scholars and professional painters alike followed Chinese literati models.

Though painting in ink on paper was probably produced much earlier, the earliest extant works date from the Koryŏ period. Literati painters of the early Chosŏn dynasty, such as Kang Hüian (1419-1465) and Kang Hüimaeng (1424-1483), followed Koryŏ and Yuan traditions. Their powerful brushwork, strong contrasts between dark and light ink tones and a tendency towards geometric simplification are typical Korean features. Kim Che (1524-1593) and Yi Kyŏngyun (1545-1611) combined the Zhe school style with elements of the style of the Kang brothers. Famous for his ink bamboo was Yi Chŏng (styled T'anun, 1541- post 1625), while O Mongnyong (b. 1566), a son-in-law of Yi Kyŏngyun, excelled in plum blossom painting. Lady Shin (styled Saimdang, 1504-1559), and Hwang Chipchung (1533-1593) became well-known for their grape vines; Yi Am (b. 1499) for his dogs and cats under flowering trees, and Cho Sŏk (1595-1663) for his birds on trees. Around 1600, a new literati style was introduced to Korea and light colouring became popular, but the heritage of the Kang brothers, namely a powerful brushwork and free inkplay remained typical for Korean ink painting.

Influence of China

Besides the legend of Tan'gun, Korea has another Chinese foundation legend. According to the record Shiji by Sima Qian (ca.145-190 B.C.E.), Jizu (Kor. Kija), a prince of the Shang dynasty in China, established a kingdom in Korea when his royal house was overthrown towards the end of the second millennium B.C.E. In 108 B.C.E. the Han empire founded a colony in Luolang, (Kor. Nangnan, present-day P'yŏngyang) and gave great impulse to the development of Korean culture. A lacquer basket with fine figure painting, dating from this period, is still preserved at the Museum of Korean Fine Art in
Pyŏngyang. Murals from Koguryŏ tombs, located by the Yalu River and near Pyŏngyang show the influence of wall painting of the Han dynasty and later periods. Koguryŏ took over Chinese script and, in 372, founded a National Confucian academy (T'aeḥak) and officially introduced Buddhism. Paekche and Shilla mainly received Chinese culture via Koguryŏ. However, the tomb of the Paekche king Munyŏng (r. 501-523) and his wife strongly suggests direct contacts with the Southern Chinese Liao kingdom (502-557). According to Japanese historical records, a Paekche king sent Buddhist scriptures and statues to Japan in 552, thus functioning as intermediary between his neighbours. After conquering Koguryŏ and Paekche and unifying the peninsula in 668, Shilla had close contacts with Tang China. The remains of a palace and garden area, called Anapchi 'The Pond of Wild Geese and Ducks', constructed in 674 (restored in the 1980s) and the Buddhist sculptures of Sokkuram Grotto are impressing examples of this period. During the Koryŏ period (918-1392) contacts were close with Northern Chinese dynasties and North Asian tribes, Northern Song, Chin and Yuan. The famous Koryŏ celadon was inspired by Song ceramicist, but a Chinese traveller reports in 1123 that he also found forms and designs he had never seen in his homeland. When the Mongols conquered China and in 1280 founded the Yuan dynasty, they forced even closer ties with Koryŏ through marriages between Korean kings and Mongol princesses. Yuan and Koryŏ literati assembled around king Ch'ungsŏn (1275-1325) who retired to the Chinese capital after a short reign and was acquainted with such eminent painters and calligraphers as Zhao Mengfu. Chinese styles of the literati arts then entered Korsa, and while late Yuan masters changed styles in China, Korean painters remained faithful to early Yuan traditions even after the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910). Yi Sŏnggye, the founder of the new dynasty and its first king, Taejo, remodelled state and society according to Chinese Neo-Confucian principles. The painting academy at the royal court, Tohwaseo, had bamboo as the main subject for entrance examinations. Bamboo, as a symbol of uprightness, was especially favoured by Confucian literati, and the academy's organisation surpassed similar Chinese contemporary institutions. Chinese styles in painting, calligraphy, architecture and applied arts continued to inspire Korean art, but Korean artists and craftsmen retained their own taste for pureness and natural beauty, as can be seen in the white ceramics of the 17th and 18th centuries.

Bibliography


Genre paintings

Genre paintings in the strict sense of the word - paintings of people engaged in the activities of daily life, painted for their own sake - are not found in substantial numbers for most of Korea's historical periods. Yet, there are not a few pictorial representations that give information on aspects of daily life in different ages, as part of paintings of an entirely different kind, created with purposes having little to do with genre painting as it is generally understood. The oldest examples of such pictures date from the Bronze Age or even earlier: engravings in a rock depicting hunting and fishing scenes, and a bronze object showing agricultural activities. Wall-paintings in the tombs of Koguryŏ, dating from the 4th through the 6th c., present a variety of scenes from daily life: pictures of men and women in procession, lords and servants, hunters, wrestlers, pugilists, dancers, horsemen and bullock carts, houses and their interiors, a kitchen, stables, a butcher shop. These pictures created for the dead a familiar environment similar to life in this world.

But beginning with the 7th c., for a period of over 500 years, very little is left to document the visual aspects of daily life. In the later Koryŏ period depictions of daily life appeared in
some paintings of the future Buddha Maitreya preaching in this world, which include, in the lower part, scenes of farmers tilling the soil. Also, about the same time, special events at court and scenes from the life of the upper class were chosen as subjects to be painted, but very little has been preserved. In most cases, we only know from literary sources that such paintings existed.

A great deal more has survived from the Chosŏn-period, especially from its second half. Following a tradition begun in the Koryŏ period (but that had its roots in China) important events, banquets and visits of foreign envoys, were painted to commemorate and document these occasions. Royal palaces were depicted in an exact, descriptive manner and paintings called kyehoedo (pictures of association meetings) represented gatherings of members of the upper class. When the occasion depicted was a meeting of elderly gentlemen of high status, these pictures were called kirohoedo; (pictures of a gathering of those of venerable age). The first known kirohoedo was painted during the previous dynasty, in 1203, but has not survived. Kyehoedo would be made in multiple copies, one for each of the participants. Until about 1550, kyehoedo depicted the participants in a vast landscape, but from that time onwards the persons receive more emphasis.

Confucian ideology stressed the importance of the people and their productive labour, and this led to the depiction of the toil of those engaged in agriculture, the raising of silkworms, spinning and weaving (kyōngjiktō). Originally the intent of these pictures, for which there were Chinese models, was to remind the courtiers of the plight of the hard-working commoners and admonish them not to waste the fruits of such labour. In the second half of the Chosŏn period, however, this theme was widely used for screens and, becoming ever more popular, finally came to be part of the folk-painting repertoire.

The 18th c. witnessed important developments in genre painting. So far it had been executed for ritual or religious purposes, or to document and instruct, now it came to be more highly appreciated for its own sake. Yun Tūsŏ (1669–?) and Kim Turyang (1696–1763) were among the first representatives of the new trend. In their work human figures are generally represented within a natural setting which receives at least equal attention, so that these paintings may be regarded as a compromise between landscape and genre painting. This changed with Cho Yongu, (1686–1761) who in some of his work shifted the focus completely to human activity. Consequently his works, such as his depiction of two craftsmen working a lathe, have greater documentary value. The most outstanding genre painters of this period were Kim Hongdo (1745–1816?) and Shin Yunbok (18th c., exact dates unknown). Kim Hongdo painted important episodes from the life of the yangban, but also showed a special interest in the life of the common people. Shin Yunbok preferred scenes with an amorous flavour - such as men of the upper class dallying with kisaeng - set against a carefully drawn background which provides much information with regard to daily life in his day. Another important genre painter was Kim Tŭksin (1754–1822), who was influenced by Kim Hongdo and whose work is remarkable for its humour. Kang Hŭiŏn (1710–1764) and Yi Insang (1710–1760) also deserve to be mentioned for their genre paintings.

In this period, too, scenes from daily life found a place in Buddhist painting. Occasionally they may be seen in the lower part of paintings devoted to the Ten Kings of the Underworld or the Buddha Amitabha, to whose Pure Land it was hoped the souls of the dead would go, thanks to the prayers and offerings of their surviving kin. In style, these depictions of scenes from worldly life (people drinking, playing chess, quarrelling and dancing, shamans, itinerant artists, etc.) are extremely close to the genre paintings made for non-religious purposes.

Of great importance for the knowledge of late 19th c. Korea is the work of Kim Chun'gŭn (dates unknown), who is better known under his pen-name Kisan. He may not have been a great artist, but for its documentary value his work is unsurpassed. Although he followed in
the tradition of the Korean genre painters of the 18th c., he seems to have worked mainly for the first westerners who came to Korea (among them P.C. von Moellendorff and the daughter of Admiral Shufeldt) who took sets of his work home. For James Gale's translation of Pilgrim's Progress he made illustrations in Korean style. Altogether, hundreds of his paintings and sketches are preserved in museums all over the world, in Seoul, Washington, Leiden, London, Vienna, Copenhagen and Moscow, constituting an invaluable source for getting to know the physical aspects of Korea at that time. Few subjects were left untouched by Kisan. He depicted seasonal customs, weddings, funerals and judicial procedures, mask plays, acrobats, jugglers, singers, beggars, monks, shamans and exorcists, hunters, farmers, miners, noodle makers, merchants of every description and craftsmen of all kinds, women fetching water, laundering, ironing, spinning and weaving, wine houses and markets, a bathhouse, hot springs and what not. Kisan was not the only one to produce such sketches, although he seems to have been the most prolific. Notable is the work of Kim Yunbo (early 20th c.), who painted scenes of country life and a series depicting punishments current in the Chosŏn period.

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Paji

Pak ch'omji

Pak Chega (1750-1805)

Pak Chega was a late Chosŏn shirhak (practical learning) scholar. His family’s ancestral home is in Miryang, his courtesy names included Ch’asu and Sugi, and his pen names included Ch’ojong and Chŏngyu. As a boy, Pak excelled in his studies -- poetry, composition and painting. At the age of nineteen or thereabouts he was attracted to the School of Northern Learning (pukhak’pa), which was comprised of men such as Pak Chiwon (1737-1805), Yi Tŏngmu (1741-1793) and Yu Tükkong (1749-?). Since Pak was an illegitimate son, his options in government service were strictly limited. His excellence in scholarship, however, was widely recognised after the publication of a poetry collection, Könyón chip, which included his work together with that of other writers, such as Yi Tŏngmu and Yu Tükkong.

In 1778, Pak travelled to China as part of an official envoy headed by Ch’ae Chegong. On this journey, he and Yi Tŏngmu became acquainted with Qing scholars such as Li Tiaoyuan and Pan Dingyun. Pak was able to witness the high culture of Qing, which was at its high point at this time, and was able to have discussions with Chinese scholars. It was then that Pak wrote perhaps his most famous work, Pukhagü (Discourse on Northern Learning). This consists of two sections; the so-called ‘Inner Chapter’, which contains information on the physical structures of China such as roads, bridges, commerce and medicine, and the ‘External Chapter’ which covers the political and social systems of Qing.

Pak enjoyed a close relationship with King Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1800) which allowed him to have greater influence in the government than someone of his status would normally have had. He served in the Kyujanggak Royal Library and in 1789 presented a summation of his
work *Pukhagii* to the King as a proposal for reform of Chosŏn. This advocated a modern and progressive economic policy that would enhance and facilitate domestic trade by improving the means and routes of commerce. However, this was far too liberal for the staunchly conservative neo-Confucian ruling class that viewed merchants as the lowest of the four classes of Chosŏn. After the death of King Chóngjo, Pak was involved in an incident in 1801 and was exiled. He was released from exile in 1805, but died shortly afterwards.

Among his other extant works are the aforementioned *Pukhagii*, *Chóngyu chip* (Collected Works of Chóngyu) and *Chóngyu sigo* (Poetry Collection of Chóngyu).

**Pak Chiwŏn** (1737-1805)

Pak Chiwŏn (styled Yŏnam) was a leading 18th c. writer and thinker of the *shirhak* (Ch. *shih hsüeh*, Practical Learning) school. The work of Pak Chiwŏn is widely recognized, both for its stand against the social ills of Chosŏn and for its satire.

Of yangban lineage and a descendant of Prince Kŭmyang (1562-1635), Pak Chiwŏn, of the Pannam clan, apparently did not prepare himself well in his early childhood for the state examination. His first opportunity to study seriously and methodically in preparation for it arose only after his marriage, at the age of fifteen to a member of the Chŏnju Yi family. His father-in-law and uncle were both respected neo-Confucian scholars and Pak Chiwŏn owes much of his scholastic learning to them. He passed the Minor Government Service Examination with the highest honours in 1770 and sat for the follow-up Combined Examination in the same year, but inexplicably did not hand in his examination paper. Following this incident, he deliberately by-passed the higher civil service examination, the most important institution in a literati's life, in consequence of which he was destined to spend many years in poverty.

This did not deter Pak from writing and his talent made him a celebrity in literary circles by his early twenties. As he honed his literary skills he lost all interest in attempting the government service examination. In 1768 he moved to a location near Paekt'ap and there became closely associated with Pak Chega (1750-1805), Yi Sŏgu (1754-1825), Yu Tükkong (1749-?) and other scholars.

In 1780, Pak travelled to China with his cousin Pak Myŏngwŏn, who was a member of the official embassy sent by Chosŏn to mark the seventieth birthday of the Qing emperor. This occasion provided Pak an excellent opportunity to observe the advanced culture of Qing, as well as Western civilisation that was already preponderant in Qing. This visit was to have a lasting impact on his thought and writings. During the journey, he kept a diary which gives details of the many institutions and customs of the places he visited. The *Yŏrha ilgi* (Jehol Diary) provides a thorough commentary on a range of topics concerning the Qing State. It discusses the political and economic systems of Qing, along with matters concerning customs, the Chinese people, poetry, history, religion and nature. This work is widely upheld for its frankness, which was a rare quality of the day since many scholars feared censure for writing anything that could be construed as inflammatory in the slightest degree.

In 1786 King Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1800) was told of Pak’s financial troubles and appointed him as a Junior Ninth Rank official (*sŏn’gong kamyŏk*). From this time, Pak held a number of minor government posts. He was appointed as Magistrate (*unsu*) of Myŏngch’ŏn County in 1797 and Town Magistrate (*pusa*) of Yangyang in 1800, a position which marked the end of his government service.

Pak’s views on the yangban and the social structure of Chosŏn are well represented in his works, especially *Yangban chŏn* (Tale of a Yangban), which is a consummate piece of social satire. It is a damning indictment of the yangban society of the time, which Pak
manifested by satirizing the economic ethics of the idle, unproductive and pretentious way of life of the Confucianist yangban as hopelessly impractical. He condemned the system by virtue of which the yangban existed as, 'an ethic of worms, thieves and robbers'. He was acutely aware of the country's need to modernize, and attached much importance to the practicality of commercial and manufacturing activity, including agricultural work - which he saw as the salvation of the masses.

Yangban chon does not, however, deny or even fundamentally depart from the social value system or order of the upper class. On the other hand, in Hosaeng chon (The Story of Mr. Hô) Pak was quick to criticize the merchant class and others involved in commerce. From this, one may construct that although he disapproved of the upper class and the literati, it is not a denial per se of the social systems of the former, but rather a suggestion that the upper class should adapt to the changing times. Another work, Hojil (A Tiger's Rebuke), satirizes the two faces of a treacherous scholar and a chaste woman by combining reality and fiction.

Pak was critical of neo-Confucianism as well as the Wang Yangming (1472-1529) school for what he saw as empty and useless metaphysical speculation. He always gave his strong support for the development of commercial and manufacturing enterprises and had a deep interest in both agricultural system reform and technical growth.

In his preface to the Yangban chon Pak explains his motive for writing the work as, 'A scholar occupies an official position that is bequeathed by heaven. The mind of the scholar should not seek benefit, should not sway from propriety although he is established in life, and should not relinquish its scholarly duties even if he becomes destitute. However, since the scholars of the present-day do not cultivate their moral obligations and seek justice, instead idly believing in their family power, and buy and sell the nobility of their family, what is the difference between them and the merchants? I am writing Yangban chon since I wish to reveal my feelings on this subject.'

Pak's scholarship made a great contribution to the development of shirhak thought and through this movement he helped prepare Korea for the country's eventual acceptance of reform. After he retired from government service he continued to live in Seoul and died there in 1805. There are many extant works by Pak including Yônam chip (Collected Works of Yônam) and the aforementioned Yôrha ilgi. Pak's short stories such as Yangban chon and Hosaeng chon continue to be popular with readers to the present-day.

Pak Chônghui (see Park Chung Hee)

Pak Hanyông (1870-1948)

Hanyông (Buddhist name, Chôngho; most often called himself by the pen-name, Sôkchôn. Yongho and Hanyong were two other pen-names he used; he was often called Hanyông by others) was the pre-eminent leader in the founding of Korea’s modern Buddhist educational system. Although he was in many respects a traditional Buddhist priest and scholar, he recognized fully the necessity for modern learning and begrudgingly expressed his respect for the educational advances of Christian missionaries. Under his direction, Korean monks were encouraged to undertake mathematics, science, and liberal arts courses which he considered an essential part of their religious training. He saw Buddhism in competition with Christianity and stressed that only educated Buddhist priests could effectively spread the Buddhist teachings and gain converts. In spite of his emphasis on modern education, he was a strict proponent of the traditional vows, especially that of celibacy, and he does not seem to have supported any major changes to the traditional Korean monastic rules.

Although there are various problems with the dates regarding the chronology of his life, it
seems that he entered the priesthood at around the age of twenty and had distinguished himself by the age of twenty-two. He succeeded his master in 1895 and was thus given the distinction of being called Sŏkchŏn. It is said that this name, meaning 'rocky mountain summit', had been transmitted from the priest Paek’pa Kŭngsŏn (1767-1852) as a favour to the scholar Ch’usa Kim Chonghŭi (1786-1856). Ch’usa had sent to Paek’pa a piece of writing bearing the words 'sŏkchŏn' and had requested that it be handed down as a name to his ablest students and in turn, their ablest students.

In 1895 or thereabouts, Hanyŏng wrote a collection of essays and other literary pieces in a text he titled Sŏngnim sup’il. Ch’oe Namsŏn, himself a brilliant Korean scholar, wrote that no matter how hard he tried, his intellectual achievements would never match those of Hanyŏng. Reading this book, one senses that Ch’oe’s praise was warranted. The wide scope of his intellectual interests is daunting enough, but even more surprising considering his age. He addressed topics as diverse as the tea ceremony, Buddhist metaphysics, and the relationship between Sŏn (Zen) Buddhism and poetry composition. His broad interests in traditional aesthetics seem to have marked him as a rare scholar among his contemporaries in the early twentieth century.

Interestingly, he also dealt explicitly and implicitly with the long-standing intellectual dispute between the priest Ch’ŏl’Ui Ùisun (1786-1866) and Paek’pa, from whom he traced his lineage as a priest. This was an argument over an obscure point of Sŏn Buddhist metaphysics regarding the means of spiritual enlightenment in Sŏn Buddhism. Ch’ŏl’Ui and Paek’pa each graded Sŏn into different levels commensurate with the spiritual ability of the practitioner, but they vehemently disagreed over the number of levels as well as what to call these different levels.

Ch’usa Kim Chonghŭi had also taken part in the argument and had criticized the stance taken by Paek’pa. Hanyŏng, however, defended Paek’pa while vigorously criticizing the famous Ch’usa, and in one essay he even stated that the letters Ch’usa had written to Paek’pa during the course of the dispute and the memorial tablet he had written after Paek’pa had died, ‘seemed to be thoroughly inconsistent’. Hanyŏng’s special interest in this debate seems to have lasted his entire life, and it can be assumed that this was partly of a personal nature, since it was through Paek’pa that he traced his lineage as a Sŏn master and a yulsa (vinaya master, or master of monastic rules of conduct).

In 1896, Hanyŏng began lecturing at monasteries throughout Korea, and it seems he gained recognition for his oratory. After his arrival in Seoul in 1908 or 1909 he rose to national prominence. From 1623 Korean Buddhist monks were officially banned from entering the capital, and after the lifting of this ban in 1895, there had been a flurry of Buddhist activity in Seoul. Like Han Yongun, Hanyŏng had come to the capital with the intention of beginning a Buddhist reform movement, and in 1911, he and Han joined forces in countering Yi Hoegwang’s attempt to merge the Korean Buddhist community with the Japanese Sōtō Sect. It seems that in 1913 he expressed his anger against Han’s proposal that monks be allowed to marry. But notwithstanding their dispute, the two men remained as friends.

From this time, Hanyŏng was engaged mainly in Buddhist educational programs and in writing for Buddhist journals. Despite his status as a Sŏn master, he had been greatly influenced by Hwaom thought (Ch.Huayan), and he criticized much of contemporary Sŏn. He was particularly disturbed by the anti-intellectual attitude of many Sŏn priests, and he warned that the traditional Sŏn definition of itself as 'not relying on words or letters', was both dangerous and wrong.

Hanyŏng believed that the future of Korean Buddhism rested on the creation of an educated community of priests who were as comfortable with sutra studies as with modern educational pursuits. To this end, he emphasized the worth of all spheres of human
knowledge, and in 1930 he was awarded a position in the Chungang Pulgyo Chǒnmun Hakkyo (Central Buddhist College), the predecessor of present-day Donguk University in Seoul. In this capacity he was able to directly influence the first generation of Korean Buddhist priests who would combine a traditional monastic education with Western-style academic courses of study, within a university setting.

Bibliography


Pak Hōnyŏng (1900-1956)

Prominent communist leader, North Korean statesman. Pak was born in South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, in 1900 in the family of a rice merchant, he received modern education. In his youth, he was greatly influenced by Christianity and contemporary Western ideas. In 1920 Pak moved to Shanghai where he established contacts with nationalist emigration and with early Korean followers of the Communist theory. There he became a member of Irkutsk faction, one of the first Korean Communist organizations. After returning home he began to spread Communist ideas in Korea.

In April 1924 Pak and some other activists tried to create a Communist Party organization in Korea, but failed. Soon, Pak was arrested by the Japanese police. After his release (January, 1924) Pak founded the ‘Tuesday’ faction, a Marxism study group. In 1925 this group as well as Pak himself played the major role in establishing the Korean Communist Party in Seoul. However, this organization was soon crushed by the police and in 1925-1927 Pak was imprisoned once more. After 1927, Pak who had been released from the prison as a mentally ill (he simulated insanity), left Korea for the Soviet Union and China. In Moscow he studied Communist theory and had close contacts with Comintern, but was not deeply involved in its inner politics and soon left for China. In 1933 he was arrested by the Japanese in Shanghai and imprisoned for 6 years. In 1939-1945 he stayed in Korea (sometimes illegally, under borrowed names) and continued his underground Communist activity.

By 1945 Pak had become the most prominent Communist leaders of Korea. He has got an image of a martyr, who spent almost 10 years in Japanese prisons, and never denied his ideals. He was also an energetic and highly ambitious person, skillful manager, brilliant writer and speaker. In August, 1945 Pak returned to Seoul and after some minor clashes among various rival Communist factions emerged as a chairman of the re-established Communist Party.

Under his leadership, the Communist Party became a major political force in the South Korea. Initially, its Central Committee claimed authority over the North Korean communist organization as well, but in early 1946 an independent party was established in the North under the Soviet tutelage. However, Pak remained to be one of the most influential persons among Korean leftists. After the merger of 2 Marxist parties - the Communist Party of the South Korea and the New People's Party - into the South Korean Workers' Party Pak was elected as its chairman.

In autumn, 1946 Pak, facing the real imminence of a new arrest, left the South for the North. He continued to direct underground actions of the South Korean leftists, but his real influence was diminishing, mainly because of the policy of Kim Il Sung (Kim Ilsŏng) who did his best to establish himself as the only supreme leader of the Korean
communists and did not tolerate any rivals. In the North Pak became a leader of the so-called 'domestic' faction inside the Korean Workers' Party. This faction consisted of former underground Communist activists who fled to the North.

After the declaration of the D.P.R.K. Pak became the foreign minister in the North Korean government. He also held some other official positions, but by 1953 he had lost any real political influence. In the spring of 1953 leaders of the domestic faction fell victims of purges. Pak himself was arrested in August 1953 and after a mock trial (15 December 1955) was executed as an American spy.

Bibliography


A Lankov

Pak Hyogwan

Pak Hyogwan was a songwriter of late Chosŏn. Little is known of Pak and even the date of his birth or death are not recorded. His courtesy name was Kyŏnghwa and his pen name Unae. He is known for his part in the compilation of *Kagok wollyu* (Sourcebook of Songs) along with An Minyŏng. This work, along with *Haedong kayo* (Songs of Korea) and *Ch'ŏnggu yŏngŭn* (Eternal Words of Green Hills) are considered as the three most special songbooks of Chosŏn. Pak was favoured by the Taewŏng'gun (father of King Kojong, r. 1863-1907) and even received his pen name from him. Included in *Kagok wollyu* are thirteen of Pak's shijo.

Pak Hyŏkkose (r. 57 BCE- 4 CE)

Pak Hyŏkkose (69 BCE-4 CE) was the first king of Shilla and reigned from 57 BCE to 4 CE. He is also the founder of the Pak family of Shilla. The foundation myth of Shilla is recorded in both the *Sanguk sagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) and the *Sanguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms). The story concerning the founding of Shilla and the origins of Pak Hyŏkkose begins in 69 BCE when the village headmen of the Six Villages of Saro gathered on the banks of the Al Stream to discuss the founding of a kingdom and the establishment of a capital city. At this meeting of the headmen, a mysterious light from the heavens shone on a white horse kneeling before a large egg in the roadway. The horse then flew skywards and the egg opened, revealing a male child, who was both handsome in appearance and just in countenance. The headmen took the infant to the Tong Stream and bathed him, causing his body to shine and the birds and beasts to dance. This child was none other than Pak Hyŏkkose, and he was given the name Pak since the egg that he had come from was as large as a gourd (also *pak* in Korean). The headman of Koho Village, Duke Sobŏl, took the infant to his home and raised him. When the boy reached thirteen years of age, the headmen declared him king of the Six Villages of Saro. The area formed by the confederation was known as Sŏrabŏl, Shilla and Saro among other appellations. In the fifth year of his reign, Pak Hyŏkkose took Aryŏng as his queen, and together they ruled the kingdom until 4 CE.

The foundation myth of Shilla concerning Pak Hyŏkkose reveals that the Six Villages of Saro were unified through his reign of Hyŏkkose, and thus this myth can be viewed as a legitimisation of the rule of the king. Since Hyŏkkose is shown to have divine origins, his rule over the people of Saro can be justified as the will of heaven, or of a supernatural power. Moreover, it is also argued by some scholars that the rule of Pak Hyŏkkose over Saro represents the subjugation of the indigenous people of the Saro Villages by migrant forces, and thus the legend of Pak Hyŏkkose evolved in order to create a ruling hierarchy, along with the rationale for their rights to the throne. It is also noted that the creation of
foundation myths was one matter in which the concept of ancestor veneration was
perpetuated among the common people, and through this vinculum, the status of the ruling
class was further elevated.

Other records of Pak Hyŏkkose reveal that in 37 BCE he established Kŭmsŏng Fortress in
the Seoul area, and that five years later he built a royal palace in this location. This shows
that Shilla was now expanding beyond the Kyŏngju plain and forming alliances with other
small states that dotted the Korean peninsula. These early states needed both sufficient
population and territory in order to survive in their struggles with neighbouring states, and
thus the ruler able to offer guarantees of personal safety and ample resources for farming
would attract new population on the fringe of his kingdom, and thus enabling it to grow in
strength. The fact that Shilla was able to expand and absorb neighbouring states reveals that
its early kings, including Pak Hyŏkkose, could attract and increase their populations
through their personal talents. This differs considerably from the monarchs of the
centralised aristocratic states which developed in the second and third centuries. Pak
Hyŏkkose bore the title of kŏsŏg'an, which is widely interpreted as 'chief'. This fact points
to his role as the leader of a confederation of clans, his appointment being perhaps by virtue
of his ability to control the forces that affected agriculture or his role as a shaman. This view
is substantiated by the fact that Pak Hyŏkkose's successor Namhae (4-24), was designated
as ch'ach'aung, which means shaman.

Pak Illo (1561-1642)

Pak Illo was a mid-Chosŏn civil-official who also participated in the 1592 Japanese
invasion as a soldier. His family's ancestral home is in Miryang, his courtesy name was
Tŏgong, and his pen names were Nogye and Muhaong. Pak is reputed to be a forty-third
generation ancestor of the founder of the Shilla Kingdom, Pak Hyŏkkose (57-4 BCE). Pak's life of eighty-two years can largely be divided into two parts: the first encompasses
his military activities carried out in the defence of Korea during the 1592 Japanese Invasion,
and the second entails his activities as a Confucian scholar during his later life.

When Pak was thirty-one years old the Japanese invaded Korea and he was involved in the
military operations of the so-called 'righteous army' (ŭibyŏng) in areas such as Tongnae,
Ulsan, Kyŏngju and Yŏngyang County. In addition, in 1598 he served as a naval
commander and carried out many meritorious deeds. In 1599 he passed the military service
examination (mukkwa) and served as Officer of the Guard (sumunjang) and as a herald
(sŏnjŏn'gwan). He was later appointed as Commander (manho) of Chorap'o on Köje
Island and charged with military affairs there.

Pak's career as a scholar began when he reached the age of forty. As he pursued academic
pursuits, he became acquainted with many moralists and in particular, he held similar views
with Yi Tŏkhyŏng (1561-1613). Upon his meeting with Yi and thereafter on several
important occasions such as Yi's retirement from official life, Pak wrote short poems
(shijo) for his friend. Among these, Saje kok (Song of the Sedge Bank) and Nuhangsa (In
Praise of Poverty), both written in 1611, are praised for their excellence. In 1612 Pak
attended a ceremony in honour of Yi Hwang (1501-1570) at the Tosan Sŏwŏn (private
school) and here he became acquainted with many other literati including Cho Chisan,
Chang Yohon and Chŏng Han'gang. Pak continued to be a prolific writer throughout his
life and his other notable works include: Yŏngnam ka (Song of the Southeast) written in
1635 and Nogye ka (Song of Nogye) written in the following year. His literary collection,
Nogye chip (Collected Works of Nogye) was compiled and published posthumously, and
is praised for its literary excellence.

Pak Maria (1906-1960)

Pak Maria was an educator and social activist. Her family's ancestral home is in Miryang
and she was born in Kang南昌 of Kangwon Province. In 1923 she completed her studies at Hosudon Girls’ High School and in 1928 graduated from the English Literature Department of Ehwa Women’s College. She returned to Hosudon and served as a teacher. From her time at Ehwa, Pak participated in various social movements such as those advocating the abolition of licensed prostitution, and the prohibition of alcohol and tobacco.

Pak travelled to the United States for further study and graduated from Scarlet College in Tennessee in 1932 and in the same year received her Masters Degree from the Peabody College of Education. She returned to Korea and took-up a lectureship at Ehwa Women’s College, teaching ethics. In 1935 she married Yi Kibung and at this time became director of the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA), a position she would hold for the next ten years. After Korea’s liberation in 1945, Pak’s husband held the office of secretary to Syngman Rhee (Yi Sungman) and so he and Maria were introduced to the political arena. Moreover, Rhee adopted the eldest son of Pak and her husband as a way to mirror the bond between the two families. Pak was active in international organisations and attended the World Conference of the YWCA held in China and further served as the Korean representative to the Girl Scouts movement. In 1954 she was appointed as head of the English Literature Department and deputy head of the Ethics Department at (what is now) the Ehwa Women’s University.

Pak and her family continued to be very close to Syngman Rhee and his Liberal Party (Chayu Tang). With the fraudulent elections of March 1960, however, the Korean people had grown weary of Rhee’s dictatorship and rebelled in what has become known as the April Students Revolution (19 April 1960). The main target of the rigged election was Pak’s husband who was running as Rhee’s vice-president. As a result, Rhee was forced to step down from the presidency and with this loss of political power, Pak and her entire family committed suicide at their home on 28 April 1960.

Pak Ünshik

Pak Yonghyo (Prince Kūmnūng)

Paksu

Pan’gye surok (Pan’gye’s Treatises)

Pan’gye surok is a twenty-six volume, thirteen fascicle work written by Yu Hyeongwŏn (1622-1673). Titled after the pen name of Yu, it is a collection of treatises on diverse matters such as, land distribution and taxation, the national examination, the bureaucratic structure of Chosŏn and even broaches such topics as national rituals, customs and language. Upon his retirement from official life, Yu returned to his hometown in North Chŏlla Province and compiled this work over a twenty-two year period. Pan’gye surok was not published as an independent work until nearly a century after the death of the author, when in 1770 a woodblock-print edition was published.

The work (which has a modern version in print) contains a series of proposals for reform of the declining Chosŏn Kingdom, including a return to more benevolent governing of the nation’s farmers. Yu believed that the increased tax burden placed on the farmers in the aftermath of the 1592 Japanese Invasion was immoral and contributing to the ills of the nation. Moreover, this work details plans for reform of the land system of Chosŏn that enabled only the wealthy to own land instead of those who worked it. The exploitation of the farming class was presented as a key to the afflicted state of the country. The author also stressed the need for moral education among the people that would help stem the social deterioration that he saw as a plague upon the country.
Pan'gye surok displays the ideology and calls for reform by one of the great scholars of Chosón. The called-for reforms were not well received in Yu’s lifetime, as they were far ahead of their time. It provides invaluable data for research of Chosón politics and societal problems.

**Bibliography**

**Pang Chŏnghwan (1899-1931)**

Pang Chŏnghwan was a scholar in the field of children’s literature. His pen name was Sop’a and he was born in Yajugae. In 1909 he entered Maedong Primary School and in the following year transferred to Midong Primary School, graduating in 1913. In the same year he entered Sŏllin Vocational School, but in the following year dropped out due to his family’s straitened circumstances. In 1917 he married Son Yonghwa, and at that time became active in a youth movement. In 1918 he entered Posŏng College, and in the following year after the March First Independence Movement, was arrested by the Japanese police for distributing leaflets bearing the independence proclamation. For this he was imprisoned and tortured for about one week before being released. In 1920 Pang entered the Philosophy Department of Toyo University and began his study of children’s literature and art.

In 1921, Pang, Kim Kijŏn and Yi Chŏngho, formed the Ch’ŏndogyo Youth Association. This is heralded as the inauguration of the youth movement in Korea. On 1 May 1922, Pang suggested the notion of a ‘Children’s Day’ (ŏrini nal) and in March 1923 year he published the first children’s magazine in Korea, Orini (Children). Orini was compiled in Tokyo and then published in Seoul. Pang continued to press for a ‘Children’s Day’ and also contributed to worldwide efforts for the development of children’s literature.

Despite his untimely death at the age of thirty-two, Pang has left behind many literary works. Sarang ui sŏnmul (Love’s Gift) was published during his lifetime, but there are some posthumously published works, including Sop’a chŏnjip (Collected Works of Sop’a, 1940) and Sop’a adong munhak chŏnjip (The Complete Children’s Literary Collection of Sop’a), among a total of eight works. Pang is remembered for his unwavering devotion to the cause of children’s literature and his desire to elevate the status of children.

**Pangdae Mountain**

Mt. Pangdae (1 436 metres) is situated to the south of Sŏrak-san National Park in Inje County. Surrounded by Mt. Chŏmbong (1 424 metres) and Kach’il Peak (1 165 metres) to the north, Kama Peak (1 192 metres) to the west, Maenghyŏn Peak (1 214 metres) to the south and Kuryongdŏk Peak (1 388 metres) to the east, the mountain is part of the Chungang Mountain Range. The north-west slope of the mountain is relatively flat, in contrast with the steep terrain to the south and east. On the summit, there is a television relay antenna, helping to improve broadcast transmissions to this remote area.

**Pangmun Sŏgwan**

Pangmun Sŏgwan was a publishing house established in Seoul in April 1907 by No Ikhyŏng. It was relocated to Seoul’s Pongnae-dong, and then to Chongno Street in 1925. The company’s publications were aimed at the general public and included translations of foreign novels as well as works by famous Korean authors such as Hyŏn Chin’gan, Yi Kwangsu, Yi Sanghyŏp and Yŏm Sangsŏp. In the 1930s, the company published Yi Kwangsu’s acclaimed work Sarang, a ten-volume collection of literary masterpieces and a five-volume collection of historical novels. Beginning in 1939, it also published Pangmun Mun’go, an eighteen-volume collection of key writings from both East and West, covering a wide range of subjects. The business remained active in the 1940s with publications which included works by Pang Chŏnghwan and Yang Chudong, and further works by Yi...
Kwangsu.

Paper, hand-made (see Hanji)

**Parhae** (see History of Korea)

**Parhaego** (Treatise on Parhae)

*Parhaego (Treatise on Parhae)* is a history of the Parhae Kingdom written by Yu Tükkong in 1784. The author of this work consulted many documents in the compilation of this work including Chinese and Japanese sources. This work traces the history and accomplishments of the Parhae Kingdom from the founding king, Ko Wang (r. 698-720), to the collapse of the Kingdom in 926. Included in this work are a series of eighty-three biographies of famous Parhae literati and scholars, and geographical features of the kingdom such as descriptions of the five capitals, fifteen districts and the sixty-two states. The author also includes reports on the official positions of Parhae, foreign relations and its tributary states. *Parhaego* also includes descriptions of the regional products of Parhae.

The compilation of this work was an effort by the author to create an official history of Parhae much like those that had been created for the Three Kingdoms and for Koryǒ. Certainly in examining the time period in which this work was written, after the disastrous Japanese and Manchu invasions of the prior century, it can be surmised that this work was designed to bolster national consciousness of the past traditions of Korea. *Parhaego* is notable in that it sought to authenticate the history and traditions of Parhae as the successor of the Koguryǒ Kingdom. In addition, this work contains much valuable data that is essential for the study of the Parhae Kingdom.

**Pari kongju**

[Animism; Literature]

**Park Chung Hee** (1917-1979)

Park Chung Hee (Pak Chonghii) was a soldier, politician and president of Korea who served terms of office as fifth to ninth (1961-1979) presidency. His family’s ancestral home is in Koryǒng and his pen name was Chungsu. Park was born in Sangmo Village of North Kyongsang Province and graduated from Taegu Normal School in 1937. For three years after this he served as an instructor at Mungyong Elementary School. In 1940 he entered the Manchurian Military Academy, and after two years graduated at the head of his class. He then entered the Japanese Imperial Military Academy and in 1944 when he graduated he was stationed in Manchuria as a second lieutenant. He is said to have been involved in a military revolt in 1948 along with other junior officers who opposed the partition of Korea. As a result he was sentenced to death, but later was pardoned and had his rank reinstated. During the Korean War he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general and after the signing of the Armistice in 1953, he travelled to the United States where he attended courses at the US Army Artillery School in Fort Sill, Oklahoma. After returning to Korea further promotion followed and by 1958 he held the rank of major-general.

After the April 1960 Student Revolution that significantly assisted the down fall of the dictatorial regime of Syngman Rhee (Yi Sǔngman), the Democratic Party, led by Chang Myǒn, took over the South Korean government. The newly instituted regime put into effect greatly liberalized policies and ensured many democratic freedoms that heretofore had been severely restricted by Rhee’s regime. However, the result of these reforms was widespread
chaos and the inability of the Democratic Party to overcome their own factional divisions did little more than compound the situation.

Against the backdrop of the disordered situation that South Korea found herself in, the military was also experiencing factional problems. The junior officers of the Korean military were disloyal to their seniors who were both financially and politically corrupt and this led to calls for reform. The main advocate of these calls was a lieutenant colonel, Kim Jong Pil (Kim Chongp'il) whose attempt to persuade the Chang government of the necessity for military reform led to the abrogation of commission in February 1961. Thus three months later, Kim and Park, his uncle by marriage executed a relatively quiet coup that put the Korean military in command of the South Korean government. Although it was Kim who had planned this coup, it was Park who emerged as the central player in the new government, and he would remain so for the next eighteen years.

The Park era of Korean government can be largely be divided into three periods: the first from 1961 to 1963 was ruled through a military junta called the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction (SCNR); the second from 1963 to 1972 represents a period of democratization of Park's rule; and third, from the implementation of the Yushin Constitution in October, 1972 until his assassination in October, 1979 was a period of increased authoritarianism by the Park regime. The initial period provided Park with the chance to restore order to South Korea through the implementation of harsh autocratic laws that resulted in the arrest of thousands, severe restrictions on the press, and the enforcement of puritanical regulations that resulted in the closing of dance halls and bars along with the breaking up of prostitution rings. The SCNR quickly enabled Park to consolidate his political base. Moreover, SCNR created the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA), headed by Kim Jong Pil, which came to be an important tool in Park's suppression of various elements in the South.

The second period of Park's rule came about with his resignation from the military and election as Korea's president. Park formed the Democratic Republican Party (DRP), which served much the same purpose as had the SCNR. Park won the 1963 election with a total of 47 per cent of the vote. During this term Park continued the implementation of his economic reforms that were to have a great impact on Korea, and additionally succeeded in ratifying a normalization treaty with Japan that provided both capital for economic reforms and much-needed technology. As South Korea underwent massive social changes that arose due to the rapid industrialization process, the polarization between the wealthy and the poor became extreme. This process resulted in severe criticism of Park and his ruling methods. Moreover, the opposition parties during this period began to combine their efforts to oust Park. In 1970 a new opposition party emerged, the New Democratic Party, led by two young leaders, Kim Young Sam (Kim Yongsam) and Kim Dae Jung (Kim Taejung), who were highly critical of Park. The result was the popular support for Park was rapidly eroding and in the 1971 election he only narrowly defeated Kim Dae Jung to retain power.

In addition to his dissipating domestic power, changes on the international scene caused concern for Park. The Vietnam War was escalating and causing the United States to reevaluate her Asian goals, and the Nixon administration was establishing policies of détente with the Soviet Union and dialogue with China (PRC), all of which seemed to herald a new age of American global diplomacy. Park was further troubled by the Nixon administration's decision to withdraw a combat division from Korea. In the face of mounting domestic criticism and international uncertainty, Park declared a state of emergency in December 1971.

The third period of Park's rule is characterized by the enforcement of the Yushin Constitution that harshly limited the democratic rights of the Korean people. His Yushin (revitalizing) reforms were aimed at eliminating political opposition to his regime and at
securing power for the remainder of his life. The Yushin Constitution stipulated that the president was to be elected by the National Council for Unification (NCU) that was easily manipulated by Park, thus creating a legalized dictatorship for him. This system was to remain in effect until 26 October 1979 when Park and his chief body guard, Ch’a Chich’öl were assassinated by his KCIA chief Kim Chaegyu.

The accomplishments of Park are many: he provided stability for South Korea that enabled economic growth; the normalization of relations with Japan proved to be a major diplomatic coup that also enabled economic growth in Korea; under his leadership South Korea consolidated her relationship with the United States by sending troops to Vietnam and supporting their international policies; and most of all it was Park’s economic development plans that allowed the so-called ‘Miracle on the Han’ to occur and usher in an era of economic prosperity for South Koreans. Park also instituted major social changes in Korea through his rural revitalization program the New Village Movement (Saemaul undong) and allowed the quality of life in rural areas to approach that in the cities. However, despite his many accomplishments, many remember Park for his brutal suppression of democratic liberties and an overwhelming desire to retain political office. Moreover, it was his regime that served as a model for the ensuing Chun Doo Hwan (Chon Tuhwan) regime and its authoritarian rule, along with the seemingly systematized corruption that plagued South Korean politics in the decades that followed.

Parker, Sir Harry [United Kingdom and Korea]

Party for Peace and Democracy [History of Korea; Politics]

Patriots' and Veterans' Affairs, Ministry of [Government and Legislature]

People, Korean
Biographies (see under individual name)
Cultural Asset System
Cultural properties
   art galleries (see also under each art gallery)
   libraries (see also under individual library)
   museums (see also under individual museum)
Culture (see Society)
Names (see Names, Korean)
Population (see Population)

In order to determine the origins and descent of a race, it is necessary not only to consult relevant documentary records, but also to collate the findings of scholars in a wide range of fields, including anthropology, archaeology and linguistics. However, difficulties remain in clarifying the origins and descent of the Korean people due to insufficient research in these areas. The Korean race belongs to the Mongoloid group, whose unique characteristics (including high cheekbones and double eyelids) are thought to have developed as adaptations to the cold climate in the region around Lake Baikhal in Siberia. The original Mongoloid group can be further divided into two subgroups which are both physiologically and linguistically differentiated. The first of these two groups is variously known as the Palaeo-Siberians, Palaeo-Asiatics or Palaeo-Mongols, while the second is known as the Neo-Siberians or Neo-Mongols. However it remains unclear when this division occurred. What is known is that these groups further divided into numerous races, and that the Neo-Siberian group later came to comprise two broad linguistic groups, the Ural and the Altai. It is considered probable that the Korean language belongs to the latter group, due to certain features which are common to Korean and other languages in the Altai group, such as vowel harmony, agglutinative grammar, and the absence of consonant clusters. Although Korean possesses certain structural differences from other languages in this group, such as
its honorific forms, it is thought that these constitute unique developments which probably occurred after the language had branched off from its Altaic roots. It can therefore be concluded that the Korean people constitute a branch of the Altaic subgroup of Neo-Siberians.

The regions to the south of Lake Baikal are characterised by forest and grassland which extends through Inner and Outer Mongolia as far as the Great Wall of China and eastward into Manchuria. The forests of north-eastern Manchuria continue south into the Korean Peninsula. It is considered that similarity in ecological conditions facilitated early southward movement of various Mongoloid peoples, and it is estimated that this movement took place during the period between the latter part of the Fourth Ice Age and the following ice age, leading to the spread of Neolithic and Bronze Age culture throughout the above regions. It appears that Neolithic culture was introduced into the Korean Peninsula through two routes, one extending into the western and southern parts of the peninsula from southern Siberia and western Manchuria and the other extending into the north-eastern part of the peninsula from eastern Siberia via the Amur basin and eastern Manchuria. Ceramic artifacts of the former type are characterised by pointed or rounded bottoms and by a half-egg shaped structure, while those of the latter type are identified by this flat bases. Although it is estimated that Palaeo-Siberians introduced Neolithic culture to the Korean peninsula, almost no fossil evidence has been found to confirm this hypothesis.

Bronze Age culture subsequently spread throughout Mongolia, Manchuria and the Korean peninsula during the Karasuk period. Daggers, spears, chisels, bronze buttons are among the artifacts that have been discovered, which date from both the Mongolian and Manchuria-Liaoning (Yoryŏng) Bronze Ages, however, differences exist between items from these two regions. These differences, such as the development of a lute-shaped dagger in Manchuria, are thought to be a result of the different living patterns of peoples in each region, nomadic in Mongolia and agricultural in Manchuria. The Korean Bronze Age was a direct extension of that of Manchuria.

Although belonging to the same Altai group, the physical characteristics of the Koreans differ in certain respects from those of the Mongol or Tungus peoples. The short, high skull of the Koreans is less rounded than that of the Mongols, and differs markedly from the medium to long skull of the Tungus, the latter thought to be a product of interbreeding with the Palaeo-Siberians during the period of southward migration from Siberia. Branching off from the Altai group, the Korean people moved south to settle in the region around the north-eastern part of the Great Wall, and in Manchuria and the Korean Peninsula, coming to form a distinct ethnic unit. Farming activity commenced along the aluvial plains of numerous river basins; increased agricultural activity led to the further development of Bronze Age culture; and village-based state structures came to be established. The most prosperous among these, Ko Chosŏn (Ancient Chosŏn), succeeded in creating an alliance of several states. Korean mythology and folk rituals are derived from the traditions of Siberian shamanism, and similarities between Korean folk culture and those of the numerous races of Siberia represent evidence of historical links between these peoples.

**Philosophy**

Confucianism (see Confucianism)
Early philosophers (see Confucianism)
Shirhak School (see Shirhak)
Tonghak (see Tonghak)

**Photography**

Photography was introduced to the Korean peninsula c.1870, by American, British and French soldiers, engineers, and cultural missionaries. Lieut. J.A. Bull (USN), Percival Lowell, Isabella Bird-Bishop, Constance Tayler, and Leonie Cuvillier were among the
Korea's earliest photographers include Kim Yongwŏn, Chi Unnyŏng and Hwang Ch'ŏl. The name of Chi Unnyŏng is particularly significant for the period, as he was commissioned in 1884 by King Kojong to take the royal portraits. Outside the court circle, cameras, equipment and film were too expensive to be in regular use. Portrait photography began to flourish, however, from 1895 following the enactment of legislation to force Korean males to remove the traditional topknot. Portraits were in demand to record their traditional appearance, before the barber's scissors were applied. In early 1900, several hundreds of people visited the Ch'ŏnyŏn-dang Photo Studio to have their photos taken.

When Japan annexed Korea in 1910, many Japanese photographers came into the country as well, and significant photos were taken by these early contributors, too. It is still unknown, however, who took two crucial photos used in A Century of Japanese Photography. The photo of the Korean crown prince in 1907 standing reverentially next to the Japanese Resident-General is one of these; the other is the image of several hanged Korean demonstrators from the March 1st Independence Movement of 1919.

After Korea's liberation in 1945, more Western photographers went to Korea - especially during the Korean War (1950-1953). Joining American photojournalists like David Douglas Duncan and Margaret Bourke-White in Korea, were 'photo legends' like Britain's Bert Hardy, who captured the only images of the Battle of Inch'on, on 15 September 1950, to be published (by Picture Post Magazine). ROK Army photographers also served meritoriously during that conflict, as did North Korea's soldier-photographers.

Since 1960, the best photographers of Korea have made names for themselves at home and abroad. One of the leading photographers ever to work in Korea, and a native of Seoul, is H. Edward Kim. Mr. Kim worked for 'National Geographic' from 1967 to 1985, during which time he became the first America-based photojournalist to be allowed into North Korea in the post Korean-war era. He also contributed to, or singlehandedly wrote and photographed essays on South Korea for that magazine. Mr. Kim has won a number of prestigious awards, including various honours from the University of Missouri, 'Pictures of the Year' competitions and the White House competitions. Today, he publishes 'Seoul Magazine', a picture journal similar to America's 'Life Magazine'. He also has published a number of excellent photobooks - including 'Korea: Beyond the Hills', 'The Family of Dolls', 'The Korean Smile', and 'Decade of Success'. Other recent native-born photographers of note are: Joo (Chu) Myŏng (who was born in North Korea and whose book 'Korean Traditions - As Seen Through Paper Windows' is a landmark of documentary photography in Korea); T'aewŏn (Tony) Chŏng (formerly chief photographer for the UPI and Reuters news agencies in Seoul); Yim (Im) Hyangja (a great abstract pictorialist as well as being president of Time Space Inc. in Seoul); and Young-im (Yŏngim) Kim, a leading abstract photographer and exhibiter in Korea during the 1980s (and now a leading documentarian in New York City at work on a series of photobooks, entitled The Korean Community in New York), to name only a few of the most prominent since 1960.

Other leading photographers who were born in Korea and have worked there include: Limb Eung-Sik (Im-Ungshik) - the renowned Korean architectural photographer; Edward B. Adams (the grandson of missionaries and the head of an international school in Seoul, as well as the author of several exemplary photobooks on Korea); and Dr. Bong-Oh Cha (erstwhile Professor of Political Science at the University of Ulsan and an exhibiting Korean-American photographer).

Although very little has been written about the earliest Korean photographers in the English-language media, documentary trends from the late nineteenth c. have been reinforced over
the years, with a good sampling of abstract work added-in more recently. The influence of Russian and Japanese photo-artists has been most profound in the latter case; while the influence of Western academic, governmental, and news-gathering organisations has been a leading influence in the documentary outlook of many Korean photographers, especially in South Korea, down to the present day.

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D Marcou

Pibyŏnsa tŭngnok (Records of the Border Defence Council)

Pibyŏnsa tŭngnok is a massive chronological record of the Pibyŏnsa (Border Defence Council) of the Chosŏn period. This work encompasses the years from the reign of Kwanghae (1608-1623) to 1892 in the reign of King Kojong (r. 1863-1907). There are 273 volumes in this hand-written work.

The Pibyŏnsa was established in 1510 during the reign of King Chungjong (r. 1506-1544) and was designed to defend the nation from foreign invasions. Originally, the Council focused on the defence of Korea’s northern border, but this changed as the situation surrounding Korea transformed over the years. The records before 1616 are not extant as many were lost in the 1592 Japanese Invasion. Further records were lost in the subsequent Manchu Invasion of 1636. Each volume in this collection represents a chronology of one year. However, many individual volumes have been lost and since only one copy was made each year, it was not possible to replace these.

Pibyŏnsa tŭngnok is a valuable record from the Chosŏn period that reveals many aspects in the structure, operation and activities of the Pibyŏnsa. This military organization played a crucial role in the defence of Chosŏn, and therefore this historical record provides much data concerning events in the nearly three-hundred years that it covers. This work was converted to standard ‘block’ Chinese characters and re-issued as a twenty-eight volume work in 1959-1960 by the Kuksa P’yǒnch’an Wiwonhoe (National History Compilation Committee). The original version of this work is presently stored at the Kyujanggak Library.

Piryu [Mythology]

Pisŏsŏng [Library]
Piwon (see Architecture)

Plants (see also Korea)

As a result of the Korean peninsula's north-south orientation and the topographical variations, there are major differences in temperature and precipitation which result in a considerable variation in the types of flora. The mean temperature variation in the course of the year is from 5 deg. C to 14 deg.C, with precipitation ranging from 500 to 1 500 millimetres. From sea level to the 2 744 metres of Mt. Paektu on the northern border of Korea, a diversified floral region exists. Consequently, there are some 4 200 kinds of plants growing in Korea, with 407 of these not found outside the peninsula and the islands of Korea. Of these 407 endemic species, eleven are of the fern family, sixteen are gymnosperms and the remaining 380 are angiosperms.

Sub-Tropical Zone Flora

The area in which sub-topical flora is present in Korea is restricted to the southern coastal regions and the many islands in this region, including Cheju, Ullung and Sokhuksan. In particular, Cheju Island is home to a large number of species including some seventy broad-leaved evergreens, like *Camellia japonica* L. (*tongbaek namu*); *Cinnamomum camphora* Sieb. (*nok namu*); *Quercus myrsinaefolia* Bl. (*kashi namu*); *Neolitsea aciculata* (Bl.) Koidz. (*saedogi*); and *Citrus aurantium* var. *daidai* Makino (*kwang kyu/*). Cheju has unique herbal plants such as *Pollia japonica* Thunb. (*nado saenggang*) and *Crinum asiaticum* var. *japonicum* Bak. (*munjuraran*), as well as broad-leaved deciduous trees like *Elaeagnus submacrophylla* Serv. (*k'un pori chang namu*). The southern coast of Cheju and the southern slopes of Mt. Halla are home to an even greater number of sub-tropical plants. Some of Cheju Island's flora is also found on other Korean islands, including *Elaeagnus submacrophylla* Serv. (*k'un pori chang namu*).

**Dilling Island**, which is located at 37° 30' north latitude, also has a considerable number of sub-tropical plants, including small plants such as *Daphniphyllum macropodum* Miq. (*kulgori*); and broad-leaved trees like *Ilex integrata* Thunb. (*kamt'ang namu*); and *Aucuba japonica* Thunb. (*shik namu*). The temperate conditions which prevail on the Korean islands, allow for the distribution of sub-tropical species as far north as Taech'ong Island, which is off the coast of Hwanghae Province These plants, whose seeds are distributed largely by sea currents, include *Camellia japonica* L. (*tongbaek namu*); and *Neolitsea sericea* (Bl.) Koidz. (*ch'amshik namu*).

Temperate Zone Flora

The temperate zone accounts for the largest portion of the Korean peninsula. The mountainous terrain of Korea provides excellent locations for the deciduous broad-leaved trees such as *Quercus acutissima* Carruth. (*sangsuri namu*); *Quercus aliena* Bl. (*kalch'am namu*); *Quercus serrata* Thunb. (*cholch'am namu*); *Carpinus tschonoskii* Max. (*kaesöö namu*); and *Fraxinus rhynchopylla* Hance (*mulp'ure namu*). There are also many bush-like species including *Forsythia koreana* Nakai (*kaenari*); *Rhododendron mucronulatum* Turcz. (*chindallae*); *Rhododendron dauricum* L. (*san chindallae*); and *Rhododendron yedoense* var. *pokhanense* (Lev.) Nakai (*sanch'ölchuk*). Herbaceous plants found in Korea include *Miscanthus sinensis* Anderss. (*ch'omoksaer*); *Calamagrostis arundinacea* (L.) Roth (*silse p'ul*); *Chrysanthemum zawadskii* var. *latilobum* Kitamura (*kujol ch'o*); *Platycodon grandiflorum* (Jacq.) A. DC. (*toraji*) and *Melampyrum roseum* Max. (*kkotmyónãiri pap p'ul*). Endemic to Korea are *Abeliophyllum distichum* Nakai (*mísöö namu*); *Hylomecon hylomeconoides* (Nak.) (*maemi kkor*); *Aconitum chiisanense* Nakai (*chiriha kkor*), and others.
Arctic Zone Flora

At the higher elevations, quite a broad range of flora exists. Typically-found species in the mountain ranges include needle-leaved varieties such as *Abies nephrolepis* Max. (*punbi namu*); *Abies koreana* Wils. (*kunsang namu*); *Thuja koraiensis* Nakai (*nunch'ukpaek*); *Pinus pumila* Regel (*nunjat namu*); *Juniperus chinensis* L. (*hyang namu*); and *Taxus cuspidata* S. et Z. (*chumok*). Deciduous plants found at the higher levels include, *Quercus mongolica* Fisch. (*shin gal namu*); *Quercus dentata* Thunb. (*ttokkak namu*); *Chosenia bracteosa* Nakai (*ch'aeyang podul*); *Betula platyphylla* var. *japonica* Hara (*chajak namu*); *Salix myrtilloides* L. (*chinp'ori podul*); and *Syringa dilatata* Nakai (*susu kkotn tari*). The bush-like *Echinosophoro koreensis* Nakai (*ikaeniisam*) is endemic to areas of high elevation in Hamgyŏng and Kangwŏn provinces, and *Sasa coreana* Nakai (*shinidae*) is found in the northern regions of Hamgyŏng Province, and this represents the northern limits for members of the bamboo family. Endemic herbal plants include, *Hanabusaya asiatica* Nakai (*kiimgang ch' orong kkot*) found in the northern areas of the country and *Rheum coreanum* Nakai (*changgun p'ul*) in the Mt. Paektu area in the northernmost reaches of Korea. Major species of the northern forests are *Picea koraiensis* Nakai (*chongbi namu*); *Pinus koraiensis* S. et Z. (*chat namu*); *Abies holophylla* Max. (*chot namu*); *Abies nephrolepis* Max. (*punbi namu*); and *Picea jezoensis* Carr. (*kamunbi namu*).

An examination of the plants of some areas reveals changes in past climatic and geographical conditions. One such plant is the * Vaccinium uliginosum* L. (*ttidtchuk namu*) which only grows on the summits of Mt. Halla on Cheju Island and the highest mountains in Kangwŏn Province, thereby revealing that it is a relic species which has remained in these locations from earlier, and colder, times. *Empetrum nigrum* var. *japonicum* K. Koch (*shiromi*) is found only on the peaks of the northernmost Korean mountains such as Mt. Paektu and the southern summit of Mt. Halla on Cheju Island, which tends to support the claim of some scholars that the mainland and Cheju Island were connected in the distant past. Moreover, *Diapensia lapponica* var. *obovata* Fr. Schm. (*tolmaehwa namu*), is present only on Mt. Halla and some Japanese mountains, which suggests the Japanese archipelago and Cheju Island may have once been part of the same land mass.

Flowering Periods

July, being the hottest month, is the peak of the flowering season for most plants, although there are many that bloom at different times in either the spring or autumn. Spring-flowering plants include *Forsythia koreana* Nakai (*kaenari*); *Rhododendron mucronulatum* Turcz. (*chindallae*); *Lonicerapraeflorens* Batal. (*olgoebul namu*); *Fraxinus rhynchophylla* Hance (*mulp'ure namu*); *Ginkgo biloba* L. (*unhaeng namu*); *Iris rossii* Bak. (*kakshiput kkot*); *Pulsatilla cernua* Thunb. (*tkaniinip halmi kkot*); and *Viola mandshurica* W. Becker (*chebi kkot*). Summer-flowering plants include, *Paeonia japonica* Miyabe et Takeda (*paek chagyak*); *Paeonia lactiflora* Pall. (*chôk chagyak*); *Paeonia suffruticosa* Andr. (*moran*); *Iris ensata* var. *spontanea* (Mak.) Nakai (*kkot ch'angp'o*); *Lilium concolor* var. *partheneion* Bak. (*hanûl nari*); *Lilium hansonii* (Leichtl. (*sômmal nari*); and *Anemone narcissiflora* L. (*param kkot*). There are many others. Plants that flower in the autumn include, *Miscanthus sinensis* Anderss. (*ch'amôksae*); *Miscanthus sacchariflorus* Benth. (*murôksae*); *Sedum aizoon* L. (*kanûn kirin ch'o*); *Gentiana scabra* var. *buergeri* (Miq.) Max. (*yongdam*); *Elsholtzia splendens* Nakai (*kkot hyangyu*); and *Chrysanthemum zawadskii* var. *latilobum* Kitamura (*kuchôl ch'o*). The winter-flowering *Camellia japonica* L. (*tongbaek namu*) grows on Cheju and other southern islands.

Bibliography

Pogak Kukchon  (see Iryŏn)

Pogil Island

Pogil Island is situated off Korea’s southwestern coast, about 18 kms. southwest of Wando Island. Administratively, the island is part of Nohwa Township in South Chŏlla Province’s Wando County. The island covers a total area of 33 sq kms. and has only a small population (5,481 in 1985). Due to the warm currents off the coast, the area’s weather is characterised by mild temperatures. The temperatures swing is considerable, from an average of 0.1°C in January to 25.3°C in August. Annual rainfall averages 1,398mm, but the island’s snowfall is minimal.

Only 12.4 per cent of the island is arable land. Most of this grows rice, barley, bean, sweet potato, garlic, radish, and other vegetables. The island has a commercial fishing fleet of the order of 225 boats. Fish catches include anchovy, Spanish mackerel and sea bream. Divers bring in abalone along the coast and there is also oyster farming.

Dolmen on nearby Nohwa Island indicate that Pogil Island was probably inhabited during the early Iron Age. In later times, however, the island was desolate due to frequent attacks by Japanese pirates. In 1667, Yun Sŏndol (1587-1671), styled Kosan, moved to the island along with his family and retainers. Yun built a residence as well as landscaped ponds and gardens, naming the new settlement Puyŏngdong (Lotus Village).

Yun had earlier raised an army to fight the Qing invaders. When he learned that the king had surrendered to the enemy, he was deeply disappointed and thus decided to abandon all worldly concerns and to leave for Cheju Island. After two days on the water, Yun’s ship anchored at Pogil Island, where he rested and acquired fresh drinking water. Impressed with the great beauty of the Pogil, Yun decided to stay.

Yun gave poetic names to many of the island’s famous spots such as Misan (Beautiful Mountain), Oundae (Five Clouds Hill), Toktŏngdae (Solitary Lamp Heights) and Sŭngnyongdae (Rising Dragon Heights). He constructed his residence, Naksŏjae, on the northern side of the island. One kilometre from the area, he created a grotto which he named Tongch’ŏn Sŏksil (Eastern Heaven Stone Chamber). Much of the information about Yun and the early history of the island comes from his work Kosan Yugo (Posthumous Manuscript of Kosan).

Pohanjae chip  (Collected Works of Pohanjae)

Pohanjae chip is the collected works of the Chosŏn scholar-official, Shin Sukchu (1417-1475). This work, which is titled after the pen name of the author, consists of seventeen volumes in four fascicles and is a wood-block printed work. It was first published in 1487 by the Royal Library but this edition is no longer extant. The oldest edition presently surviving is the one published in 1645. It has also been reproduced in recent years.

The contents of this work are quite varied and include various types of writing, poetry, records of the author’s travels and memorials to the throne. Pohanjae chip also contains prefaces written by such prominent literati as Sŏ Kŏjong, Hong ùng and Kim Chongjik among others. This work is historically significant since the author was a high-ranking government official during the cultural zenith of Chosŏn, and therefore his writings provide insight into the composition of the upper classes and the court at this time. A copy of the 1645 edition of this work is now kept at the Kyujanggak Library.
Pohyŏn Mountain

Situated in North Kyŏngsang Province on the border of Yongch’ŏn and Ch’ŏngsong County, Mt. Pohyŏn (1 124 metres) is part of the Chungang Mountain Range. Since the mountain actually consists of a set of ridges, it is also known as the Pohyŏn Mountain Range. The area supports a large number of rare plant species. Many chestnut trees once grew here, but these were all cut down during the Second World War. Pŏmyŏng Temple lies to the south of the mountain. An interesting legend surrounds the founding of the temple. A woman’s husband was dying of a terminal illness. In desperation, the woman gave her husband some wild ginseng that she had found on the mountain. When her husband was miraculously cured, the woman donated her entire fortune to have a temple built on the very spot where she had found the rare herb. In addition, the Pŏphwa and Chŏnggak Temple sites are located at the mountain’s western base.

Politics  (see also History of Korea)

Constitution

The ROK has a democratic political regime based upon a separation of powers, and a presidential system of government. The constitution provides for the independence of the executive, legislature and judiciary, and a framework of checks and balances. Presidential elections must be free and competitive, and the president's term of office is limited to a single period of five years. The constitution guarantees the right of all citizens before the law, freedom from arbitrary detention, and freedom of residence. The constitution also establishes certain economic and worker rights, including the right to own property, the right to work, freedom of choice of occupation, the right to a fair wage, fair compensation, and free collective bargaining.

There have been nine amendments to the constitution during the ROK's history since it was initially promulgated by the first session of the National Assembly on 17 July 1948. The first two amendments occurred during the First Republic, on 7 July 1952, giving the legislature the right of no-confidence in both a cabinet system and a bicameral legislature; and on 27 November 1954, abolishing any limit on the presidential term of office. During the Second Republic, there were two more amendments: on 15 June 1960, providing for the introduction of a bicameral legislature and a cabinet system of government to replace the presidential system; and on 23 November 1960, to provide for an exception to the principle of no retrospective punishment. (This amendment was aimed at allowing punishment for those found responsible for rigging the previous presidential election).

In the period covered by the Third Republic, amendments five and six took place. These occurred on 17 December 1962, when the presidential responsibility system was resurrected; and on 21 October 1969, when the two-term limit on President Park Chung-hee's presidency was abolished, allowing him to stand for a third term, and the National Assembly was extended and its members permitted to serve on the cabinet concurrently. During the Fourth Republic, there was the seventh amendment, of 27 December 1972, which provided a legal foundation for the introduction of the Yushin system. The eighth amendment was introduced on 27 October 1980, to lay the legal foundations for the establishment of the Fifth Republic. It called for a reduction in the President's powers in favour of a strengthened National Assembly and judiciary, and for limits on the President's term of office to one seven-year term. On 27 October 1987, the ninth amendment was made, giving birth to the Sixth Republic.

The revised constitution of 1987, meant that the President would be elected by direct popular vote, and would serve for a single term of five years. The President no longer has the powers to dissolve the National Assembly, nor to take emergency measures, unless of a financial nature. It stipulated that the National Assembly sessions be extended from ninety
to one hundred days, and that the legislature should have the right to examine all aspects of state affairs on a regular basis. The Assembly was also given the right to pass a non-binding motion calling for the dismissal of the Prime Minister or any member of the State Council, and to approve the appointment of the Prime Minister. With regard to the judiciary, the Chief Justice has to be appointed by the President with the approval of the National Assembly. Justices of the Supreme Court are now appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Chief Justice, with the approval of the National Assembly. A Constitution Court was established by the amended constitution, whose task it is to rule on the constitutionality of a law upon request of the courts, and to rule upon impeachment, jurisdictional disputes between the different arms of government, and other matters prescribed by law.

Guarantees of freedom of the individual, speech, the media, and of assembly have been reinforced through the prevention of censorship of these activities. As far as criminal cases are concerned, victims may attend court hearings in person to present their cases; and victims, or their families, may receive compensation from the state for injuries received, if the offender is incapable of paying. Workers' rights were guaranteed in relation to no gender discrimination, the terms and conditions of work, the payment of a minimum wage, and free, collective bargaining. Improved welfare for women, senior citizens and the young was also demanded by the revised constitution.

Political Crises

There have been a number of political crises facing the ROK in recent years, of varying impact, intensity and duration. Many of these crises have their origins in political party instability and an absence of democratic legitimacy. The elections in April 1988 for the 13th National Assembly resulted in the ruling Democratic Justice Party gaining only forty two per cent of the votes cast, with fifty five per cent taken by the opposition. The opposition included the Party for Peace and Democracy (PPD) of Kim Dae-jung, the Reunification Democratic Party (RDP) of Kim Young- Sam and the New Democratic Republican Party (NDRP) of Kim Jong-pil. This furnished the opposition with power, for the first time in the life of the ROK, to oppose government legislation, leading to a legislative impasse which almost paralysed the government, and hindered political and economic progress. This blockage paved the way for a revolutionary change in ROK politics when, on 22 January 1990, President Roh Tae-woo and the two opposition leaders, Kim Young- Sam and Kim Jong-pil, joined forces to create a new ruling party, the Democratic Liberal Party (DLP). Thus the 'one-Roh, three-Kim' four-party system was abruptly disbanded in favour of an unequal 'one Roh, two-Kim' potent alliance, versus a weak 'one Kim' opposition. This meant that the new ruling DLP had a three-quarters parliamentary majority, and the opposition's influence was suddenly decimated. Beneath this dramatic development there lurked potential sources of instability which included, first, the possibility that the democratic process might be impeded by such a conservative alliance; secondly, that the alliance might not be able to function effectively because it bore no signs of any deep-rooted unity, either ideologically, politically or strategically; third, it had the potential of bipolarising ROK politics by radicalising what opposition there was.

Throughout 1990 and 1991, the ruling DLP displayed signs of internal instability, factional infighting, and disarray, which adversely affected its operational effectiveness. In February 1991, the government was faced with the Suso housing scandal which revealed a case of extensive bribery and corruption, that led to a cabinet reshuffle and a personal televised apology from the President. In May 1991, the ROK experienced the worst popular unrest since Roh became President as thousands of students participated in street demonstrations throughout the country. This was provoked by the beating to death of a student demonstrator by riot police. The protests included demands for the resignation of Roh's government, and combined with the traditional demonstrations commemorating the Kwanju massacre. The protests were accompanied by eight recorded cases of self-immolation, some
of which led to death, thus fuelling more protests. The President was forced to replace the Prime Minister in view of the mounting disorder, and when his successor, Chung Won Shik, was assaulted by students in June, the government decided to take a much tougher line. Unlike the disturbances of 1987 which ended the Fifth Republic, those of 1991 did not have the support of the middle class. Although the DLP won a clear victory at the local elections of June 1991 for the metropolitan and provincial assemblies (564 out of 866 seats), the result confirmed the growing regionalism in ROK politics, with the DLP gaining no ground in the south west of the country.

The fragmentation and feuding within the DLP led to growing disillusionment among the electorate, with opinion polls showing a majority of the public disenchanted with politics and the political parties. This disenchantment, particularly with the ruling DLP, deepened in 1992. In January, the local elections were postponed on the grounds that National Assembly elections were due in March, and presidential elections in December. The main opposition parties, including Kim Dae-jung's newly named Democratic Party (DP) and the recently formed United People's Party (UPP), were enraged at what they regarded as Roh's moves to erode the ROK's democracy in this way. Public opposition to the DLP was made apparent at the legislative elections in March, when the ruling party suffered a humiliating reversal, losing its overall majority. From this time, the National Assembly was brought to a standstill as the opposition parties disrupted normal functioning as a continuation of their campaign against the decision to cancel the local elections. This campaign continued until August when agreement was reached over the postponed elections, and President Roh announced that he was resigning from the DLP and was forming a neutral cabinet, to make the presidential election contest a fairer one.

The factionalism within the DLP was manifested in 1991 and 1992 in regard to the presidential succession crisis. At the end of 1991, Kim Young-sam's bid to become the DLP's presidential candidate appeared precarious in view of the strained relations between him and President Roh, and the latter's preference for the candidate to be chosen by a party convention without any candidate being formally endorsed by the current President. Roh found it politically inexpedient to support Kim's candidature because Kim's years as a dissident made him highly unpopular with those in the DLP who were formerly associated with old DJP. This unpopularity existed in at least two of the factions within the DLP. Conflict within the DLP over the nomination of Roh's successor was exacerbated following the party's collapse in the March elections, for which Kim Young-sam was widely blamed. Although Kim Young-sam secured the DLP presidential election nomination in May, gaining 66.6 per cent of the vote, the decision triggered violent demonstrations in Seoul and elsewhere as thousands of students castigated Kim as being a traitor, and demanded democratic reforms and the dissolution of the DLP. In addition to popular opposition, Kim's rival for the candidature, Lee Jong-chan, declared that the vote had been rigged, and announced that he would stand for the presidential elections as an independent candidate. He later changed his mind about becoming a candidate, but announced that he had formed a new organisation called the National Alliance for New Politics. This declaration made the prospect of a split in the DLP's conservative vote, already likely because of the proposed candidature of Chung Ju-yung of the UPP, even more so. On the left, Kim's main opponent would be Kim Dae-jung. More problems of instability for the DLP were to arise in September 1992, when a group of its legislators left the party and formed the New Korea Party, which allied itself with the UPP.

In the wake of the inauguration of Kim Young-sam as President, on 25 February 1993, Kim's campaign to eradicate corruption in political and military life, has led to resignations and dismissals among top appointments made by the new President. On 8 March, President Kim was forced into making a partial cabinet reshuffle to replace ministers whose corruption had led to their departure. The December presidential election brought chaos and disorganisation to the opposition parties, as Kim Dae-jung, leader of the DP resigned; and as Chung Ju-yong later quit politics, and the UPP was dissolved.
Political Culture

The political culture of the ROK reveals an amalgam of the Chinese Confucian, native Korean, and western liberal democratic, traditions. The western democratic input is arguably stronger now than at any time in the ROK's brief history. Although the ROK officially adopted a western democratic constitution, modelled on the American formula, when it became independent in 1948, any real commitment to democratic values was noticeably lacking for many years. The institutions that formally attended the implementation of the first ROK regime never really took root in Korea, until recently. The Confucian culture predominated in ROK political thinking, and was reinforced by the Korean indigenous tradition, the key features of which were aristocratic rulers, a hierarchical societal structure, and a notable individual independence. Many of the characteristics of the Confucian and the Korean native cultures were alien to those of western democratic doctrine.

The Confucian emphasis on paternalism and authoritarianism, and on deferential relations towards others, especially superiors, based upon politeness and restraint, instead of on personal advancement and material gain, did not accord well with the notion of popular political participation and an assertive citizenry willing to challenge the system. It thoroughly opposed the idea of adversarial relations in the legislature, and in political and election campaigns. Indeed, it frowned upon opposition that challenged established rule altogether. The absence of popular opposition, helped to prevent the ROK's democratic institutions from becoming securely established, and enabled successive leaders to continue ruling in a bureaucratic authoritarian manner. This, in turn, hindered legitimacy. In addition, the ROK's precarious international political circumstances, originating in the Korean war, and manifested mainly in a continuing confrontational relationship with the communist DPRK, meant the long-term maintenance of a vast military establishment, facilitating a direct leadership role for the military in the political arena. The ever-present external military threat, combined with a perceived need to modernise and industrialise rapidly, provided successive governments, particularly under President Park, with the justification of arming themselves with extensive bureaucratic powers.

However, in more recent times, domestic economic and social advancement and increased contact with the west, have combined to give new weight to the individualistic and competitive traits inherent in the Korean native tradition. The emergence of a large and more forthright middle class, and a successful capitalist business category, has brought with it a set of values not entirely compatible with Confucian ethics, demanding equality, fairness, justice, individual freedoms, material acquisition, personal advancement, and a right to be heard. It was in response to demands such as these, that Roh Tae-woo offered his reform package in June 1987 in recognition of the need for enhanced popular participation.

These reforms are being extended and deepened under the current leadership of Kim Young-sam, in response to the changes in Korean society that have taken place since 1987. These changes have come about as the result of domestic economic difficulties, industrial maturity, and labour shortages, which have helped to increase public political awareness and interest. This heightened political interest has been accentuated by the fall of communism in eastern Europe, and the breakup of the Soviet Union, which have altered the ROK's international environment and given her a new role to play in the world, and a new confidence. With improved popular political participation, has come a gradual public interest in the institutions of democracy. More accommodating rulers are emerging with this trend, and gradually the ROK is developing a more integrated political culture, and her democracy appears to be acquiring a degree of legitimacy.

Politics and Economic Growth
In 1962, the ROK was a backward country, with an agrarian society, experiencing extreme poverty. She had no export trade and had to rely on imports of raw materials and manufactured goods. In the period from 1962 to 1989, the ROK's economy grew at an astounding pace, from a GNP of $2.3 billion to one of $210.1 billion. During the same period, the manufacturing sector increased its share of GNP from 14.4 per cent to over 31.6 per cent; domestic savings rose from 3.3 per cent to 37.7 per cent; and the ROK labour force went from a 79 per cent engagement in the primary sector to a 70 per cent engagement in the secondary and tertiary sectors. In 1986, the ROK achieved a surplus in her balance of payments for the first time.

This spectacular economic success story was not accompanied by a similarly remarkable advance in the institutionalisation of democracy in the ROK. Indeed, the opposite was the case, with economic development spearheaded by a determined and ruthless authoritarian elite, under the leadership of President Park Chung-Hee, which took over management of the mobilisation and allocation of capital, supervised the apportioning of projects to private businesses, and kept the work force under tight control. The state did not, therefore, itself assume ownership of the means of production, but it was able to promote the export-led economy that it intended through the deft use of incentives, the granting and withholding of resources and capital, and state guidance. In these circumstances, the ROK underwent rapid economic advancement unhindered by labour problems, and in the absence of any middle-class pressure to liberalise or democratise. The lack of an assertive independent bourgeoisie willing to challenge the regime, arose because the business and managerial stratum of ROK society was located in the government-supported chaebol. The success of the ROK form of state-planned development was assisted by the presence of a number of factors, such as, a homogeneous social structure and a work force keen to achieve economic advancement; a single-minded and resolute leader; a relatively well educated society and, capital.

However, as a consequence of this, the ROK experienced a high degree of imbalance in its societal development, with stunning economic progress, unattended by any commensurate political and social advances. By the mid-1980s, the ROK had a pluralist, well-educated society, that sought individual freedoms, rights, and political participation, commensurate with its economic achievements. The Roh Tae-woo constitutional and other reforms of June 1987 were made in response to opposition demands for change, and with the establishment of the Sixth Republic, authoritarian governments came to an end in the ROK. As a consequence of the Roh reforms which gave the work force greater freedoms and rights, and in view of the American pressure on the ROK to liberalise her economy, and open it up to competition, the ROK economy began to slow down after 1989. It experienced slower growth, high inflation and deteriorating balance of payments as imports grew. The GNP fell to 6.7 per cent in 1989 from the 12 per cent level of previous years. The growth rate of the manufacturing sector dropped from 18.8 per cent in 1987 to 3.7 per cent in 1989, and the export growth rate dropped from 36.2 per cent in 1987 to 2.8 per cent in 1989. In 1991, economic growth showed some signs of recovery, but most of it was attributable to a growth in domestic demand. That year, consumer prices rose by 9.3 per cent, compared with an average of 2.5 per cent between 1984 and 1987. The balance of payments deficit was $8.7 billion compared to a surplus of $4.6 billion in 1989. In 1992, GNP dipped to 5 per cent, the balance of payments deficit was $4.5 billion. and the consumer price index rose by 4.5 per cent.

The gradual implementation of democracy in the ROK since 1987, has not had a directly beneficial effect on the economy. Import liberalisation and market deregulation have not combined to sharpen the competitiveness of ROK products, as was anticipated. It has been widely felt that the moves towards democracy and the higher levels of per capita income, have together contributed to an erosion of the ROK's competitiveness in global markets before new institutions could be created to promote competitiveness using a highly-skilled and sophisticated work force. To address the recent problems of rising inflation and wages, and growing consumerism, the current ROK administration is attempting to control internal
demand; and to stimulate investment in technological innovation, plants and equipment, both to make ROK products more competitive, and to enable the ROK to manufacture the goods that she currently imports; and to encourage foreign investment in hi-tech industries. These aims are set forth in the government's recent 100-day economic-revitalisation scheme.

Politics and Integrated Rural Development

When the ROK came into existence, until the early 1960s, agriculture was the most important sector in the ROK economy. There were two land reform programs in 1948 and 1950, and these were followed by the establishment of cooperative movements and community development programs. Under the first land reform program, implemented by the US Military Government, farmland covering 199,000 hectares was taken from the colonial Japanese and sold to 505,000 tenant farmers, fairly cheaply. Under the second reform program, implemented by the ROK government, 601,000 hectares of farmland was purchased from landlords and sold to 1,166,000 farmers. These reforms had a marked impact on land distribution and altered the class structure in the countryside, as the landlord class disappeared and the number of owner-farmers increased greatly. This restructuring provided a suitable foundation for the agricultural renovation of the 1960s and 1970s. However, the government of the ROK did not give the necessary support to the new owner farmers to enable them to maintain their new ownership; many then fell into poverty and this impeded the agricultural renovation programs of the 1980s.

In the ensuing years, after 1962, successive ROK governments concentrated on achieving economic growth through development strategies that focused upon the manufacturing sector. As far as the rural sector was concerned, the policy was to try to maintain the rural population at an optimal level, by encouraging development of the countryside, and by improving the agricultural economy. In particular, ROK governments strove for rice self-sufficiency. The rural transformation program of the 1970s, initiated by President Park Chung-hee, concentrated on rural mobilisation, the provision of agricultural credit, through cooperatives, a guidance system associated with agriculture and extension services under the Office for Rural Development, and the New Community movement (Saemaul Undong) aimed at implementing extensive farm and village improvements, all under very rigid bureaucratic control. The program did help to improve the lot of the countryside, much of it through self-help schemes, but the large degree of government pressure, political interference, evidence of widespread corruption by those administering the program, and the fact that rural incomes actually declined in the 1970s and 1980s vis-a-vis those in the urban areas, engendered much opposition to the program in the countryside, and it had to be dropped in the late 1980s. It also helped to contribute to the pronounced degree of rural alienation in regard to government policies that still exists because of the perception that governments have not focused their activities and resources upon the welfare of the rural sector in a committed way, that the people in the countryside have been discriminated against, and that no governmental effort has been made to discover rural attitudes to its policies. It was not until 1986 that the Tenancy Management Act was eventually passed. This legislation, and accompanying support schemes were really only designed to help expanding farms, and did not address the welfare needs of the poor and the retired. Other wider support plans to alleviate rural poverty have been proposed but never implemented.

Despite the agricultural restructuring programs over the past three decades and the rise in farm household income in the same period, relative poverty is a matter of growing concern in the early 1990s, with the rural sector still suffering from relative under development, and with the slowing down of the growth of the farm sector. Much of this recorded poverty is to be found amongst the landless rural poor, or those with land under one hectare in size. Although poverty in the agricultural sector has been reduced since the 1960s, its continuing
prevalence has much to do with the relative neglect of the countryside compared to the urban areas, under ROK regimes, and the fact that a huge development gap now exists between the rural and urban areas, as a consequence of the unbalanced development strategies of the 1960s and 1970s. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, agricultural and rural restructuring was used to bolster industrialisation by providing cheap food and labour for the cities and towns. Once this was achieved, support for the agricultural sector was largely withheld. This policy of giving preferential treatment to the urban population over the rural population has meant that people in the rural areas now often suffer from poor housing and road and transport facilities, a lamentable sewage and water supply system, a defective secondary education system, and an inadequate agricultural infrastructure. All of this has led to a mass migration of youngsters from the countryside to the urban areas, leaving a serious employment problem in the agricultural sector. While farm productivity has increased in recent decades, the agricultural industry is now finding sustainability hard and this is not helped by increasing foreign pressure on agricultural markets.

The rural sector now badly needs a sustained development program if it is to thrive. The extent of political alienation in the countryside resulting from the authoritarian, inflexible, and corrupt rural reform programs of the 1970s and 1980s suggests that the government would be foolhardy to adopt that approach again. In order for it to promote a program that attracts widespread support from the countryside, it will have to be one that encourages political allegiance and trust and popular participation, and it will have to be much more democratic in nature than before.

**Political Parties**

In the period from 1948 to 1986, the ROK had experienced over a hundred political parties. Most of these, and their successors have not enjoyed longevity, or made much of a political impact. Their ephemerality has often been due to the fact that they have sprung up as the result of a personal following. Those that have lasted longer have frequently been constrained by their restricted constitutional role and because institutionalisation of the party in the political system has been weak.

Between the April 1988 parliamentary elections and January 1990, the ROK had a competitive four-party political system for the first time its history, as the elections bestowed on the opposition collectively, the power to block government legislation. The four parties consisted of the conservative, Democratic Justice Party (DJP), which was the ruling party; the centrist Party for Peace and Democracy (PPD), led by Kim Dae-jung, the centre-right Reunification Democratic Party (RDP), led by Kim Young-sam, and the right-wing conservative New Democratic Republican Party (NDRP), led by Kim Jong-pil. However, the strength of the opposition rendered the National Assembly's legislative powers impotent and, following a period of political manoeuvring, a new ruling party, the Democratic Liberal Party (DLP), came into being in January 1990, after the leaders of the former DJP, RDP and NDRP agreed to a merger into one single party. This gave the new ruling party three-quarters of the seats in the National Assembly. It also radically altered the traditional format of deeply hostile government versus opposition relations. In fact, the opposition was drastically emasculated by this development, and following the poor showing of the opposition PPD in the local elections, when it only gained nineteen per cent of the votes, and the DLP won forty nine per cent, its leader Kim Dae-jung decided to try to unite all elements of the antiwar opposition. In April 1991, the PPD merged with the small New Democratic alliance, to become the New Democratic Party (NIP). In September 1991, the NIP merged with the small Democratic Party, to form a new group called the Democratic Party (DP), led by Kim Dae-jung and Kim Eui-taek.

In January 1992, a new party was launched, the United National Party (UNP), which later was renamed the United People's Party (UPP), presided over by the chairman of the Hyundai industrial group, Chung Ju-yung. This was a conservative party created to defend
the interests of big business in the face of attempts by Roh's leadership to reduce its powers. This introduced the three-party system and set the stage once again for pluralistic competition, especially given the poor showing of the ruling DLP in the National Assembly elections of 24 March 1992, and the UPP's success.

With Roh Tae-woo's announcement that he was resigning from the DLP, and forming a neutral cabinet, in September 1992, members of the two factions of the DLP that were opposed to Kim Young-sam's presidential candidacy, began leaving the DLP. By this time, Kim Young-sam's rival in the DLP for the presidency, Lee Jong Chan, had set up his own conservative party, known as the National Alliance for New Politics, and some of those who had recently resigned from the DLP, joined this new party. At the presidential election on 18 December 1992, Kim Young-sam won forty two per cent of the votes cast. The failure of the opposition candidates led Kim Dae-jung, leader of the DP, to resign, and the UPP leader to leave politics. The UPP was subsequently disbanded. The ROK now has two main parties. Thus, political party stability still remains somewhat illusive.

Origins of the Political System

The Japanese surrender in 1945 did not bring Korea the independence she had so long desired. Instead, it was the prelude to a divided peninsula in political and ideological conflict with itself, as the 38th parallel divided North Korea, under Soviet occupation, from South Korea, under American occupation. In the three years from 1945 to 1948, South Korea was ruled by the US Army Military Government. On 15 December 1945, Korea was placed under the trusteeship of the four major powers, the US, the USSR, Britain and the PRC, supposedly as a provisional step to unite the country under democratic rule. However, the division between the two countries on the Korean peninsula was only accentuated as the Soviet Union and America each imposed her own political system on the area under her control. In 1948 two ideologically opposed governments were established in North Korea and South Korea. The Republic of Korea was given a democratic presidential system of government, founded upon the US model, based upon the separation of powers. On 10 May 1948, the ROK held her first general election. The first National Assembly began functioning on 31 May, and by 17 July, a constitution had been drawn up. On 15 August, the government of the ROK was officially established, and Syngman Rhee was the ROK's first President. However, the strong emphasis placed upon democracy was soon found to be much too optimistic for a country that had never experienced democratic institutions or values, that had to come to terms with the remaining vestiges of Japanese colonial rule and a ravaged economy, together with the close proximity of an extremely hostile state which was continually threatening to undermine the ROK's existence.

The withdrawal of the American occupation forces in 1948, and the ensuing communist inspired Cheju and Yŏsu-Sunch'ŏn rebellions in the ROK, in the same year, in which 30 000 people were killed, helped to smother democracy in the ROK, and provided considerable ammunition to the new President's growing autocratic rule and to the suppression of democracy. During the course of the First Republic, almost all democratic principles, such as the freedoms of assembly, the press, speech; and individual rights, were all suppressed. The executive dominated the judiciary and the legislature; the Prime Minister's position was abolished; all opposition was eventually silenced as the result of the extension of the pernicious and pervasive National Security Law. This ruthless authoritarianism only increased with the turmoil, emanating from the severe social and economic dislocation as a result of the Korean War (1950-1953). In the face of mounting hostility from the public, the President indulged in further corrupt and despotic practices to maintain his autocratic military rule.

Present Day Political System

Under the present political system in the ROK which was established in February 1988
when the Constitution of the Sixth Republic was adopted, the ROK comes much closer to
the democratic ideal that was intended for her in 1948. Until now many of her formal
democratic institutions have looked fragile, and as though liable to be breached. The
separation of powers has now been strengthened, as have the checks and balances, and the
executive’s power has been curtailed as that of the legislature has been increased.
Democracy has been enhanced by the restoration of the freedom of the press, amnesty for
political criminals, and respect for the autonomy of local governments and universities.
New workers rights, including the right to collective bargaining, a fair minimum wage, and
just conditions of employment, did lead to substantial conflict between management and
workers initially, and to increased strikes and some violence, and the government
responded by replacing some of the controls that it had removed. However, this situation
has now settled down, as both sides in industry have accommodated to these reforms, and
the government has attempted to distance itself from industrial relations.

Other evidence of the growing legitimacy of the democratic system in the ROK includes the
fact that for the first time, the country has a truly civilian government; also, the National
Security Law has been greatly scaled down, and restructured to enable it to concentrate its
activities more on the movements of individuals and organisations overseas, rather than on
monitoring closely the actions of the domestic population as it did previously. Also, the
anti-corruption campaign mounted this spring by President Kim has been designed to make
the behaviour of leading political and other figures more accountable and visible to the
nation at large. As far as various aspects of economic, political and social life in the ROK
are concerned, President Kim Young-sam has called for reforms on the basis of openness
and self-regulation, with which the entire citizenry of the state will become totally involved.
The emphasis is now on the participation of all to help implement changes, rather than on
the government solely deciding policy and imposing reforms upon the nation from above.

With respect to the holding of political elections and the question of political parties, these
matters still pose some problems for the ROK’s democratic political process. The decision
not to hold an election when pledged to do so, as happened in January 1992, when
President Roh announced the cancellation of the local elections, indicates a continuing
residual misuse of democratic powers. Also, the degree of corruption and fraud that
accompanies most political elections, is illustrative of the fact that certain democratic
institutions still tend to remain something of an alien concept among leaders and led alike.
Again, the party system is not a stable one. Parties do not tend to become consolidated and
firmly established. The ROK’s political history is awash with instances of parties forming,
merging, and withering away, with ever shifting alliances and allegiances, and this is still
happening. The whole concept of a healthy opposition and adversarial politics is one with
which the ROK still has difficulty in coming to terms.

Reunification of the Two Koreas

During most of the 1980s, while the cold war was still under way, the two Koreas each put
forward a host of proposals for achieving territorial reunification and national unity. Both
sides attempted to make use of the reunification question for domestic propaganda
purposes, and there was little real incentive or desire to make progress on this score.
However, a combination of events, beginning in the late 1980s, helped to put new vigour
into the reunification issue. The two most important of these were these. First, President
Roh Tae-woo’s 'Nordpolitik', initiated in 1987, which sought to improve ROK relations
with the communist countries situated to the north: the PRC, the Soviet Union, and eastern
Europe. Second, the demise of communism among the Soviet satellite states in Europe, and
the collapse of the Soviet Union, leading to the end of the cold war. These developments
paved the way for improved relations with the ROK’s former adversaries, and eventually
the establishment of diplomatic relations between the ROK and Russia in 1990, and
between the ROK and the PRC, in 1992. In addition to this, the reunification of the two
Germanies and the two Yemens, focused attention on what should be done regarding the
Progress in the inter-Korean high level talks between both sides' Prime Ministers led, in the sixth round, to a signed 'Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression and Exchanges and Cooperation', on 19 February 1992. A 'Joint Declaration of the Denuclearisation of the Korean Peninsula' was also signed on the same day. These agreements were designed to lay the foundation for joint efforts to build mutual trust and understanding, in order to proceed thereafter to establishing peace and unity, without external interference. The South-North Basic Agreement represented an important milestone on the road to unity, because it was constructed on the mutual understanding that unification was essential for the future prosperity of the Korean peninsula, and it provided a basic formula for improving South-North relations and for achieving unification by peaceful means. However, the progress made in inter-Korean dialogue in 1991 and the beginning of 1992, was halted later in 1992 because of hostile disputes between the two Koreas regarding the matter of inter-Korean nuclear inspections, the DPRK's subsequent notice of withdrawal from the NPT, and the ROK's resumption of the Team Spirit exercise with the US, in 1993. In recent months, therefore, the reunification process has not advanced far. Other deeper problems, however, are hindering the reunification negotiations. Developments in the international political environment, particularly the DPRK's growing isolation, compounded by her economic troubles, and the problems associated with Germany's reunification, have caused P'yongyang to distance herself from meaningful talks on unity for fear that she might be absorbed as East Germany was. For Seoul, the most worrying problem is the likely cost she will have to bear if the DPRK collapses and she has to assume the burden of unifying the two countries. The signs are that Seoul will have to foot a much larger bill, relatively speaking, than the former West Germany has had to do.

In addition to what has been discussed above, both Koreas have on offer incompatible and problematic schemes for reunification. The ROK government announced the 'Korean National Community Unification Formula' on 11 September 1989. This called for an interim stage, a North-South coalition, to manage unification affairs between the two sides before unification was finally achieved. In that time both Koreas would recognise each other despite their different political systems, and work together in the interests of cooperation and common prosperity. The main problem with this formula is that it presupposes that the South will absorb the North, and it fails to give due recognition to the DPRK's current chronic difficulties.

The DPRK formula was originally for unification based upon a confederation system as a transitional measure, until full reunification was achieved. This was first put forward in August 1960, but when the plan was updated in October 1980, the ultimate establishment of a democratic confederal republic of Koryŏ meant that a confederation was to be, not a transitional arrangement, but the final form of a unified state. In March 1990, Kim Il Sung has added a related 10-point policy to the 1980 formula. The central idea behind the DPRK plan, is that a confederation should be set up initially while the present political systems of North and South remain intact. Once set up, the 10-point policy would be implemented to increase cooperation between the two separate sectors of North and South. However, the DPRK lists a number of preconditions which must be met by the ROK before the confederal public plan can be put into effect. These, in effect, mean that the South must renounce its present regime in favour of the form of regime prevailing in the DPRK. This suggests that P'yŏngyang has still not abandoned her strategic goal of a revolution in the ROK followed by the South's communisation. This can never be acceptable to the ROK. Apart from this drawback, it is impossible to see how two countries can become a unified state when both retain diametrically opposed political systems, ideologies and values.
Politics and Women

The first ROK constitution of 1948 conferred upon women the franchise and equal rights with men. But despite these legal provisions, access to higher education, and occupational successes, women in the ROK are still the victims of sexual inequality and discrimination. The basic problem is the pervasiveness of the Confucian culture which requires that women be totally submissive to men. The patriarchal nature of this culture both discriminates against women and oppresses them as well, and this practice has become more visible with the ROK's industrial and economic advances. The response of women has been somewhat ambivalent, a mixture of spirited opposition and meekness. This ambivalence has been well illustrated by the recent campaign to highlight the grievances of those involved in the 'comfort women' scandal, and to receive compensation, which gained publicity in the media, beginning in 1991. This concerned the exploitation of the women who were seconded as sex slaves to the Japanese Army during the Second World War. The fact that this issue was submerged for so long was due to women's subservience to men in Korean society, and because men in power did not wish to draw attention to the general problem of women who today are still victims of a patriarchal society's customs and mores, often experiencing low-wages and oppressive social and work practices. In a sense the 'comfort women' issue is still being played out in the sex industry that is attendant upon the American military presence in the ROK.

The 'comfort women' question was brought to the surface by three women's organisations which petitioned Roh Tae-woo before his official visit to Japan in June 1990. Before the Japanese Prime Minister Kaifu's visit to Seoul in October 1990, ten women's organisations sent letters to Kaifu demanding a confession, an apology, and compensation. Although the Japanese government played down the issue, the ROK media kept up the pressure, and in 1991, a number of documents came to light revealing details of the atrocities committed against some of these women. One of the main impediments to the demands for a full investigation however, was the acquiescence of the victims themselves, very many of whom were too ashamed to come forward. This has much to do with Confucian ethics which demand that a woman must only have sex with her husband, and that the loss of virginity by other means is considered to be a worse fate than death.

In terms of political representation, women have made very little progress. Between 1948 and 1991, only sixty one were elected to the National Assembly. Once there, women have never achieved leadership posts enjoyed by male members. For instance, none has ever been chosen to chair a standing committee where the main legislative business is conducted. When women are assigned to committees, these are ones generally associated with women's work. Although women have occasionally run for the highest offices in the land, they have not fared well. In the ROK's history, only eight women have attained cabinet positions, and on each occasion, they have been given posts associated once again with women's work, such as education, health and social welfare. In contrast, women have done much better when it comes to representation on executive branch committees which have the task of uniting government officials and civilian leaders, to assist the executive in the decision-making process.

The existence of a strong women's political movement which includes the Korean Women's Development Institute, the Korean Research Institute for Women and Politics, and the Centre for Korean Women and Politics, has worked to enhance the status of women in the political sphere. One of the main concerns of this movement is to increase the numbers of women in government. Their leaders believe that it is imperative to extend female representation to help overcome the political passivity which is given added impetus by women acquiescing in their traditional submissive role. An increase in their numbers would assist in influencing policy affecting women, and would provide role models for aspiring female candidates.
As the result of the campaigning by women's organisations, measures have been taken by the government to improve the position of women in the ROK. In 1987, a Ministry of Political Affairs II was set up specifically to look into women's status and needs, but it lacked the formal powers granted to other ministries. This ministry acts as the secretariat for the Women's Policy Review Board, deciding policies affecting women, and coordinating women's groups which represent a variety of views. In addition, reforms were made to the Family Law, in December 1989, which aimed to upgrade the woman's position in the family as a wife and mother, and to overcome some of the legal inequalities between men and women in the family relationship. In 1993, President Kim Young-sam has promised improved equality and welfare for women. However, male dominance is a continuing reality in the Korean culture, and this is mirrored in all areas of society, including the political sphere. It is very hard for women to attain positions of high responsibility, not only because of male opposition, but because aspects of the Korean culture conspire to prevent women from realising their aspirations.

Politics and the Workforce

The work force in the ROK was for many years quiescent in the face of highly authoritarian regimes which kept it under rigid control. This prevented both the growth and development of the labour movement, and the emergence of trades unions as a viable interest group capable of campaigning for workers' rights. However, the package of reforms announced by Roh Tae-woo on 29 June 1987, dramatically altered this situation, giving a dynamic impetus to the whole labour movement subsequently freed from government controls, thus facilitating a transformation of its structure and the birth of a plethora of organisations. The number of union members increased from 1 050 201 in 2 742 unions in June 1987, to 1 267 457 in 4 103 unions six months later. At the same time, union power has been extended from its location in manufacturing industry, into the domain of office workers and white collar sectors. The Federation of Korean Trades Unions (FKTU) expanded into many areas, such as telecommunications, insurance, taxis, and others, which were prohibited until the Labour Law of November 1987. With the government reforms, workers came to support actively trades unions which promised to campaign for better workers' rights and benefits, and which aimed to enhance their political participation.

Government policies have altered markedly since 1987 in the business sphere. Government interference has been reduced, and state corporatism has been abandoned. Governments now aim to foster an equidistant relationship between management and labour, encouraging both sides to compromise with one another in a spirit of harmony, thus avoiding if at all possible the tense, confrontational relationship that has been inclined to prevail between the two sides in the past. When considering the provisions of the Labour Law of 1987, the government took soundings from both sides of industry, as well as from other groups.

In the wake of the 1987 reforms, the trades unions asserted their new found freedoms, and a wave of strikes took place, accompanied by some violence and illegal actions, which disrupted industry, and subsequently led to spiralling wage costs. The government responded by clamping down on some of the disputes, arresting the union leaders responsible, and then by reinstating certain controls which are still in place today. Since that time, management-labour relations have settled down. The position of the labour force has improved, and labour organisations seek to participate in politics in a more positive manner. In 1993, after three years of economic slump, management and labour have been involved in unprecedented cooperation over negotiations for this year's wage levels, with the the KFTU and the Korea Employers' Federation (KEF) reaching a rare agreement in March on this matter, free from government intervention. Both organisations understand that unless they work together, economic prosperity will elude both of them.

President Kim Young-sam's 100-day economic revitalisation scheme calls for a diminished role for government in business relations. He would much prefer that management and
labour resolve their own differences, rather than having government resort to its former authoritarian methods to resolve them. He believes that it is not desirable for a civilian-led government to interfere in this way. However, the government is retaining some control over wage negotiations, by laying down its own wage guidelines for government employees and workers at state-owned businesses. It has also imposed limits on those chaebol currently paying their employees 1.5 times or above, the national average wage. The government wants to streamline wages of employees throughout industry to reduce upward pressure on wage demands.

S Kirby

Pohyon Temple

Pomô Temple

Pomô Temple is situated on Mt. Kûmjông in Pusan. As one of the main temples of the Chogye Order, this large temple complex serves as a major monastic training centre for Korean monks. According to the Pomôsa ch'anggôn sajôk (Record of the Founding of Pomô Temple), the monastery was founded during the reign of King Hôungdôk (r. 826-836). The king, concerned about an imminent Japanese invasion, called on Úisang, the famous Hwaôm master, for spiritual guidance. After the two spent seven days chanting to the Hwaôm Dharma protectors, the enemy ships suddenly turned and fought with each other until the entire fleet was destroyed. In gratitude, the king is said to have ordered the construction of Pomô Temple.

Since Úisang died in 702, this early record is clearly mistaken. Since the Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms (Samguk yusa) also mentions the temple in connection with Úisang, the claim that the temple was founded in 678 by oûisang after he returned from China is probably accurate. In spite of some disagreement concerning dates, the historical records and legends all indicate the temple’s early connection with the Hwaôm Sect and its function as a spiritual bulwark against Japanese invasion.

According to early records, the monastery had extensive land and slave holdings during the Greater Shilla Period. When it comes to the Koryô Period, records of the temple’s history are strangely silent. Concerning the Chosôn Period, it is known that the temple was burnt down during the Hideyoishi Invasions (1592-1598) and rebuilt in 1602 only to burn down again. In 1613, the temple was again reconstructed. In the years that followed, the monastery continued to expand, recapturing its earlier splendour.

At present, the temple houses a number of important artefacts. In addition to the Main Buddha Hall (Treasure No. 434) and the famous Iłchu Gate, there is a three-storey pagoda (Treasure No. 250) from the Greater Shilla Period, a 2.62-metre-high stone lantern from Shilla and an altar painting of Vairocana Buddha that dates from Chosôn. Accessible via the Seoul-Pusan Expressway, the temple is a popular destination for tourists throughout the nation. In past years, the temple has also been the site of the national ordination ceremonies for Chogye monks.

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Ponghwa County

Situated in the northern part of North Kyôngsang Province, Ponghwa County is comprised of the town of Ponghwa and the townships of Myôngho, Mûrya, Pôpchôn, Pongsông,
Sangun, Sokp’o, Soch’on, Ch’unsan, Ch’unyang, Ian, Chungdong, Ch’ongni, Hwanam, Hwadong, Hwabuk and Hwasŏ. With Mt. T’aebaek (1 567m), Yŏnhwa Peak (1 053m), Mt. Kuryong (1 346m), Mt. Samdong (1 178m) and other peaks of the T’aebaek Mountain Range rising in the north and Mt. Omi (1 071m) and Mt. Piryong (1 129m) standing in the east, the county is the most mountainous area in North Kyongsang Province. As an inland mountainous region, the county’s weather is characterised by cool temperatures and an average annual rainfall of 988mm.

Due to the area’s rugged terrain, only about 12 per cent of the land is arable. Of this, two-thirds is used for growing dry field crops such as millet, corn, beans, potatoes, red peppers, ginseng, jujubes and alpine vegetable varieties. In the mountainous areas, medicinal herbs and mushrooms are cultivated. In Sŏkp’o Township’s Taehyŏn Village, there is Korea’s largest lead and zinc mine, and another mine in Soch’on Township’s Punch’ŏn Village produces high-quality minerals. In Pŏpch’ŏn Township, gold is mined in Popch’ŏn Township, and there is a zinc refinery in Sŏkp’o Township’s Sŏkp’o Village.

With both the T’aebaek and Sobaek mountain ranges running through the area, the county boasts a large number of scenic areas. Mt. Ch’ŏngnyang Provincial Park is one of the county’s top tourist destinations. With gneiss cliffs and picturesque gorges, the mountain attracts visitors throughout the year. Within the park, one finds eight caves and the scenic Kwanjang Waterfall. There are a number of Shilla-era temples in the park, such as the Ch’ŏngnyang, Kakhwŏ, Ch’wisŏ and Hongje temples. Pyŏkch’ŏn Valley in Sŏkp’o Township is another beautiful area, which is famous as a habitat of the yolmo (Brachymystax lenok), a fresh water fish of the salmon family. Other popular tourist sites include Ojŏn mineral springs in Murya Township, P’yŏngch’ŏn Cave in Soch’on Township and Hoegok Cave, a limestone cave located in Ch’unsan Township.

As well as natural beauty, the area boasts a number of interesting historical sites. In addition to the Buddhist relics on Mt. Ch’ŏngnyang, there are a number of stone statues and pagodas scattered throughout the county. In Pongharga’s Sŏdong Village, there is a three-storey pagoda (Treasure No. 52). Inside the structure, 99 clay replicas of the pagoda were discovered. There are a number of old Confucian schools in the area, including In’gye Sŏwŏn, Munsan Sŏwŏn, Och’ŏn Sŏwŏn, Tan’gye Sŏwŏn, Togye Sŏwŏn, Tongmyŏng Sŏwŏn, Munam Sŏwŏn, Mun’gye Sŏwŏn, Toyŏn Sŏwŏn and Sanmye Sŏwŏn, which was founded in 1588 in Ponghwa. All of these schools were closed down when Taewŏn gun abolished all but 47 of the nation’s sŏwŏn in 1871. The area’s first modern educational institution was Kwangsong School, built in Ch’unyang Township’s Uiyang Village in 1910.

**Pongjong Temple**

[Architecture]

**Pongsŏn Temple**

Pongsŏn Temple, one of the main monasteries of the Chogye Order, is located in Nam Yangju in Kyŏnggi Province. Tanmun (National Master Pŏbin) founded Unak Temple at the site in 969; however, by the reign of King Sejong (r. 1418-1450), the dilapidated temple had to be demolished. When King Sejo (r. 1455-1468) died, he was entombed near the site. In 1469, Queen Chŏnghŭi therefore built another monastery there to look over the king’s grave, calling it Pongsŏn Temple. The large bronze bell (Treasure No. 397) still found at the temple was also cast at this time. In 1551, the monastery was designated a head temple of the Doctrinal sect (Kyojong). During this time, the temple served as a leading educational institution for monks and laity until 1592 when it was completely burned down in the Hideyoshi Invasion (1592-1598). In 1593, the temple was rebuilt by Nanghye, only to be burnt down again during the Manchu Invasion of 1636. A year later, Kyemin rebuilt the monastery. Further repairs were made in 1749 by Ujŏn.
In the following years, Pongson Temple continued to function as a leading administrative centre. When Korea’s temples were reorganised in 1790, the temple was put in charge of all the temples in Hamgyông Province. In 1848, the temple was once more repaired. In 1902, when Korean temples underwent another reorganisation, the monastery became responsible for all the temples in Kyŏnggi Province. A decade later under the temple regulations announced in 1911, the monastery was designated as one of Korea’s thirty-one main temples (ponsa). At this time, the monastery continued its tradition as a leading educational centre. In 1926, the abbot Wŏlch’o restored the temple and built the Samsŏng-gak (Three Sages Shrine). However, the entire temple was once more destroyed by fire during the Korean War. Beginning in 1956, the temple was slowly rebuilt, becoming the monastery that is seen on the edge of Seoul today.

The temple has continued to be a leading force in making the Buddhist teachings accessible to the common people. The present Main Buddha Hall was the first in Korea to use Korean letters (han’gul) on its plaque. In addition, both a han’gul and Chinese character edition of the Lotus Sutra has been embossed on bronze tablets which line all four walls of the Main Buddha Hall. In spite of its tragic history, the temple still has several important artefacts, including an altar painting of the Seven Stars which was done in 1903 and a newly constructed, five-storey stone pagoda. The pagoda houses some of the Buddha’s sarira which were brought from Sri Lanka in 1975. There is also a stupa, set up in 1981, that contains remains of the monk Uhho.

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Population (see also Korea)

South Korea had a population of 45.2 million in 1996 and a density of 455 persons per square kilometre. Anticipating moderate growth South Korea’s population is expected to reach 46.8 million in 2000 and 49.7 million in 2010. By 2020 South Korea’s demographic transition will have been completed — 100 years after it commenced. (North Korea had an estimated population of 23.9 million in July 1996.)

Demographic transition — Mortality:
Korea's transition from high to low mortality commenced around 1920 and proceeded until the 1940s. (Between 1909 and 1944 Korea's population increased from 10 million to 25 million.) Although disrupted by liberation from Japan, political separation and the civil war (1950-53) the transition has continued in South Korea since 1960. Increasing life expectation at birth has stemmed from improvements in mortality stemming from the extension of primary health care to rural areas, increases in the quality and accessibility of medicare, better nutrition, and provision of clean water. The death rate has declined from 12.1 per thousand in 1960 to 6.7 in 1980 and 5.9 in 1996. The targets for life expectancy in 2000 is 70 years for males and 74 years for females. Infant mortality is expected to be 15 per thousand. (North Korea's death rate in 1996 was 5.5 deaths per thousand the infant mortality rate was 25 per thousand.)

Fertility

The transition from high to low fertility has been much more rapid than mortality. Until 1960 the birth rate was stable at 40 births per thousand people every year because there was little or no population control.

The successful incorporation of population control into five-year economic planning since the introduction of the National Family Planning Program in 1962 led to a decline in the birth rate to 30 per thousand in 1970 and 16 per thousand in 1985. Measures included financial incentives to encourage a one-child family and sterilisation after the first delivery, mobile family planning clinics targeting high risk groups (e.g. young people with limited education, the urban poor and remote rural residents). Exemption from the education allowance tax is limited to the first two children. The success of these measures resulted in the total fertility rate declining from 6.0 births per woman in 1960 to 2.1 births per woman in 1985. Thus, by the mid-1980s population had reached replacement level. By 1996 the total fertility rate has declined to 1.6 births per woman. (North Korea's fertility rate in 1996 was 2.3 births per woman.)

South Korea's population growth has declined from 3 per cent in 1960 to 0.88 per cent in 1996. Assuming the current level of fertility between 1.5 or 2 per cent Korea has reached below replacement level. Zero population growth will not be attained before year 2020 because of the dynamics of age-structure effects. (North Korea's population growth rate in 1996 was 1.74 per cent)

The proportion of those 14 and under declined from 42.3 per cent in 1960 to 22.6 per cent in 1996 and will continue to decrease with declining fertility levels. The share of those between 15 and 64 has increased continuously from 54.8 per cent in 1960 to 71.6 per cent in 1996. A peak of 72.2 per cent is expected in year 2000 after which the proportion of those between 15 and 64 will decline slowly. Conversely, the proportion of those over 65 have increased from 3.8 per cent in 1970 to 5.8 in 1996. In 2000 those over 65 will account for 6.8 per cent. By year 2020 those over 65 will have tripled to 20 per cent. (In North Korea 30 per cent of the population was aged between 0-14 years; 66 per cent between 15 and 64 years; and 4 per cent over 65 years.)

Measures have been implemented to assure the long-term care of the aged include a national pension system implemented in 1988 to cover all those between 18-60 years not previously covered. Although there has been a gradual decline in the extended family in South Korea the elderly still turn to their family for support. Living arrangements for the elderly reflect available economic resources dictated primarily by the cost of housing. Often their resources have been depleted by spending on their children's education, extravagant weddings and early retirement.

International migration
Before the Second World War when Korea was part of the Japanese Empire, Koreans emigrated predominantly to Manchuria and Japan. After the war these destinations were superseded by the United States. Before 1965 the number of Korean-Americans, however, was negligible. After the Immigration and Naturalisation Act 1965 there was an influx of Korean immigrants to the United States.

There are now an estimated 5 million Koreans living abroad (2.7 million in Asia, 1.7 million in North America and 0.5 million in Europe). Permanent Korea residents in China total 1.7 million, Japan 700,000, Russia 500,000 and the United States 1.5 million. Most of those in China are concentrated in the three north-eastern provinces of Heilongjiang, Jilin and Liaoning; those in Japan in Osaka, Nagoya and Kobe; and those in the former Soviet Union in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan having been forced there from Vladivostok by Stalin's regime in the 1930s.

Since 1988 emigration from the Republic of Korea has been factored into population projections at 40 000. During the 1980s there was an outflow of temporary workers to work on construction sites in the Middle East but these activities have tapered off. The government has been concerned about a 'brain drain' and has required trainees to return home for a specified period. Immigration has not been a major concern in the Republic of Korea (though illegal Chinese immigrants are increasingly seen as a problem). There are no significant ethnic minorities in the Republic of Korea.

During the 1990s the absence of surplus labour in rural areas led to the introduction of 100 000 guest workers from Bangladesh, China and the Philippines. An estimated 50 per cent are staying illegally in Korea. Most guest workers are Koreans from China engaged in low paying work in factories and restaurants. (No international migration was recorded for North Korea in 1996.)

Spatial distribution

Rapid industrialisation since the 1980s has brought about marked changes in the distribution of settlements. In 1960, 28.0 per cent of the population was urban. Following further rural-urban migration the urban population had doubled to 57.8 per cent in 1980 and further increased to 74.4 per cent in 1990 — a trend leading to an increase in one-person households in rural areas. The number of cities had increased from 12 in 1945 to 74 in 1996. Of these, 68 were local cities and six were metropolitan areas — Seoul, Pusan, Taegu, Kwangju and Taegon.

Metropolitan growth has been focused on Seoul and Pusan. Seoul city increased from 2.4 million in 1960 to 10.8 million in 1994 (approximately 25 per cent of the national population). Its 600 sq. km area had a density of 17 836 per sq. km making it one of the densest cities in the world. Although population has continued to increase in Pusan there has been an absolute decline in Seoul — a reflection of high real estate prices. However, Seoul's sixteen satellite cities have experienced marked population growth as have those around Pusan. Seoul's daytime population is probably between 14 and 15 million. Metropolitan Seoul has more 40 per cent of South Korea's total population and Pusan and Kyongsang has 18 per cent. Thus, almost three-fifths of the population is concentrated in the two major metropolitan areas.

The primacy of Seoul and the imbalance between urban and rural areas have led to government initiatives to curb the growth of both Seoul and Pusan and to stabilise the urban hierarchy. Tax incentives have been offered industries to relocate from Seoul; satellite cities created (including Pudang and Ilsang on the outskirts of Seoul); new industrial centres planned as part of the Third Comprehensive National Land Development Plan, 1992-2001; educational facilities improved in non-urban areas and services in smaller cities; and government offices relocated away from Seoul. Greater employment opportunities have
been provided in regional centres and resettlement allowances offered the urban poor. Net migration to the metropolitan areas has declined sharply since the 1980s. Most inter-provincial migrants, however, have been attracted to the Kyŏnggi province surrounding Seoul.

A relatively new phenomenon has been recognition of an urban corridor between Seoul and Pusan. Besides Seoul and Pusan, three of Korea's four other cities with populations over one million are located in this Kyŏngbu Corridor — Inch'on, Taegŏn and Taegu. Another fifteen cities have populations over 200,000. Stretching 400 km, this corridor has an urban population of 26 million. The backbone of this corridor is provided by the Seoul-Pusan expressway. This will be strengthened when the fast rail system is completed. (Most people in North Korea are concentrated on the plains and lowlands with the least-populated regions being the mountainous Chagang and Yanggang provinces adjacent to the Chinese border.)

Status of women

Improvements in the status of women have been recognised by government as part of its policies to meet its demographic targets. Traditionally, preference for male children has been prevalent in Korea. Coupled with ultrasound techniques, female abortion has created a social problem as there is now a significant gender imbalance in rural areas. Reduced preference for sons has been one of the government target's to enhance the status of women.

Women with one child who accept sterilisation are eligible for welfare assistance and housing loan priorities. Since 1983 job opportunities have been made available to women under the Labour Standard Law that were previously reserved for men. Provisions have been made for maternity leave, more nurseries are being provided and the family law has been revised to enable women to become head of the family and eliminate discrimination against women in property inheritance. Twenty years is the minimum legal age for women at marriage.

North Korea

Little is known either about the population dynamics of North Korea or its urban system. There is evidence of a high rate of urbanisation and a high proportion of non-agricultural population. P'yŏngyang has a population of over one million and eight small and medium-size cities are located in an embryonic corridor development between Kaesŏng and Shinŭiju.

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P.J. Rimmer

Port Hamilton (see Kŏmun Island)

Poryŏng

Situated in the southwestern part of South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province, Poryŏng is comprised of the town of Ungch'ŏn and the townships of Namp'o, Misan, Sŏngju, Och'ŏn, Chugyo, Chusan, Chup'o, Ch'ŏnbuk, Ch'ŏngna and Ch'ŏngso. Recently formed by combining
Taech'ŏn City with Poryŏng County, the city covers an area of 559.71 sq. kms. The southwestern tail of the Ch'aryŏng Mountain Range runs through the area, and near the coast, these mountains give way to plains. Within the city’s boundary are over 80 small islands including Wŏnsan Island and Oeyŏn Island. Administratively, most of these are part of Och'ŏn Township.

The city area has about 17 400 hectares of arable land. Over half of this grows rice, and the remainder dry-field crops. Fishing also makes an important contribution to the local economy. Boats operating out of local ports bring in catches of yellow corbina, hairtail, sea bream, shrimp and shellfish. Salt flats are established along the coast. In the south and northwest, there are many coal mines which produce over 1.4 million tons of coal annually.

Poryŏng offers a diverse range of scenic attractions including both coastal areas and mountains. The most popular beaches are Much'angp'o Beach in Ungh'ŏn and Wŏnsando Beach on Wŏnsan Island. Mt. Osŏ (791m) in the northeast and Mt. Sŏngju (680m) in the east are two of the most visited mountains. Mt. Sŏngju (Sage Residence) gets its name from the ancient spiritual adepts who once lived there. According to records, Muyŏm (799-888) returned to the area in 845 after 30 years of training in Tang China. After Muyŏm died on the mountain at Ohap Temple, the temple’s name was changed to Sŏngju Temple, after which the mountain is named. This famous temple was one of the ‘Nine Mountain Sŏn Centres’ (Kusan Sŏnmun) of Greater Shilla and early Koryŏ. Although the temple is not extant, there are several relics at the site including a stele commemorating Nanghye (National Treasure No. 8); a five-storey pagoda (Treasure No. 19); three three-storey pagodas (Treasures No. 20 and 47 and South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 26); a stone lantern (South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 33); a stone staircase and a standing Buddha image. Paegun Temple and the Sŏngju Coal Mine are also located on the mountain.

Other Buddhist relics in the area include a stone stele holder exquisitely carved into the fanciful shape of a tortoise in Poryŏng’s Subu Village; a five-storey pagoda in Poryŏng Village; a three-storey pagoda in Kyosŏng Village; and a stupa at Tanwŏn Temple. There are several Confucian schools in the county, such as Namp'ŏ Hyanggyo south of Mt. Ongma (602m); Och'ŏn Hyanggyo in Och'ŏn; and Shinan Sŏwŏn in Namp’ŏ next to the Talshin Village Fortress. Namp’ŏ Hyanggyo was founded during the reign of T’aech’ŏng (1400-1418), repaired in 1530 and later moved to its present location. Och’ŏn Hyanggyo was established in 1901.

Local traditions are maintained by the Manse Poryŏng Cultural Festival which is held on 30 September and 1 October every year. Events at this time include the Kwangsanje (a ritual for safe and successful mining), P'ungnyŏnje (a ritual to pray for a good harvest) and P'unggoje (a ritual for a bountiful catch of fish) at Och’ŏn Harbour; a costume parade; a folk-tradition contest and athletic events.

Posŏn

Posŏng County

Posŏng County is situated in the southern part of South Cholla Province. Consisting of two towns (up) and ten townships (myŏn). The county comprises 662 sq. km of land, of which 65 per cent is mountainous and 27 per cent is flat. Branches of the Sobaek Mountain Range traverse the region which contains several mountains and numerous hills.

A number of famous nationalists hail from this area. Na Ch’ol (1863-1916), founder of an indigenous religion called Tan’gun’gyo, and Sŏ Chaep’il (Philip Jaison Suh, 1863-1951), founder of the nationalist Independence Club, were from this area. An Kyuhong (1879-
1909) established a rebel army here in 1908 and fought against the Japanese, but was captured and died in prison.

During the Japanese occupation, the county was famous for its stubborn resistance to the colonial occupation. In 1922, an incident at a local hyanggyo (county public school) nearly led to a rebellion. When the Posŏng community brewed rice wine for use in Confucian rites at the local hyanggyo, a Japanese tax official ordered the wine confiscated since it represented a violation of the colonial liquor tax law. The official was seized and the community leader, Pak Namhyŏn ordered that he be killed on the school grounds. After apologies by the local police head, he was released. The next day, however, Pak and the other scholars involved were arrested. This led to a rally by locals calling for a national uprising. The Japanese, afraid of a repetition of the March First Movement of 1919, released the detained scholars and changed the liquor law to allow wine brewing for rites at hyanggyo throughout the nation. The hyanggyo, originally founded in 1397, can still be seen in the town of Posŏng.

A large portion of the county’s residents are engaged in agriculture. The area produces both rice and barley. The rice cultivated in those areas adjacent to the ocean is well known for its quality. Besides these staple crops, the area is famous as a major centre for the cultivation of Korean tea. With a climate and soil ideally suited for tea plantations, Posŏng produces 80 per cent of Korea’s total tea output. Red peonies are another local specialty crop. The roots of the flower are used as a traditional herbal medicine. The area also produces beans, sweet potatoes, persimmons, chestnuts, cotton and hemp. Fishing contributes to the local economy. Boats, operating out of the area’s small harbours, catch shrimp, oysters and anchovies, and collect seaweed.

Although the area has a number of scenic areas, the local tourist industry is relatively undeveloped. The county has several old Buddhist monasteries, including Mt. Ch’ŏnbong’s Taewŏn Temple. Originally founded during the Shilla period, the temple houses several regional cultural assets including Kŭngnak (Paradise) Hall and a stupa commemorating National Master Chajin. There are several other important Buddhist relics in the area, including a seated stone Buddha figure (South Cholla Tangible Cultural Asset No. 122) in Pungnae Township, and a five-storey pagoda (South Cholla Tangible Cultural Asset No. 141), a seven-storey pagoda, and the Wŏllim Temple site (founded in the Koryŏ period) in Nodong Township. Near Hoech’ŏn Township, there is Yulp’o Beach - the county’s only beach area.

**Pou**

Pou (1301-1382), styled T’aego, was born Hong Pohŏ in Hongju. He was ordained when he was about twelve years old, becoming a disciple of Kwangji at Hwaŏm Temple. In his later teens and twenties, Pou travelled around Korea, visiting famous teachers. Through his twenties, he meditated on the Sŏn (Zen) case, ‘The myriad things return to one. What does the one return to?’ He pursued the case for a decade until he achieved awakening around 1338. Five years later, he achieved great enlightenment as he contemplated the enigmatic response ‘No’ to the question, ‘Does a dog have Buddha nature?’ Three years after his great enlightenment, Pou went to Chunghŭng Temple in Hanyang (modern-day Seoul) and began to teach. He was a popular Sŏn master who drew large crowds of students.

In 1346, Pou went to Daguan Temple in the capital (modern-day Beijing) of Yuan China. A year later, he headed for South China to meet famous masters who were residing there. He had hoped to meet the famous Zhuyuan, but the master died before Pou arrived. Pou therefore went to see another well-known Sŏn master, Shiwu. When Pou showed him some of his writings, Shiwu was greatly impressed. After a detailed dialogue, Shiwu formally recognised Pou’s enlightenment. Pou stayed with Shiwu for another month.
before returning to the Yuan capital where the emperor recognised his accomplishments by giving him a golden robe.

Pou returned to Korea in 1348 where he lived for four years by farming. In 1352, King Kongmin (r. 1351-1374) ordered Pou to the capital. After giving the king advice on cleaning up government and restoring Buddhism, Pou eventually returned to Mt. Sosol. Another royal invitation came in 1356. At this time, Pou was invested with official regalia and was designated Royal Preceptor. During this period, Pou, while fulfilling his role as leader of the Buddhist establishment, attempted to unify the various Sŏn sects. As a standard for Sŏn communities, he advocated the Pure Rules of Baizhang, which, among other things, advocated that monks engage in self-supporting labour.

In 1357, Pou asked for permission to leave the capital. When he was refused, he secretly left. However, King Kongmin summoned Pou again in 1362. After four years of service, Pou requested, and was granted, permission to leave. A few years later, the monk Shindon became close to King Kongmin. Shindon used his position to amass a great deal of wealth while attacking his enemies.

In 1368, Pou travelled to Ming China. Shindon, claiming that Pou was plotting sedition, persuaded the king to take away all of Pou’s honorary titles and have him defrocked. However, the king pardoned Pou in the following year, allowing him to return to Korea. With the demise of Shindon in 1371, Pou again rose to the rank of National Master. In 1382, Pou returned to Mt. Sosol where he died.

Through his example as a Sŏn Master who refused to be moved by fame or politics, Pou has had a tremendous influence on Korean Buddhism of the Chosŏn and modern period. In fact, virtually all later lineages of Korean Sŏn claim to descend through his branch of the Linjì Lineage. Pou wrote several works and letters. Many of his sermons and poems are recorded in the T’aego chip. His stele stands at the site of T’aego Temple on Mt. Samgak.

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Poŭn chip

Poŭn was the style of Chŏng Mongju (1337-1392), the author of this collection of poems and other literary works. It consists of about 300 poems and ten other prose works. Some of the poems throw light on the diplomatic relations of his day. The original collection was in four volumes and included poems, miscellaneous writings, calligraphy, and annals. An additional collection was in three volumes. The whole collection was published nine times during the Chosŏn dynasty, between 1533 and 1900, and was included in the Yŏgye myŏnghyŏn chip published in 1961 by the Taedong Cultural Research Institute of Sŏnggyun’gwan University.

Poŭn County

Situated in North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, Poŭn County has the town of Poŭn, and the townships of Naebuk, Naeongni, Maro, Sanoe, Samsŭng, Suhan, Oesongni, T’anbu, Hoenam and Hoebuk. Covering an area of 599.66 sq. kms., the county had a population of 66,031 as given by 1988 statistics. Poŭn County consists of a mountain-locked basin surrounded by the Sobaek and Noryŏng mountain ranges. Poch’ŏn Stream, a tributary of the Kŭm River, flows through the area, and Taech’ŏng Lake occupies the county’s southwest corner. With an average temperature of 11.2c. there is a wide seasonal variation,
from an August average of 23.6c. to a January average of minus 6.3c. The county has an average average rainfall of 1249mm.

Of the county's 13,000 hectares of arable land, slightly more than half grows rice and the remainder dry-field. The marked differences between day and night temperatures makes the county ideally suited for jujube cultivation, with more than 3.5 million tons of this date-like fruit produced each year. Other products include tobacco, persimmon, edible fern, mushroom and sericulture.

With a minimum of industrial development, the county's natural environment has remained relatively free from pollution. The key tourist attraction is Mt. Songni, which was designated as a national park in 1970. With its picturesque hiking trails and the magnificent Popchu Temple, the park is visited by more than a million people each year. The temple houses numerous ancient artefacts including an exquisite stone lamp supported by two lions. Carved in 720, the lamp has been designated National Treasure No. 5. Other relics found here include a large bronze bell, a seated Buddha in relief and an enormous iron cauldron, cast in 720 C.E., which was used to cook rice for the 3000 monks who resided at the temple during its heyday. In the middle of the temple grounds, one finds the five-storey P'alsang-jŏn (Hall). The prototype for this spectacular structure was first built in 553 when the temple was founded, and the present structure was built in 1624, making it one of the temple's oldest wooden buildings. Until 1986, a 27-metre-high concrete statue of Maitreya overlooked the monastery, but the statue began to crack and had to be demolished. It has been replaced with a 33-metre-high bronze statue made of the cast metal. Sitting atop a gigantic stone base containing a ground level shrine, this new statue was completed in 1989, at a cost of about US$4,000,000. There is a 5-kilometre-long hiking trail leading from the temple to the 1,033-metre-high peak known as Munjangdae. From here, a commanding view of the surrounding area can be had.

The county has a number of historical sites associated with Chosŏn. At the southwest entrance to Mt. Songni National Park, there is a 600-year-old pine tree known as the Grade Two tree. Legend has it that the tree raised its limbs to allow King Sejo (r. 1455-1468) to pass under. The king honoured the tree by giving it an official appointment. Other important sites include Paekpongsa (a shrine in honour of Yi Ch'ŏn'yŏe) in Po'ŭn's Sansŏng Village and Sanghyŏngsa (a shrine in honour of U T'ak, U Kilsang and U Hyŏnbo) in Hoebuk's Aegok Village. InPo'ŭn's Kyosa Village, is Po'ŭn Hyanggyo, a Confucian school founded during the reign of King Sejong (r. 1418-1450).

Practical Learning (see Shirhak)

Printing (see Publishing and Printing; see also Science and Technology)

Protectorate Treaty, 1905 (Ŭlsa choyak) [Japan and Korea; Economy]

Proverbs

Proverbs are found all over the world and Korea is no exception. They are part of the spoken language and provide an insight into the effects of cultural conditions, language and local variations on expression. Speakers of a language use its proverbs -- like its phrasal idioms, collocations, and lexical items proper -- in certain regular ways with certain meanings. Proverbs are consistently described as self-contained sayings with the following elements: pithy or pregnant in meaning; traditional expressions or items of knowledge which arise in recurring performances; didactic tendency perhaps expressing an injunction in social behaviour or transmitting facts of experience; and the notion of a fixed form recognisable as such to members of the linguistic community.

It was from the compilation of Ŭu yadam (Ŏu's Unofficial Histories) or Tongmun yuhae
in mid-Chosŏn that the word for proverb, soktam, came to be used in Korea. But it is known that proverbs were spoken and heard well before mid-Chosŏn and this can be seen in historical records such as the Samguk yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms).

Korean proverbs occur in either of two basic instances. First, from a description of an historic incident, and second, as a portrayal of a general, frequently-occurring, event. The following three examples are cases that have become established as proverbs in which expressions concerning a special event and which contain proper nouns have changed their meaning to now refer to a general event:

Like Prime Minister Hwang’s family sharing a skirt between a mother and two daughters
Like Cho Charyong using an old sword.
One cannot be forced to become governor of P’yŏngyang.

A proverb comes to reflect the true countenance of a society’s language only after it has moved from an individual position to its conclusion as a social, literary and general expression. While in the process of social settlement a proverb will often partially change its meaning, or evolve into a completely different phrase. The proverb of ‘Minister Hwang’s spoiled egg’ evolved from the Chinese phrase of, ‘The egg has bones’, which then changed to, ‘There is a bone in the egg, too’. The proverb of, ‘Kulwŏn dances with himself’ went through the middle stage of, ‘As a serpent (kurōngi) dances with itself’. and then became a completely different expression, ‘As a serpent goes over the wall’. The first example occurred when the Chinese character for ‘bone’ (kol) was transcribed by the phonetic han’gül writing system, and in the second example the change happened when the name of the ancient Chinese poet Ju Yuan (Kor. Kulwon) changed into a lexical item with a similar pronunciation, kurōngi.

It was commonly thought that proverbs were produced only in times long past, and nowhere near the present-day, since they reflect former lifestyles and ways of thinking and expression. The English proverb, ‘Possession is nine (or eleven) points of the law’ is a good example of this, having an obsolete legal-like origin so lost in antiquity that it defies explanation. However, there are popular sayings in Korea that have become, or are on the way to becoming proverbs. In the early part of the twentieth century, the saying

Doctors and lawyers are thieves produced by the country’

was prevalent, and this is now settled as a proverb. The often-used expression, 'Half-matchmaking and half-dating', has the distinct possibility of becoming a proverb, since it describes a common event that is a mixture of a person’s indiscriminate behaviour and another’s will, and is a happening experienced by many in Korean culture.

The structure of proverbs

Korean proverbs can be divided into long and short forms. The short version is a phrase or simple sentence which conveys a complex notion, while the long form is a compound sentence. The external shape of a proverb thus reveals a rhythmic or accidence harmony. Rhythmic harmony is accomplished by the use of rhyme, and there are many Korean proverbs that possess this quality. Here are two:

Ai ch’ire, songjang ch’ire. (Taking care of a child, taking care of a corpse.)
Param punŭn taero, mulgyŏl ch’inŭn taero (Blowing with the wind, flowing with the tide)

Other simple proverbs display the fundamental shape of traditional Korean prose. Some examples of these are:
Tongmu ttara kangnam kanda (By following his friend, one goes to Kangnam).
Pyŏngshin chashik hyodo ponda (Getting filial devotion from a crippled child).
Chan'n pôme k'o'ch'im chugi (To tickle a sleeping tiger's nose).

Those Korean proverbs displaying accidence harmony are in the form of compound or complex sentences, and which, because of their structural stability, take the so-called 'standard form'. Two examples are:

What is said in the daytime is overheard by birds, and what is said in the night is overheard by rats.
The words that come in are fine only when the words that go out are fine.

Although proverbs are often very short consisting only of three or four words, they can have a discordant structure in their meaning that is confrontational and caused by the employment of metaphor. An example is the proverb,

A monk's comb

where the components create a discordancy, and from such discord arises a figurative (metaphorical) meaning. Here, the proverb is expressed to meet a given situation. The literal meaning, of course, is a comb owned by or in the possession of a monk, but the figurative meaning is of something that is of no use although one has it or owns it. Figurative meaning can be established for many proverbs, indeed, some authorities exclude the literal statements from the class of proverbs proper, preferring traditional saying as the term covering both literal and figurative sayings.

The aggravating feature of discord in Korean proverbs is seen in the following examples,

After losing money, one gets slapped (loss 1) and (loss 2)
Whipping a galloping horse (speed 1) and (speed 2)

These proverbs have a characteristic of gradual addition that becomes magnified in their further interpretation. This characteristic of adding is coupled with relativity, and these two are important aspects of meaning discord. However, although there is discord in meaning, further meaning from the expressed words cannot be extracted, and thus the surface meaning as it stands becomes the basic meaning of some proverbs:

No child is good fortune (-happiness) is (+happiness)
The words make the speech (language 1) is (language 2)

If no meaning function is added, then such statements exist simply as statements but cannot be considered as proverbs since the figurative function is absent. However, the proverb 'No child is good fortune' carries an implied meaning of, 'there is no need to envy the children of others' in usage and 'The words make the speech' is considered to be a proverb in light of its implied meaning of, 'One should watch what he says'.

The figurative function of a proverb gains its meaning by the implication that it generally receives from society. A proverb can be said to carry its figurative function continuously because of the implied meaning of the language society that commonly uses it. In other words, when it is based on a figure of speech, it is interpreted in a surface meaning that is taken from the base meaning. Moreover, it carries a secondary additional meaning.

Korean proverbs may be seen as having two functions: that of instruction and that of satire. An example is the proverb,

Under the lamp is dark
which can be interpreted with a basic meaning of ‘things that are close are not known’. This basic meaning can be thought of as an indirect expression that implies an order, indication or warning depending on how it is used. Therefore, the eventual implied meaning of this proverb can be viewed as one of instruction. However, some proverbs cannot be used as instruction and as such have the function of satire. The proverb,

To have twelve kinds of skills but no food for dinner

illustrates this point. The basic meaning here is that having many skills does not necessarily enable one to support oneself. Yet this proverb can carry an instructional quality if, for example, it is used to caution a young person who is attempting too many hobbies. Contrary to this, if a friend who is acknowledged for his many talents asks to borrow money, the use of this proverb to indicate the friend in his absence has a sarcastic ring to it. Other proverbs, such as,

Would a single hand make a noise?
Would a chimney not make smoke?

are more likely to be used for their sarcastic function than for anything else.

Other central features of Korean proverbs are voluntariness and convenience. Popular usage is judged from the fact that the basic meaning of a proverb must surely be veracious. Since proverbs are often used, however, with the intent of being able to rationalise and adapt to daily circumstances, when comparing two proverbs side by side it is possible to express basic or implied meanings that are completely opposite:

Flour becomes finer the more it is beaten, words become tougher the more they are used
Meat is tasty when chewed, words are tasty when spoken
There is no cute part of a crippled child, getting filial devotion from a crippled child

These pairs of proverbs have different views on the same situation or circumstance, and thus each clause can be said to provide a completely opposite meaning to the other.

Commonsense and sarcasm are established qualities in Korean proverbs. Logic is disputed with ease, because of the fact that many contradictions co-exist in human society, and they act as paradigms of this. This can be reflected in the view of the nation or of religion, thus:

If he wins he is a loyal servant, if he loses he is a traitor
If he is good he is a loyal servant, if he becomes bad he is a traitor

These proverbs premise that the common people in traditional times had an objective view of political power. Accordingly, they were sarcastic, as in the following examples:

An improper yangban shouts in the market place
The calf of a great vassal’s house does not know how frightening the butcher is

These two proverbs show also that the common people placed the rulers before them as a fait accompli.

Religion, too, has its place in Korean proverbs. With Buddhism, the negative view held of this religion since late Koryo is evident in these:

Like a monk who is kicked in the scrotum runs away
A monk soaked by the rain
One does not offer a ritual to Buddha
The deduction is clear that monks were the objects of blame and ridicule rather than respect throughout Chosŏn. If there were extant proverbs concerning monks from Shilla or early Koryŏ, they would likely show the important influence that Buddhism had on the cultural development of these kingdoms. However, by late Koryŏ, Buddhism was decadent and viewed by the people as a corrupted and degenerate faith.

Data and research

The compilation of proverbs in Korea seems to have begun in the late seventeenth century with Hong Manjung’s Sunoji, which contained one hundred and twenty-four proverbs that were translated into Chinese characters. Other early collections include, Yi Tŏngmu’s Ch’ŏngjanggwan chŏnso and Cho Chaesam’s Songnam chapchi. These early collections were all compiled in Chinese characters.

The collection of proverbs in modern times, and in han’gŭl, began in 1913 with Ch’oe Wŏnshik’s work, Chosŏn iŏn, which lists over nine-hundred proverbs. Following this, in 1922, Kim Sanggi published his Chosŏn soktam which included all of the proverbs in Ch’oe’s 1913 work and a further six-hundred. The first ‘complete’ collection of proverbs in Korea was in 1940; the result of a collaboration by Pang Chonghyŏn and Kim Sayŏp. This work contains over four thousand proverbs, and bears the title, Soktam taesajŏn (Encyclopaedia of Proverbs). It served as the foundation for proverb research until the 1960s. In 1962 Yi Kimun compiled Sokdam sajon (Dictionary of Adages) which contains over 7,000 proverbs and is considered to be the embodiment of the subject since it also includes their origins and provides examples of usage. Soktam sajon is the authority for recent studies and research into proverbs and their origins. The study and research of proverbs and their usage continues to be an area that attracts much scholarly attention in Korea.

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Provinces, South Korea (see under each province)

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Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, South
Cheju Province
Chŏlla Province, North
Chŏlla Province, South
Kangwŏn Province
Kyŏnggi Province
Kyŏngsang Province, North
Puan County

Puan County is situated in the western part of North Cholla Province on the coast of the Yellow Sea. The county consists of the town of Puan and the townships of Chinsŏ, Chulp'o, Chusan, Haengan, Hasŏ, Kyehwa, Paeksan, Poan, Pyŏnsan, Sangsŏ, Tongjin and Wido. The county borders Kimje to the north, Ch'ŏngŭp to the east and Koch'ang County to the south. It covers a total area of 484.78 square kilometres, and as of 1988, the population stood at 104,602. Most of the county consists of the Pyŏnsan Peninsula. The county’s eastern area is made up of level terrain and hills under 100 metres in elevation. Kisang Peak (509m), Ongnyŏ Peak (433m) and Mt. Sŏkpul (288m) are to the west and in the north lies Ch'ŏngho Reservoir. West of the peninsula is Wi island as well as several smaller islands.

Most of the county’s arable land is devoted to rice cultivation, but dry-field crops such as wheat, beans, green vegetables, sweet potato, tobacco and ramie are also grown. Fishing is another important source of local revenue. Local fishermen bring in catches of yellow corbina, sea bream, hairtail, shrimp, octopus and clam. Salt flats are to be found along the coast.

Extensive efforts have been made to reclaim the long tidal flats along the outer edge of the Pyŏnsan Peninsula. The Kyehwa Island Project in particular deserves mention as the largest reclamation project ever undertaken in Korea. This project was originally undertaken as a means to compensate the thousands of people whose homes were submerged by water after a multi-purpose dam was constructed on the Somjin River in the early 1960s. Requiring sixteen years to complete, the project created 3,968 hectares of new land. The paddy-fields built on this land produce up to 11,000 tons of rice and 3,600 tons of other grains annually.

With several popular beaches and some interesting hiking areas, Puan County offers scenic attractions to suit many visitors. Pyŏnsan Beach and Kyŏkp'o Beach are two of the area’s top tourist destinations. Kyŏkp'o Beach, the second largest on the Pyŏnsan Peninsula, was the site of the provincial naval headquarters during Choson. The beach is surrounded by picturesque cliffs made of sedimentary rock and thus called Ch’aesŏk-kang (Painted Rock River).

In addition to its natural attractions, the area contains a number of important historical sites. In Kuam Village, there are thirteen dolmens. These are unusual in that their stone props are tall and some have as many as eight. The largest capstone of these dolmens measures 6.5 metres across. Buddhist temples in the area include the picturesque Naeso Temple (founded as Sora Temple in 633), Wŏlmyŏng Hermitage (founded by Sŏn Master Pusŏl in 692) and Kaeam Temple in Sangsŏ Township. Old Confucian schools found here include Puan Hyanggyo (established in 1414 and moved to its present location in Sŏoe Village in 1608), Todong Sŏwŏn (established in 1534), Yuch’on Sŏwŏn (established in 1652), Ongjong Sŏwŏn (established in 1694), Ch’ŏnggye Sŏwŏn (established in 1707) and Tongnim Sŏwŏn.

There are old kiln sites at Yuch’on Village in Poan Township and next to Highway 30 in Chinsŏ Township’s Chinsŏ Village. Though technically unsophisticated, works from these kilns are now thought of as valuable antiques. Pottery produced at the Chinsŏ kilns featured diverse patterns and shapes. Bowls, dishes, wine bottles and other vessels with plain patterns have been found here along with inlaid or underglazed pieces bearing peony, chrysanthemum, crane and cloud designs.

A number of traditional rituals are still performed in this area. Tae Village on Wi Island
holds the county’s most elaborate Tangsanje (a ritual to worship the guardian spirit of the mountain). The ritual begins with a Sanshinje (mountain spirit rite) on the 3rd day of the first lunar month, followed by another ritual at a shrine on a nearby cliff. The participants then descend to the village where they participate in tug-of-war and other games. Later, a Yongwangje (ritual to the Sea King) is held, and this is followed by the final event called ‘casting off misfortune.’ At this time, the village’s ‘misfortune of the previous year’ is put on a small boat, which is put out to sea and burnt.

Publishing and Printing

History

The history of Korean printing and publishing traces back to the Greater Shilla period and then made tremendous progress in both the subsequent Koryô and Chosôn periods. In the Shilla period printing and publishing developed as a means for reproducing Buddhist literature when the propagation of Buddhism was spreading throughout the kingdom. It is through this cultural context that Koreans are thought to have adopted their basic knowledge of printing and publishing from China.

The first stage of printing in Korea is found in making print copies from engraved stone. This process eventually led to printing with wooden blocks with raised mirror-image letters or drawings which made the process of printing more efficient. There have been various discoveries of stone plates such as those that were carved for the sixty-volume Avatamsaka Sutra (Yukship hwaöm kyöng) that was completed in 667 CE by the Buddhist priest Üisang at the behest of King Munmu (661-681) of Shilla. These plates were stored at Hwaöm Temple in the Chiri Mountains of Kurye County, South Chôlla Province. Other items that were used for printing in this age included the making of various types of seals and stamps that were inscribed with various symbols, personal names, names of government posts and so on.

Wood block printing, or xylography, is thought to have begun in China during the Tang Dynasty (618-907). Wood block printing presented the Chinese, and later the Koreans, a way in which to spread the teachings of Buddhism to mass audiences. Although the exact date of the first wood block printings is not known, the oldest extant example of printed material in the world is found in Korea. The Dharani Sutra (mugu chOnggwangdae tarani kyöng) was found in October of 1966 inside the second story of a pagoda at Pulguk Temple during renovation work on the site. It is a small scroll of 6.5 cm wide and 4.0 cm in diameter, and is thought to have originally been about 7.0 metres in length although only about two-thirds of this is extant. The date of this work is thought to be sometime before 751 CE when the temple was completed. The authenticity of the date of this document is confirmed by both the use of new style characters created by the Sung Dynasty Empress Wu (r. 684-705) that were in vogue during this period, and the fact that the container in which it was sealed was undisturbed and in the pattern of this era. As for other printings of the Shilla period, there are records of the making of a Tripitaka at Haein Temple during the reign of King Aejang (r. 800-809) and in addition there are records of the scholar Ch’oe Ch’iwôn (b. 857) having his poetry printed. However, these works are not extant today.

By the subsequent Koryô period, wood block printing had become further developed. Since Buddhism was the official religion of the Koryô Kingdom, many temples were built and sutras were printed in order to propagate the religion widely. However, this period was a turbulent one and there were numerous invasions by the Khitan, Jurchen and Mongols, and as a result many works are no longer extant. The oldest extant work from this period is also a dharani which is entitled Pohyopin tarani kyöng and dates from 1007.

The major publication of the Koryô period was the carving and printing of the Koreana
Tripitaka (P’alman taejang kyŏng) which was undertaken to ward off attacks of the Khitan by invoking the powers of Buddha. The first attempt to carve and publish this mammoth work was in 1011 during the reign of King Hyŏnjong (r.1009-1031). This work continued for many years and was finally completed in 1087. However, it was destroyed by the Mongol Invasion in 1231. The second edition of the Koreana Tripitaka was begun in 1236 and completed in 1251. This work consists of about 81,000 wooden blocks and is presently stored at Haein Temple.

Wood block printing in Koryŏ also included other Buddhist sutras such as the Great Wisdom Sutra (Taebanya kyŏng), Three Renditions of the Avatamsaka Sutra (Sambon hwaŏm kyŏng) and the Golden Light Sutra (Kiimgwang myŏng kyŏng), the wood blocks for all of which were carved at Hyŏnhwa Temple under decree from King Hyŏnjong. There were also books other than Buddhist scriptures produced in this age. With the implementation of the civil service examination during the reign of King Kwangjong (r. 949-975) the demand for the Chinese classics began to increase. When the demand became great enough, the government sponsored printings of various classics. In 1045 seventy copies of the Book of Rites (Yegi) were printed in addition to other classics.

The major innovation in the history of printing in the Koryŏ period was the development of movable metal typefaces. Movable type printing was first developed in China when a man named P’i Sheng of Sung China developed a method of using clay-baked type for printing in the years between 1041 and 1048. However, this type did not become widespread due to the painstaking method required for making it and the fragile nature of the type. The use of movable metal type is thought to have originated in Koryŏ and the first records point to this happening in the middle of the thirteenth c. The collection of the great scholar Yi Kyubo (1168-1241) entitled Tongguk Yisangguk chip (Collected Works of Minister Yi of Korea ) mentions that twenty-eight copies of his Sanggong yemun palmi (Compendium of Rites and Rituals ), which consisted of fifty chapters, were printed in 1234. This is over two hundred years before Johann Gutenberg invented movable metal type in Germany in 1440.

The use of movable metal type in Korea was quite widespread, and at the end of the Koryŏ dynasty an office was established by the government to supervise this and it was continued on in the Chosŏn dynasty. The use of movable metal type was undertaken in a major way in this period as a type-casting office (Chujoso) was established and cast hundreds of thousand of pieces of type in a style called kyemi cha which was named for the year in which it was made (1403). Several books were printed using the kyemi cha type and these are extant at the present time such as Tongnæ sŏngsaeng kyojŏng puksa sangjŏl and Shipch'il sach'an kogŭm t'ongyo. In 1420 a new type was created to replace kyemi cha, and this was also named after the year. Kyŏng cha was made of copper and was of a smaller size and better defined than its predecessor. This was followed by the kabin cha type in 1434 which was used as the standard type of the Chosŏn dynasty until late in the sixteenth c. There were a great many books printed in this period using movable metal type.

The use of metal type in Korea was far greater than in China and this can probably be attributed to the limited resources of Korea. China needed to print a great number of books so the expense of carving wood blocks, which could be used for a prolonged period of time, was justified. However, Korea needed to produce a far smaller number of copies of a given book, so the expense and resources required to make wood block carvings was hardly warranted. Instead, the metal type could be rearranged many times to create a great number of works. The time and expense of producing the metal type was borne by the government, but since it was a long-term investment the cost was not too great.

The Japanese Invasion of 1592 was devastating to Korea’s publishing and printing industry. The Japanese destroyed or plundered most of the existing metal type in Korea.
The Koreans created wooden type that was used until 1668 when the first casting of metal type after the invasion took place. Various other castings followed this until the end of the nineteenth c. when lead type was introduced from abroad in 1883. This type was used until the colonial period and the last work published with this type was Ch'onggu shich'o (Ch'onggu Poetry Collection) in 1914.

Modern Period Printing and Publishing

In 1883 the first Western printing presses were brought into Korea. In the following year Kwanginsa Inswae Kongsa was the first modern press established in Korea. Some of the first works that it turned out include Ch'unghyogyong chip and Nongjong shinp'yon (New Approaches to Farm Management). These works and the printing company have great cultural and historical significance since they represent the first Western-style printing in Korea.

The greatest initial impact in the development of a modern style publishing industry in Korea was through the medium of newspapers. The first newspaper in Korea was the thrice monthly Hansông sunbo which was published by the government's Office of Culture and Information (Pangmun'guk) beginning in 1883. However, this newspaper ceased publication in the next year. In 1896 Sŏ Chaep'il founded The Independent (Tongnip shinmun) which is the first modern newspaper published in Korea. Initially, this newspaper was published three times a week, but soon became a daily, and since it was published in han'gul it provided information concerning the situation of Korea to her citizens at a time when the nation was undergoing tremendous turmoil. In 1898 another newspaper, Capital Gazette (Hwangsong shinmun), followed and continued the tradition of opposing the Japanese manoeuvres in Korea and this newspaper became known for its opposition to the Japanese and the incompetent Korean government. Other prominent papers of this pre-colonial period include the Korean Daily News (Taehan mail shinbo) which began publication in 1905, the Independence News (Mansaebo: 1906), and Korea People's Press (Taehan minbo) of 1909.

After the advent of the colonial period, Japanese censorship on publications was suffocating and many newspapers and magazines were closed down. However, newspapers played an important role in that they served as not only a means to provide information to their readership, but also to introduce new literature to readers in the form of serialised novels. Works such as Hyŏl'ŭi nu (Tears of Blood) and Ch'ŏlaksan (Pheasant Mountain) of Yi Injik, An Kuksŏn's Kŭmsa hoeül rok (Proceedings of the Council of Birds and Beasts) and Yi Kwangsu's Muyŏng (The Heartless) introduced the reading public to new concepts such as free love, freedom of expression and new notions from the West in the form of these so-called 'new novels' (shin sosŏl) that were serialised in the newspapers of Korea.

In the period just before the colonial period and after its advent, publishing in Korea ran under full steam. Many publishing houses sprang up in Korea, with the majority of them located in Seoul, but also houses in Taegu and P'yŏngyang opened. This new age of publishing saw a great many novels from the Chosŏn period republished. Among these works Ch'unhyang ch'on (The Story of Ch'unhyang), Yuch'ungnyol ch'on (The Story of Yu Ch'ungnyol), Ch'ongch'on (The Story of Cho Ung) and Ongnu-mong (Dream of the Jade Chamber) proved tremendously popular with the readers of this period and all were published over twenty times. Of course, publishing did not only mean the reissue of classical era works. Many new novels also were printed and thereby acquainted the audiences with writers such as Yi Injik, Yi Haejo, Yi Sanghyŏp, An Kuksŏn and Yi Kwangsu. A main feature of this new age of publishing was the newly created relationship
between the writers, the publishers and the reading public. Works of this period were
directed at the tastes and interests of the readers, and those that were successful in this
aspect were published. Unlike in the previous age, one's social standing did not
necessarily equate to success in writing: writers now had to attract their audience.

Another major impact on publishing in this period can be found in magazines. Before the
turn of the century there were very few magazines in Korea, and none that can be
considered as such in the modern sense of the word. However, with the publishing of
Sonyŏn (Youth) by Ch’oe Namsŏn in 1908, many magazines with various themes
appeared in Korea, despite heavy censorship by the Japanese government after 1910. The
period of 1910-1919 saw forty-nine different magazines published. Notable among these
are Pulkăn chŏgŏri (Red Jacket) and the Buddhist magazine Yushim (Mind Only). After
the First of March 1919 Independence Movement, Japanese policy changed somewhat and
magazines flourished. In particular, this period witnessed many diverse publications such as
Kaebyŏk (Genesis), Ch’angjo (Creation), P’yeoh (Ruins), Shinch’ŏnji (The New
Heaven and Earth), Shin'yŏja (New Woman) and Arini (Children). These publications
introduced readers in Korea to a wide spectrum of writers in many different forms such as
poetry, essays, short stories and short novels.

Towards the end of the Japanese colonial period, the Japanese implemented their
assimilation policy that was designed to completely purge Korea of her identity. This
policy started in about 1935 and was into full swing by the late 1930s. The Japanese
banned all forms of cultural expression in Korea that could be considered nationalistic in
even the slightest degree. Therefore, newspapers published in Korean were banned
including the Tonga ilbo and the Chosŏn ilbo in 1940, along with all other Korean
language newspapers. This was followed in 1941 by the prohibition of the magazine
Munjang (Literature) and all other magazines published in Korean. At this same time the
leading members of the Korean Language Society (Chosŏn hakhoe) were jailed on
charges of trying to inspire a nationalist movement, and as a result of the imprisonment and
subsequent torture by the Japanese police, Yi Yunjae and other Korean linguists died in
prison. Novelists, poets and other writers were forced to write in Japanese if they wanted
their works published, and many of these individuals were gaoled, with some dying while
incarcerated, for opposing the oppressive colonial policies of the Japanese.

The extent of the Japanese desire to obliterate Korean culture can be seen in different
aspects. First, their prohibition on the Korean language not only extended to printed
material, but also the language used in society, education and the home. Second, they
wished to supplant Korean culture with their own and as a result propagated their own
myths concerning the founding of Japan, such as Amaterasu ōmikami, in Korea in an
attempt to replace indigenous Korean culture with that of Japan, or reveal that the two
countries were of common origin. In short, the Japanese sought to erase the essence of
Korean national consciousness and destroy the identity of the Korean people..

After being freed from the colonial yoke of Japan in 1945, the importance of the ability to
freely publish and write was of the utmost significance. This freedom to publish materials
of many types without the fetters of colonial oppression witnessed an explosion in the
number of publishing houses in South Korea. As many as two hundred new publishers
would register in a single year, and nearly an equal amount would close their doors due to
intense competition and poor management. It can be surmised that of the many publishers
that opened after liberation, for each one hundred companies that opened their doors, only
one per cent of these managed to survive. The number of books published yearly in Korea
is presently about 30 000 titles a year. Of the 29 564 titles published in Korea in
1994, books with a literary theme were the largest group (6 054), followed by reference
books (4 691), children’s books (4 389) and those concerning science and technology (3
890). In 1995, the numbers were slightly lower at a total of 27 407 titles, again led by
literature (4 771), reference books (4 691), children’s (4 163), social sciences (3 502) and
science and technology (3 155).

Publishing Industry Structure

At the root of the publishing industry structure is the relationship between the writer and the publishing company. There are many publishing companies in Korea that range from small companies to university presses, and ultimately to large publishing companies that control a significant share of the market in Korea. However, the process of finding a new writer who will appeal to a large audience is not an easy one. In order to encourage new writers, the publishing companies of Korea offer many literary prizes as incentives to aspiring writers to produce and submit their works for publication. The bulk of the literary prizes in Korea are offered by the publishing companies, although there are some that are sponsored by other organisations which do not have a financial stake in the publication of the work.

After a publishing company decides to publish a particular work, it then undertakes the task of editing the work, marketing it and finally printing and distributing it. The marketing of works has taken on increasing importance in recent years with the intense competition within the book industry. Therefore, books are often heavily promoted before they are actually delivered to bookstores through newspaper advertisements, the distribution of advertising flyers in other publications by the same company and through methods such as the dispersal of advertising in the form of free book marks and the like. All of these items create interest in a book and therefore help its saleability. Meanwhile the book is printed and distributed to a network of bookstores throughout the nation.

The publishing companies treat each book in a different manner. Books designed for the mass market are naturally heavily promoted and distributed in large quantities. However, reference, technical and academic works are not promoted in this manner. The promotion that these books are given, if any, is limited in scope to their target audience. Books are also distributed to bookstores that specialise in certain types of books. Large bookstores carry a diverse range of titles, of course, and most types of books can be found in these locations. However, smaller specialised stores do not offer the scope of works that their larger counterparts do, and instead specialise in a particular area. An example of this can be found in the bookstores often located in the vicinity of university campuses that feature many books of a political nature, yet not many general titles.

With the number of books published each year in Korea, not to mention newspapers, magazines and journals, the importance of this market is quite large from a financial aspect. Nevertheless, the impact of electronic media such as television, radio and computers has yet to be fully assessed on the publishing industry. Historically, Koreans have read a large number of books, and this can be seen in the large numbers of both publishing companies (7 381 at the end of 1992) and the number of bookstores which numbered 5 371 in the same year. However, the increased interest in electronic media among the young people of Korea today may have a negative effect on these numbers in the future.

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Eul Yoo Publishing
Hanso Ch'ulp'ansa
Hanson Toso Chushihoesa
Hollym Publishing Co
Ilchogak Publishers
Imundang
Jungeumsa
Kaebyoksa
Kumsong ch'ulp'ansa
Kyemongsa
Kyobo Publishers Incorporated
Min Jok Sa
Minjung Sogwan
Minumsa
Nanam Ch'ulp'ansa
Pangmun Sogwan
Pulchisa
Puril Ch'ulp'ansa
Samseong Publishing Co
Shinjin Ch'ulp'ansa
Shinnun'gwan
Shinyong Ch'ulp'ansa
Sisa Yongosa
Yongch'ang Sogwan
Puch’ён

Puch’ён, situated in Kyŏnggi Province, was upgraded to a city in 1973. Since that time, it has developed into one of the nation’s most populated metropolitan areas. Positioned between the port city of Inch’ён and the Seoul Metropolitan area, the city is ideally suited for industrial development. Today, its factories produce numerous items, including machinery, metalwork, electronics, chemicals, textiles, food products and glass.

In the area around Pŏmbŏk-dong, there is a large religious community formally known as the Taehan Yesu Puhŭng Hyŏphoe (Korean Community for Christian Revival). In 1957, the group erected numerous factories and schools along with over 300 houses in a rundown section of the city. Over 10 000 members of the group then moved into the newly built community, which is commonly referred to as Shinang-ch’ён (Faith Village). The residents make various products including soy sauce, caramels and blankets, bearing the trademark ‘Shion.’

In the southern part of the city, there are several educational institutions, including Sŏngshim Women’s College, Seoul Theological Seminary, Puch’ён Industrial College and Yuhan Industrial College. In addition to its colleges, the city has a total of 86 parks. In order to encourage interest in traditional culture and the arts, the city has held the Poksagol Arts Festival annually since 1985. Many art forms are displayed at the festival, including photography, traditional dance, choir music and plays.

Pugin (Northerners) [History of Korea]

Puk Cheju County

Puk (North) Cheju County is split into two areas which are situated to the west and east of Cheju City on the northern part of Cheju Island. With beautiful natural wonders and numerous sites of historical interest, the county is a popular destination for tourists visiting the island.

Several important historical artefacts are located in this area. Neolithic remains have been found in the Pille Cave in Aewŏl Township. In particular, a jawbone of a deer and a brown bear were discovered here in 1973, suggesting that humans may have lived on Cheju Island as long ago as 70 000 - 80 000 years. Other prehistoric remains, including Dolmen, have been found scattered throughout the area. As for remains from the historical era, there was once a number of stone fortresses in this area, including the Choch’ён, Myŏngwŏl, Aewŏl, Susan, Ch’agwi and Hwanhae fortresses. Little remains of most of these stone fortifications. In addition, there are several old buildings in the area, including the Yŏnbuk Pavilion and the Shrine to Layman Ch’uja. These have been designated Cheju Province Tangible Cultural Asset No. 3 and No. 9 respectively. There is also an ancestral shrine commemorating General Ch’oe Yŏng.

In addition to tourism, agriculture plays an important role in the county’s economy. Sweet potatoes, rape, beans, sesame and barley are all grown here along with a number of warm weather crops such as tangerines. Livestock and poultry also play an important role in the local economy, and there are several cattle breeding operations on the foothills of Mt. Halla. Fishing is another important source of income for local residents. Numerous small fishing boats operate out of Hallim and Ch’uja harbour.

Puk P’ot’ae Mountain

Situated on the border of North and South Hamgyŏng Province, Puk P’ot’ae Mountain rises to a height of 2 289 metres, making it the highest point of the Mach’ollyŏng Ridge.
To the south lies its counterpart, the 2,435-metre high Nam P’ot’ae Mountain. To the north-west lies Mt. Sobaek (2,174 metres) and to the south-east, Mt. Amu (1,803 metres). Due to its high elevation, Puk P’ot’ae’s summit consists of bare rock and steep precipices covered with low-lying shrubbery. The surrounding area contains Korea’s highest mountains. This region, along with the Mt. Paektu region, was formed through the third or fourth phase of volcanic activity that occurred during the early Cainozoic era. Because of its rugged terrain, high elevation and remote location, the mountain slopes remain largely untouched by development.

**Pukhagüi** (Discourse on Northern Learning)

*Pukhagüi* is a discourse written by the *shirhak* (practical learning) scholar Pak Chega (1750-?) that discusses the customs and institutions of Qing China and promotes the so-called Northern Learning (*pukhak non*). It consists of two volumes in one fascicle and was written in 1778. Northern Learning is a part of the larger *shirhak* ideology that advocated the acceptance of economic reforms and enrichment and derives its name from the contemporary trends in Qing China.

This work is also a journal of the travels of Pak to Qing and details many of the sights that he encountered while in China. Pak notes many of the modern features of the Chinese nation such as the use of tile roofs, bricks, the types of bridges and roads in addition to the structure of the Qing markets and commerce systems. The work also features the opinions of the author on how to improve the dire economic situation prevailing in Korea, namely his advocating the implementation of a variety of reforms that would allow Korea to advance both culturally and economically.

*Pukhagüi* contains descriptions of the Qing nation and its institutions under thirty separate headings, and also contains seventeen treatises of the author on what improvements Korea needs to make and how to implement these. The work is valuable for both the study of the late Chosŏn period and the ideologies of the progressive thinkers of this period. The ideological position of Pak was not popular in his own time, as the *yangban* class of Chosŏn did not, for the most part, desire any change to the status quo. Moreover, the acceptance of culture from Qing, who many deemed little more than a barbarous tribe, was also rejected wholly by this class. This work has been recently republished under the same title, first in 1962 by the National History Compilation Committee (Kuksa P’yŏnch’ān Wiwŏnhoe) and then in 1971 by Eul Yoo Publishers (Ulyu Mun’go).

**Pukhak** (Northern Learning)  
[History of Korea]

**Pukhan Mountain**

Mt. Pukhan (837 metres) is situated on the border of Seoul and Kyŏnggi Province. Paegun, the highest point, lies in close proximity to the steep Insu Peak to the north and Man’gyŏngdae to the south; hence, the mountain is also called Mt. Samgak (Three Horns). It is also called Mt. Han or Mt. Hwa (Flower), and in Shilla times, it was called Pua-ak. Many of the peaks on the mountain, such as Sŏkka (Shakyamuni), Pohyon (Samantabhadra), Munsu (Munjusri), Nahan (Arahants), and Wŏnhyo Peak, have names associated with Buddhism. Over thirty Buddhist temples are found here, including Sangun, Chin’gwon, Sŏngga, Hoeryong, Kwangbop, Munsu, Wŏnt’ong, Hoegye and Tosŏn Temples and Wŏnhyo Hermitage. In addition, the large Kugira seated Buddha in relief (594 metres high) daily draws crowds of Buddhist pilgrims who pray and chant in front of the figure.

In addition to its religious associations, the mountain has both early and recent links to Korean history. Pi (Stele) Peak gets its name from a stele (National Treasure no. 3) erected during a royal tour by the Shilla King Chinhŭng (r. 540-576). At the start of Chosŏn, the
monk Muhak (1327-1405), impressed by the geomancy of the mountain, convinced King T’aejo (r. 1392-1398) that the Seoul area was a suitable site for the founding of the new dynasty. Mt. Pukhan offered numerous advantages for the building of a capital. In addition to the area’s geomantic advantages, the mountain had many large granite precipices and steep, rocky gorges, making it an ideal barrier to invasions. In 1711, the Chosŏn government decided to fortify this natural defence by building Pukhan Fortress - an eight-kilometre stone wall running along the ridge connecting Nahan and Wŏnhyo Peak. Of the wall’s original fourteen gates, Taeso, Taenam, Taesŏng, Poguk, Taedong and Yongam Gates still remain.

Easily accessible, the mountain is a favourite tourist destination for Seoul residents who come to picnic in the valleys, hike the rugged trails, or rock climb on steep granite cliffs like those of Insu Peak. From the top, it is possible to get a good view of Seoul and the mountains that surround it. In order to preserve Mt. Pukhan’s natural resources, the area, along with the adjacent Mt. Tobong, was designated Pukhan-san National Park in 1983.

Puksŏng Hoe (North Star Society) [History of Korea]

Puktae Stream

With its origins on Mt. Turyu on the border of North Hamgyŏng and South Hamgyŏng Province, Puktae Stream flows 118 kms. to the south before entering the East Sea to the east of Tongp’yo Village in Namduil Township. In the Shinjūng tongguk yŏji sŭngnam (Newly Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea), the stream is referred to as Imai Stream, while it is called Puk (North) Stream and Puktae (Northern Large) Stream in the 1782 work Ch’ungbo munhŏn pigo (Enlarged Bibliography of Korean Materials).

The Puktae is formed from the convergence of two small creeks, one flowing down the Kanji-dong Valley southeast of Mt. Turyu, the other down the Nongsang-dong Ravine to the southwest of the mountain. After reaching Kwangch’on Township, the stream widens and sandy islets are formed. The water’s swift current means that few level areas border the Puktae. Along it, are minerals sources, including lead, magnesium and zinc.

Pulchisa (Buddha Land Co. Ltd.)

Situated in Changch’ung-dong in Seoul’s Chung ward, Buddha Land Co. Ltd. (Pulchisa) was established on 28 August 1992. With Kim Hyŏnggyun as editor, the company specialises in works related to Buddhism, Eastern philosophy and liberal arts.

Pulguk Temple [Architecture]

Pulgŭn chogŏri [Magazines]
Pulssi chapyŏn [Buddhism]
Punch’ŏng ware [Ceramics]

Puram Mountain

Located on the border of Nam Yangju and Seoul, Mt. Puram (Buddha Rock) gets its name from the rock on its peak which is thought to resemble a Buddha wearing a pointed cap. Mt. Puram’s 508-metre granite peak is connected with a lower 420-metre peak. On the upper peak, there are remains of a stone fortress. Between the two peaks lies Puram Temple accompanied by several hermitages on the mountain’s south side. Hikers frequent
the mountain to enjoy the view of Mt. Pukhan to the west of the mountain and Mt. Surak to the north.

Puril Ch’ulp’ansa

Situated in Tong Ward in Kwangju, Puril Ch’ulp’ansa is a publishing company founded on 20 June 1984. The company specialises in works of religion and philosophy.

Pusan

Pusan, South Korea’s largest commercial port and second largest city, is situated on the southeastern tip of the peninsula. The city covers an area of 749.17 square kilometres and as of 31 December 1996, had a population of 3,866,000. Mt. Kūmjōng (802 metres), Mt. Paegyang (642 metres) and Mt. Kowŏn’gyŏn run from north to south, dividing the city proper in half. The Naktong River flows past the western slopes of these mountains into the ocean. The area is warm in winter and breezy in summer, with an average annual temperature of 14 degrees centigrade.

Pusan has a long history as an international port. In 1423, it was one of the three ports opened to Japan. During the centuries that followed, the port was opened and closed several more times in accordance with the political climate between Japan and Korea. With the signing of the Treaty of Kanghwa in 1876, the port was again forced open. As the city came under increasing Japanese control during the decades that followed, the Japanese colonial administration set to work modernising the port. When the Russo-Japanese War broke out in 1904, construction of a railway was also begun in order to transport troops to fight the Russians. In the following decades, the Japanese also built wharves and further modernised the port.

When the Korean War broke out in June 1950, South Korean forces retreated to the ‘Pusan perimeter’ while U.N. forces were brought into the peninsula via Pusan’s harbour. The combined forces then successfully launched a counter-attack. During the three years that the war lasted, Pusan served as the nation’s temporary capital. Deceased soldiers from sixteen U.N. allies are now honoured in a cemetery on the outskirts of Pusan. In 1963, one decade after the war, Pusan became a directly administered municipality. The city’s new status reflected its growing importance as a key industrial centre.

The backbone of Pusan’s economy is its giant port which handles 95% of Korea’s container cargo and about 58% of all incoming and outgoing cargo. Numerous manufacturing firms have been set up in Pusan in order to take advantage of the harbour facilities. Many of these firms are located in the Sasang and Changnim Industrial Complexes. Steel, textiles and processed marine products are three of the city’s largest industries.

The Pusan Cooperative Market is the largest fish market in Korea. Every day, fish and other marine products are auctioned off to be sold in markets throughout Korea. Stretching from Ch’ungmu-dong to Namp’o-dong, the Chagalch’i Market is famous as a retail fish market catering to both local residents and tourists. The original market was much larger than it is now, but its area had to be reduced to make way for expansion of the harbour. Boats from Pusan’s port go to Cheju Island, along the coast to Ch’ungmu, Namhae Island or Yŏsu, or even to international destinations such as Shimonoseki, Fukuoka or Osaka in Japan.

With its international port, the city hosts a large number of sailors and tourists. The commercial Ch’oryang-dong street has become especially popular as a shopping district catering to the needs of foreigners. Haeundae and Tadaep’o Beach also draw large crowds of tourists throughout the summer months.
There are several stone fortresses in the area. Of these, the Paesan Fortress site is the oldest such fortress in Pusan while Kūmjōng Fortress (Historical Site No. 215) has the distinction of being the longest fortress in Korea. There are also a number of Buddhist artefacts in the area. In addition to the numerous cultural treasures at Pōmō Temple (See Pōmō Temple), there is a pair of banner-pole supports at the Mandōk Temple site, a five-storey stone pagoda (Pusan Tangible Cultural Asset No. 9) situated outside of Pusan National University, and a three-storey stone pagoda (Pusan Tangible Cultural Asset No. 10) outside of Tonga University.

Pusan has a large number of educational institutions. The Korea Maritime University was founded in Pusan in order to train the next generation of young people to work in the maritime business. All of the school’s students receive scholarships covering both room and board. In their junior year, students undergo a two-month training course on board a training ship that visits various international ports. The city is also home to Dong-A University, Dong-eui University, Kosin University, Pusan National University, Pusan Womens University, Pusan Catholic College, Dongseo University, Pusan University of Foreign Studies, Pusan National University of Education and Kyungsung University.

**Pusan Municipal Museum**

Situated in Taeyōn-dong, Pusan Municipal Museum (Pusan Shirip Pangmulgwan) was established in 1978. The museum’s collection is comprised of more than two thousand relics, including earthenware, metalware, clothing, articles from ancient tombs, and shell-mound relics. As well as holding exhibitions, the museum provides educational services for the community. It has held special summer vacation seminars for students since 1985, and seminars for the general public since 1988. The museum also publishes an annual report for specialists engaged in historical research.

**Pusŏk Temple**

[Architecture]

**Puyŏ (see History of Korea)**

**Puyŏ County**

Situated in the southwestern part of South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province, Puyŏ County comprises the town of Puyŏ, and the townships of Kuryong, Kyuam, Nam, Naesan, Sŏksŏn, Sedo, Yanghwa, Oksan, Oesan, Únsan, Imch'on, Changam, Ch'och'on, Ch'ungwha and Hŭngsan. The county covers a total area of 668 sq. kms. and has a population of about 124 000 (1988 statistics). Mt. Sŏngdae (631m), Mt. Munbong (600m), Mt. Mansu (433m) and other peaks of the Ch'aryŏng Mountain Range run along the northwest border of the county while the Kŭm River flows through the east. Influenced by coastal winds from the nearby Yellow Sea, the area has an average yearly temperature of 12°C, an average January temperature of minus 3°C, and an average yearly rainfall of 1239mm.

Arable land forms about 232 sq. kms. of the county. Of this, 160 sq. kms. grows rice and 72 sq. kms. dry-field crops such as barley, vegetables, ginseng and tobacco. The area’s tradition of ginseng cultivation began when refugees from Kaesŏng came into the area during the Korean War. Adjacent to Sŏch'on County, ramie (*Boehmeria frutescens*) is grown, and watermelon and melon are cultivated commercially in the vicinity of the Kŭm River. The area’s coal mines are centred around the Oesan and Naesan townships. Local industry is limited to a few small plants such as a red ginseng processing factory and a match factory in Puyŏ.
In 538 C.E., the Paekche Kingdom moved its capital to the Puyo area. As a result, the county has a large number of important historical sites. In Ch'och'on Township, there is the Songguk Village Prehistoric Site (Historical Site No. 249), which dates from Korea's Bronze Age (c.1000 - 400 B.C.E.). Seven archaeological excavations of the site have revealed wooden palisades, moats, jar coffins and thirty-three Bronze Age rectangular and circular dwellings of the subterranean pit type. Carbonated rice grains found in the dwellings indicate that rice was cultivated in the region at this time.

One of the area's key tourist attractions is the Puyo National Museum in the town of Puyo. Here are a large assortment of ancient artefacts such as bronze spearheads, daggers, pottery, musical instruments, embossed roof tiles, celadon, funeral urns and bronze bells. In addition, three Chosön buildings -- a county magistrate's office, his residence and a guesthouse for government officials, have been relocated to the museum's grounds. Behind the museum stands Mt. Puyo, the site of the ancient Paekche palace. With its pleasing temples and pavilions, the mountain is now a park. Legend has it that when Paekche fell, King Uija along with 300 court ladies leapt to their deaths from Nakhwaam (Rock of Falling Flowers), a high cliff above the Paengma River, to avoid capture by the invading Chinese and Shilla armies. A pavilion named Paekhwajong now stands on top of the rock to commemorate this tragic event. In Núngsan Village, a group of large mounds are thought to be the tombs of Paekche kings and royalty. The tombs date from 538 to 600 C.E. At the site, there is a modern reconstruction of a tomb (developed from an ancient tomb painting), and a small museum with scaled-down reproductions showing the method of construction of the various tombs.

Important Buddhist sites in the area include the Chöngnim Temple site next to Highway 4 in the town of Puyŏ, Muryang Temple in Oesan and Taejo Temple to the east of Highway 29 in Imch'on. Outside Taejo Temple, there is a 10-metre-high Maitreya image which was carved circa twelfth c.. The temple's Amitabha Triad is one of the largest seated Buddha images in Asia. Confucian schools found here include Hongsan Hyanggyo in Kyowon Village next to Highway 4, Puyŏ Hyanggyo just south of Highway 40 in Puyŏ, Sŏksŏng Hyanggyo just east of Sŏksŏng Stream, Imch'on Hyanggyo just east of Highway 29 in Imch'on, Tonggok Sŏwŏn in Sedo, T'oesu Sŏwŏn just west of Highway 29 in Imch'on and Ch'ilson Sŏwŏn (established in 1687) near the Kŭm River in Imch'on.

In Únsan Township's Únsan Village is a hillock known as Mt. Tang. On this are the remains of an earthen fortress and on the southern slope, there is a shrine. The Pyŏlshinje, the province's most important traditional ceremony, is held here every year during the first lunar month. This attracts large crowds of between 50,000 and 100,000 spectators. For three days before the ceremony, officiants abstain from eating meat or fish and cleanse their houses by installing taboo ropes containing slips of paper. These ropes are also hung over Unsan Stream from which the water to cook the offerings is taken. The offered food is prepared only by men. Lasting two weeks, the Pyŏlshinje involves the cutting of trees for camp posts; a day of rest; acquisition of flowers; a second day of rest; the calling down of the spirit; a parade and invocation lasting four days; a farewell to the pyŏlshin and a Hadang exorcism; a third day of rest; a Toksan rite performed solely by the chief officiant, and the erection of new changsŏng (guardian posts) at the village entrance. Although the origins of the ceremony are obscure, some claim that Únsan was a battlefield in ancient times and by consoling the soldiers who died in battle there, the rites prevent outbreaks of epidemics in the area. In 1966, the ceremony was designated an Intangible Cultural Property.

Pyŏkp'a

Pyŏlgok

Railway Museum
The Railway Museum (Ch'ŏldo Pangmulgwan) is situated in the city of Ūiwang in Kyŏnggi Province. In 1981, items from the museum's present collection were displayed at the Railway High School (Ch'ŏldo Kodŭng Hakkyo) in Yongsan Ward in Seoul. In December 1988, the collection was moved into a newly-built museum at a transportation and railway educational complex in Ūiwang's Uiam-dong. By 1991, the collection of almost four thousand items had filled seven exhibition halls. The Railway Museum holds periodic exhibitions and also operates a theatre where visitors can watch films on the history of Korea's railways.

Rank land law (kwajŏn pŏp) [Economy]
Reforms of 1894 (Kabo kyŏngjang) [History of Korea; Japan & Korea; Society]

Regional planning

History

Regional development planning in Korea (then Chōsen) originated during the Japanese Occupation. Several land surveys and sectoral plans were undertaken by the Japanese to manage the Peninsula's land use and develop its resources. The Japanese thrust was to develop the north as the industrial area and the south as the agricultural base. During Japan's Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere in the early 1950s the role of Korea was recast as a longitudinal north-south structure to provide a bridge from Japan to other parts of its Empire. After the liberation of Korea the emphasis was on rebalancing the lop-sided structure developed under Japanese control. Before progress could be made the industrial plants, electricity generating plants and transport and communications infrastructure were destroyed during the Korean War (1950-1953). The rest of the decade was spent on restoring them in the now bifurcated country. It was not until the 1960s that regional planning was resumed in South Korea and key developments launched.

Since 1961 South Korea's highly-centralized government has controlled and monitored the country's export-oriented, economic growth which has transformed a poor, agricultural country into an industrialized nation. The policy has channelled benefits to people in particular regions and to large conglomerates (chaebŏls). A recurrent theme is how development trends have generally favoured the Seoul-Pusan axis, and the Kyŏngsang provinces in particular, at the expense of the central-western provinces, the Ch'ungch'ŏng and North and South Ch'ŏlla provinces. Once the disbenefits of this pattern of regional development became pronounced regional planners sought to reshape South Korea's spatial structure.

Four significant phases can be traced between the 1960s and 1990s which reflect attempts by regional planners to shift South Korea's key development axes. Four major changes can be traced: the initial reinforcement of the northeast-southwest axis during the 1960s; the creation of a southern axis during the 1970s; the addition of a western axis together with a proposed northwest-southeast axis as a step towards the creation of a radial-circular transport network during the 1980s; and the inclusion of west-east and eastern axes and strengthening of the original northwest-southeast trunk axis as part of a grid-type network during the 1990s with the northwest-southeast axis still in a planning stage (Figure 1).

(Bring in Figure 1)

Northeast-Southwest Axis, 1960s: Regional development under the military government of Park Chung-hee centred on a series of individual plans focused on specified regions and a few sectors. In particular, the military government was preoccupied with industrialization along the Seoul-Pusan axis reflected in a bid to maximize economic
growth. As industrialisation progressed in the late 1960s large-scale industrial estates were established in Seoul, Inch'on and Ulsan which were complemented by expressways and multipurpose dams.

One consequence of concentrated development was that previously prosperous agricultural activities within the central-western provinces were neglected. In particular, inattention to upgrading rail services, and poorly-connected roads, disadvantaged the North and South Cholla provinces. Renowned as Korea's 'rice bowl', their farmers were handicapped by their adherence to wet-rice cultivation. Initially, South Korea's agricultural economy was devastated by the introduction of farm products from aid-givers and the government's policy of pegging locally-grown items to control inflation. This problem was compounded by the small share of national investment afforded agriculture and the lack of reliable access to growing urban markets. Not surprisingly, the North and South Cholla provinces were unattractive to investors.

Southern Axis, 1970s. During the 1970s regional development was undertaken under the First Comprehensive National Land Development Plan, 1972-81. The focus of regional development remained fixed on the Seoul-Pusan Corridor but was expanded to incorporate a series of export ports. These included the string of port-industrial towns created in the 1960s — notably Ulsan and Pohang. In 1973 Pohang was the site of Korea's first, large iron and steel mill. The new port-industrial towns of Onsan and Ch'angwŏn were added as part of the development of the Southeastern Coastal Industrial Belt. As these economic activities spilled over the border of South Cholla, both the Yŏch'ŏn Industrial Complex and Kwangyang were included in the Industrial Belt. Offering relative security from North Korea and low transport costs, the Industrial Belt's major ports were those closest to Japan which provided the major market for the products of the heavily-subsidized, capital-intensive, export-oriented, heavy and chemical industries (e.g. steel, shipbuilding and petrochemicals). These industries were encouraged to make South Korea's defence industries self-reliant — a move prompted by US President Carter's decision to withdraw military bases during a deterioration in North-South relations. The ports, therefore, largely determined the location of industries in South Korea during the initial promotion of high volumes of heavy industrial exports and imports.

Also in fashion were export industrial estates. They included the free trade zones at Masan (1970) and Iri (1971). Masan was attractive to Japanese corporations which controlled almost 80 per cent of its firms. Local industrial estates were intended to attract industry from Seoul. The inland centre of Kumi was also selected as the base for a large-scale industrial estate for electronics. This had more to do with the fact that it was the birth-place of President Park than any intrinsic locational advantages (it was also designated a heavy industrial complex!). Complementing these export-oriented industrial initiatives was heavy expenditure on the seaports of Inch'on and Pusan.

These new regional initiatives bypassed South Korea's west coast. Without a revival in agriculture, and in the absence of compensating developments in manufacturing and service employment, the North Ch'ungch'ŏng, Kangwŏn and both Cholla provinces experienced net population losses. The losses from the Cholla provinces were more serious. Migrants from the area moved to Seoul, where surveys showed they constituted a disproportionate number of the urban poor (and presumably a smaller share of an emerging middle class). Alienated from the mainstream of South Korean life, people from the Cholla provinces aligned themselves with the Peace and Democratic Party led by Kim Daejung (Taejung) to protect their regional interests. The Kwangju incident in 1980 reinforced their resentment.

Western Axis, 1980s. During the early 1980s attempts were made to counter the side-effects of a bi-polarized, regional development pattern. This was reflected in the over-concentration of population on Greater Seoul (9.7 million in 1985) and Pusan (3.5 million in 1985), which together monopolized central managerial functions, and the progressive
depopulation of lagging rural regions. Other developments were centred on Taejón and Taegu — the former is also the site for South Korea's first technopolis (Taeduk Science Park). Both were alternative bases to suburban Seoul (Suwón) for the development of motor cars, electrical appliances and electronics. In turn, these areas were incorporated into regional economic clusters in four zones outside the Capital Region. The real need, however, is to deconcentrate political and economic power from Seoul which has been exerted over provincial areas since the Chosŏn dynasty.

Indeed, by the mid-1980s both the Ch'ungch'ŏng and the two Cholla provinces had less than their share of regional output as a proportion of South Korea's population. Their per capita income was only 80 per cent that of the national capital which, in turn, was exceeded by the Kyŏngsang provinces. In particular, the southwest provinces had a low share of key industries, such as textiles, machinery, metals and electronics which dominated by Seoul and Pusan metropolitan areas and the Kyŏngsang provinces. Only the chemical industries were marked in the Cholla provinces - due to location of the country's second largest oil refinery and petrochemical complex at Yŏch'ŏn. Petrochemicals, however, are not renowned as a great employment generator. Although there are strong arguments supporting the cost-effectiveness of the Seoul-Pusan axis it has resulted in uneven distribution of industry and aggravated regional discontent in the Cholla provinces.

The Second Comprehensive National Land Development Plan, 1982-1991 was activated in a bid to still the discontent and promote a more balanced regional development. This has meant dispersing industry from Seoul and Pusan and improving accessibility to the North and South Cholla provinces. Simultaneously, the government is seeking to mitigate the Cholla provinces' alienation from the country's booming economy and to capitalize on South Korea's new geopolitical position brought about by China's 'open door' policy.

In 1988 the Prime Minister's Office established the Standing Committee for West Coast Development. Its main strategy has been to designate six areas for capital-intensive agricultural, industrial and high-technology development (Figure 2). Connections between existing coastal and inland urban centres were to be upgraded to create two agglomerations — the Kunsan-Iri-Ch'ŏnju-Ch'ŏngju T-shaped Axis and the Kwangju-Naju-Mokpo Axis — in a bid to provide higher-level central management services. These attempts to redress this imbalance, and to capitalize on cheap industrial land in the Cholla provinces and the opportunities of trade with China, have sent land prices skyrocketing.

The problems associated with South Korea's regional structure have been compounded by the political power structure of the Korean government. President Park Chung-hee drew heavily upon the Kyŏngsang provinces for army officers and high-ranking bureaucrats. Reinforced by educational and social ties in Taegu, this preferment was intensified by the heads of nine of the top twenty cha'bŏl families coming from Kyŏngsang. Drawing on government privileges available for export activities since the early 1960s — unlimited imports and preferential loans from foreign banks — economic power has been highly concentrated on a few cha'bŏls headed by Kyŏngsang (or Taegu) families. In turn, this web of influence, was heightened by the recruitment of ex-officers into corporations and government (including Cabinet). These regional antagonisms stemming from the regional political structure were further aggravated by the realignment of the former opposition leaders, Kim Young-sam (from the southeast) and Kim Jong-pil (from the Chu'ngch'ŏng provinces), with the ruling Liberal Party under Roh Tae-woo.

Northwest-southeast axis, 1990s. A fresh set of directions for tackling the perennial problems of regional disparities including the overconcentration of economic activities in Seoul with its attendant infrastructure deficiencies and environmental problems. These were embodied in the Third Comprehensive National Land Development Plan, 1992-2001
Constraints have been imposed on the location and expansion of manufacturing activities in the Seoul Metropolitan Area. A new north-east-southwest axis is proposed to create more balanced regional development (though most activity is likely to be concentrated in the central and southwestern parts of the axis). Simultaneously, existing industrial zones in the south will be restructured through R&D and the promotion of high-tech industries. Following the implementation of local autonomy in 1995 local governments are likely to take a more active role in regional development.

Another new feature is the incorporation of plans for the development and management of the demilitarised zone between North and South Korea. Although the timing and method of unification is uncertain a new set of regional planning ideas will have to be entertained when it is agreed. Clearly, the South is the industrial base while the North has rich mineral and energy resources.

Already trade relations have been established. These are likely to intensify given the North's need for food and consumer goods and the South's requirement for cheap and plentiful labour. As the German experience has highlighted, the costs of merging the two separate societies will be great. North Korea's population is larger relative to South Korea compared with East Germany and West Germany; North Korea's economy and infrastructure is in worse shape than East Germany; South Korea's per capita income is less than half that of West Germany; and the two Koreas have had little contact since 1948. If unification proceeds, the reconnection of severed transport arteries between the North and South will give the new Korean Commonwealth the opportunity to capitalise on its geopolitical position.

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Research Centre for Ocean Industrial Development (RCOID)

With its location in the National Fisheries University of Pusan, RCOID was founded in 1990 as a non-profit, non-governmental institute. Today, with support from the Korea Science and Engineering Foundation, RCOID works to develop technologies to improve coastal fishing grounds, as well as fish and shellfish farming operations around the Korean Peninsula. In particular, it aims to provide unified and systematic research in the areas of fisheries, oceanography, aquaculture and marine environment. The Research Centre offers a training program in aquaculture and fishing technology.

Research Centre of Technology and Industrial Manpower (RCTIM)

Located in the city of Ch'ŏnan in South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province, RCTIM is a government organisation conducting research and training programs in the fields of vocational training, national technical qualifications and human resource utilisation. RCTIM also works to promote domestic and international cooperation on research projects.

Research Institute of Industrial Science and Technology
Founded as the Pohang Iron and Steel Company’s Technical Research Laboratory in 1977, RIST acquired its present title in 1987. By the end of 1994, more than 2,000 projects had been completed or were under way. In 1995, the Institute was granted KOLAS (Korea Laboratory Accreditation Scheme) accreditation. Present-day research is in environmental and industrial fields, including iron and steel-making, advanced materials, and automation.

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Research Institutes (see under each Institute)

- Academy of Korean Studies (AKS)
- Architectural Institute of Korea
- Electronics and Telecommunications Research Institute (ETRI)
- Korea Academy of Industrial Technology (KAITECH)
- Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST)
- Korea Aerospace Research Institute
- Korea Atomic Energy Research Institute (KAERI)
- Korea Basic Science Institute
- Korea Development Institute (KDI)
- Korea Educational Development Institute (KEDI)
- Korea Electrotechnology Research Institute (KERI)
- Korea Food Research Institute (KFRI)
- Korea Ginseng and Tobacco Research Institute (KGTRI)
- Korea Information Society Development Institute (KISDI)
- Korea Institute for Economics and Technology (KIEET)
- Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs (KIHASA)
- Korea Institute for International Economic Policy (KIEP)
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- National History Compilation Committee (NHCC)
- National Institute of Agricultural Science and Technology (NIAST)
- National Institute of Health and Social Affairs (NIHASA)
- Research Centre of Technology and Industrial Manpower (RCTIM)
Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŭngman) was an independence fighter, politician and the first president of the Republic of Korea. His family’s ancestral home is in Chŏnju, his given name was Sŭngnyong and his pen name was Unam. Rhee was born in P’yŏngsan of Hwanghae Province and was the son of Yi Kyŏngsŏn. When Rhee was nine years old he was stricken with smallpox that blinded him. His family tried many traditional cures but with no success. At last Rhee’s father took him to Horace Allen, a doctor and Presbyterian minister, who cured the boy within a few days. This is said to have sparked Rhee’s interest in the West. In 1894 he entered Paejae Academy and in the next year became an English teacher at the Academy.

It was during Rhee’s time at Paejae Academy that he met Sŏ Chaep’il (1866-1951) who had studied in America. Sŏ formed the Hyŏpsŏnhoe, which would later become the Independence Club (Tongnip Hyŏphoe), which sought to bring about enlightenment and reform to Chosen. Rhee was very active in the Independence Club and this eventually resulted in his being arrested for anti-Japanese activities that caused him to be incarcerated from 1898 to 1904. During his imprisonment, Rhee was subjected to all types of torture and abuse from the Japanese and this certainly played a major part in his lifelong distrust of the Japanese.

After being released from prison, Rhee travelled to the United States where he attended George Washington University in 1905. After graduating in 1907 he entered Harvard University where he received his Master’s Degree in 1908. He then entered Princeton University to pursue his doctorate. After the completion of his dissertation he graduated in 1910, making him the first Korean to receive a PhD from an American university. 1910 is also the year in which Japan officially colonised Korea, and when Rhee returned to Korea in the following year he began his anti-Japanese activities. In 1912 he was implicated in the so-called ‘Case of the Imprisoned One Hundred Five’ (paegoin sakkŏn) and in order to escape imprisonment, he fled to the United States with the help of an American missionary.

Rhee travelled to Hawaii where he operated the Korean Academy (Hanin Hagwŏn) and also launched the Han’guk t’aep’yŏngyang (Korean Pacific) in 1914 and the monthly magazine, T’aep’yŏngyang (Pacific), which continued publication until 1939. Rhee remained active in the United States throughout the Japanese occupation lobbying for the support of the United States. He was elected president, in absentia, of the Korean Provisional Government (Taehan Min’guk Imshi Chŏngbu) formed in Shanghai in 1919 and retained this position for nearly twenty years before losing it to reformers in Shanghai. However, the greatest part of Rhee’s energies were devoted to his lobbying efforts in the United States, and this is where his greatest import was.

At the conclusion of World War II and Korea’s liberation from Japan, Rhee returned to his homeland in October 1945, and was promptly selected as chairman of the Korean Provisional Government (KPR). The KPR was largely responsible for the dismantling of the Japanese colonial apparatus throughout the southern parts of Korea. This was a group that was participated in by many different factions and encompassed a broad spectrum of political ideologies.
Rhee’s ability to speak English fluently and the fact that the Americans knew of him played a major role in his rise to power in post-liberation Korea. He was staunchly anti-Communist and it is perhaps this quality that enabled him to become the favourite of the conservative forces that were present in Korea at the time. Rhee’s chief rival, Kim Ku (1876-1949), sought a middle ground that preferred the incorporation of groups from both the right and the left into the Korean government, while Rhee was against not only the communists but also any group that showed a willingness to work with the communists. At the time the commander of the United States of America Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK), General John R. Hodge, needed to put the support of the United States behind a candidate who would garner the greatest support. Accordingly, despite his personal dislike of Rhee, he came to acknowledge the popularity of Rhee who thus became the front runner for taking power in Korea.

With the failure of the United Nations (UN) to convince the Soviet Union to allow general elections throughout the Korean peninsula, South-only elections were held in May 1948. At this time Rhee was seventy-three years old and his political behaviour is more easily compared with that of a late Choson period king than of his Princeton University professor, Woodrow Wilson. Rhee’s ambition for personal power is seen in the political system that he was forced to accept in order to continue to receive support from the Americans and resulted in his accepting an elective democracy with constitutional safeguards against unchecked executive power. However, once Rhee assumed power he quickly moved to emasculate this system in order to strengthen his grip on power.

A key tool that Rhee utilised for acquiring additional power was the National Security Law (NSL) that was passed by the National Assembly in 1948. This law was in theory to be used in cases of national emergency, but in fact Rhee wielded it as a club to bludgeon any opponent who dared to challenge his power. During the Korean War and after, Rhee carried out systematic purges of the government ranks to strengthen his grip on power. He also used the NSL to intimidate the National Assembly to pass laws that increased his power. In 1952 when he was up for reelection he used the threat of the NSL to coerce the National Assembly into allowing a popular vote for the election of the president. The assembly-men who opposed this law were simply incarcerated by Rhee until after the vote was taken, thereby ensuring the passage of the law and tactically his reelection to a second term.

In 1954 Rhee again altered the Constitution to allow for a special exemption to the two-term limit for the president of the Republic. At this time he formed his own political party, the Liberal Party (Chayu Tang), which was a group of opportunists who were loyal only to Rhee and their own desire for power. After the formation of the Liberal Party, the National Assembly became little more than a rubber stamp operation for Rhee’s political whims. Moreover, virtually all of his political opponents had been eliminated. Some such as Kim Ku were assassinated, probably with Rhee’s involvement, while others such as Kim Kyushik had been kidnapped by the North during the War. Others had died from illness and the balance were arrested for violations of the NSL. Therefore little stood in Rhee’s way and he was elected for a fourth term as president in the March 1960 elections. His desire for complete power and total disregard for the democratic process in this election brought about his downfall.

For the 1960 elections Rhee chose Yi Kibung as his vice-president and ensured the success of his ticket by committing wide-scale election fraud. The reaction to the fraudulent election was overwhelming as students throughout the country rose up in protest at the virtual dictatorship of Rhee. The outbreak of the April Student Revolution, which was eventually joined by the general Korean population, caused demands for the resignation of Rhee to grow. At this time US policy towards Korea shifted from toleration of Rhee’s tactics to public condemnation of the regime. Moreover, the demonstration by 300 university
professors for Rhee's resignation revealed that the upper class of Korea was also demanding a change. The final element that contributed to the resignation of Rhee was the refusal of the Martial Law Commander, General Song Yoch'an, to fire upon demonstrators. Thus, Rhee's power had been stripped, and on April 26 Rhee resigned.

After resigning from office Rhee, and his wife Francesca Donner, returned to Hawaii where Rhee died in 1965. Rhee is remembered not only for his independence activities, but also his staunch opposition to the communist regime in the North. In this aspect, and his dogmatic quest for unification of the peninsula by force, he well represented the ideology of the conservative Cold War forces of the right, which also gained much strength after the conclusion of World War II. While Rhee was far from a democratic president of the South, he did institute policies that saw educational opportunity become widespread and the literacy rate of the South nearly triple in the fifteen years after liberation. This increase in education, ironically, helped bring about his downfall, as the students demanded a change to a truly democratic system.

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**Righteous Armies (ǔibyŏng)**

[History of Korea]

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Nam taech'ŏn (South Hamgyŏng Province)
Órang ch'ŏn
Oship ch'ŏn (Kanwŏn Province)
Oship ch'ŏn (North Kyŏngsang Province)
Puk taech'ŏn
Samgyo ch'ŏn
Sŏmjin kang
Susŏng ch'ŏn
Taehwa kang
Taedong kang
Taeryŏng kang
Roh Tae-woo (1932- )

Roh Tae-woo (No T’aeu) is a soldier, politician and former president of the Republic of Korea. Roh was born near Taegu in Kyongsang Province and after liberation he was sent to the prestigious Kyongbuk High School where he made political connections that would follow him for the rest of his life. It was at this time that he met Chun Doo Hwan (Chôn Tuhwan) who would become his close friend and political ally. When the Korean War broke out, Roh joined the army and later was admitted to the Korean Military Academy along with Chun. The two men were in the infamous eleventh class of the Academy that was the first to complete the full four-year program.

Roh served in various capacities in the military forces even travelled to Fort Bragg in the United States for special training. In addition in Vietnam he was promoted to commander of a battalion in the famous Tiger Division that served with great distinction in that conflict. After returning to Korea, Roh continued to work his way up the ladder of the military hierarchy and by 1979 was a Major General in command of the Ninth Division. It was also at this time that President Park Chung Hee (Pak Chonghii) was assassinated, throwing the once stable nation into a period of turmoil.

After the death of Park, Choi Kyu Hah (Ch’oe Kyuha) became acting president and promised to implement democratic reforms. Choi was elected president by the National Council for Unification (NCU) and stated that there would be a constitutional referendum within a year. However, instead of political reform there emerged a fierce power struggle between various political players of the day, namely Choi, Kim Young Sam (Kim Yongsan), Kim Jong Pil (Kim Chongp’il) and Kim Dae Jung (Kim Taejung), for control of Korea’s destiny. It was at this time that certain elements in the military forces, namely Chun, Roh and Major-General Chông Hoyong began to plan their seizure of the government. Their taking of power was prolonged over ten months and entailed three phases.

First, the trio plotted a mutiny within the army itself to gain control. Over the evening of December 12-13 (the 12-12 Incident), Chun, Roh and Chông carried out a bloody insurrection that enabled them to seize control of the military forces. Roh’s Ninth Division guarded the approaches to Seoul and occupied strategic positions throughout the city and after a seven-hour battle at the ROK Army Headquarters and the adjacent Ministry of Defence, the army was subdued. Yi Huisong was appointed as Army Chief of Staff and Martial Law Commander, Roh was the head of the Capital Garrison Command and Chông was charged with the Special Forces. Chun next took control of the Korean Central intelligence Agency (KCIA), which triggered massive protests throughout the nation. After this martial law was extended and the National Assembly was dissolved, paving the way for Chun to take the reins of government. It was at this time that the Kwangju Massacre occurred in which military forces harshly suppressed an uprising against Chun. Shortly thereafter, Chun took control of the government with his election as president.

For Roh’s role in helping his friend Chun illegally seize power, he was appointed head of the Defence Security Command and was promoted to a four-star general. He retired from the army in 1981, and entered politics and held key posts in the Chun administration. In 1981 he was appointed Minister of Political Affairs and later was named the head of the Seoul Olympic Organising Committee. By 1985 he was the head of the ruling Democratic
Justice Party (DJP) and was clearly the heir to Chun. In 1987 massive demonstrations by broad segments of Korean society were commonplace, as the people had grown weary of the Chun regime. Therefore with the announcement of elections in 1987 the opposition parties rallied against the Chun regime, but Roh deflated their protests by announcing an eight-point program on June 29 that promised direct presidential elections, broad human rights guarantees, and the restoration of Kim Dae Jung's political rights. Chun approved this and Korea readied herself for presidential elections.

Roh narrowly won the presidential election on December 17, 1987 with 36.9 percent of the vote. The opposition was unable to compromise and put forth a single candidate and this resulted in Roh continuing the legacy of military rulers in South Korea. Roh proved to be a much gentler president than his friend Chun and his Sixth Republic brought about many changes to the face of Korea. Democratic rights were greatly enhanced under Roh and in addition his so-called 'Northern Policy' made great headway in the development of relations with both the Soviet Union (later the Russian Federation) and the People's Republic of China. In this light Roh can be seen as an excellent diplomat who helped ease the Cold War tensions that had gripped the Korean peninsula for four decades.

Roh also peacefully stepped aside at the end of his term and allowed the South Korean government to be turned over to the first true civilian leader since the early 1960s. However, the very reforms that Roh brought about came back to haunt him. In September 1995, Roh admitted to public prosecutors that he had received 'kickbacks' from the heads of the large business conglomerates during his term in office. In addition the South Korean government conducted an investigation into the illegal seizure of power by Chun and Roh in December 1980 and the subsequent Kwangju Massacre in the following year. As a result, Roh faced the death sentence but due to leniency on the part of the prosecutors, he was only sentenced to life in prison.

Roh is chiefly remembered for the great amount of wealth that he accumulated during his rule and for his role in the bloody events that followed the death of Park Chung Hee. However, it should be remembered that he brought about many events that have helped Korea become a stronger nation. Without the democratic reforms that Roh initiated, his own prosecution would never have been possible. Moreover, during his term the economy of Korea reached new peaks and relations with the Soviet Union and the PRC were improved, which served to greatly improve the international situation surrounding Korea. Furthermore, these reforms helped put pressure on North Korea to enter into diplomatic relations with other nations, somewhat altering its isolated stance. Finally, it was on Roh's watch that South Korea successfully hosted the 1988 Summer Olympics, which garnered much positive publicity for Korea.

Rose of Sharon Friendship Society (Kūnuhoe) [Japan and Korea]

Ross, John [United Kingdom and Korea]

Russia and Korea

Early relations

The first contacts between Russia and Korea can be traced to mid-17 c., when the Russians appeared on the Pacific Coast. At that time, Korean merchants made sporadic deals with Russians. Korean riflemen (100 in 1654 and 200 in 1655) were sent at the request of Beijing to fight in the ranks of the Chinese army against Russians during the Albazin conflict. In the 17th and 18th cc., Russian officials and missionaries in China sometimes met members of the Korean missions to Beijing. However, until the mid-1860s all these contacts were episodic events and had no serious consequences. The real Russo-Korean
relations began only in the 1860s when, according to the Aigun Treaty of 1858 and the Beijing Treaty of 1861, Russia established her control over the lower River Amur region (Manchuria) and thus appeared on the Korean border.

The period of establishment 1861-1894.

The Russian local authorities in the Far East established connections with their Korean counterparts as early as 1861, when the border line was demarcated, but until 1884 these contacts were mostly connected with border problems and ever-increasing Korean emigration to Russia. The Russo-Korean trade was mostly local and its scale was much less than the scale of Korean trade with Western countries and Japan. Cloth was the main import, cattle the main export. The trade was conducted by Korean merchants, with the role of the Russians being insignificant.

After the opening of Korea in 1876, when Korea signed treaties with Japan and the western powers, Russia also took some steps to penetrate to Korea. On 7 July 1884, the Treaty of Amity and Commerce was signed in Seoul. The Treaty was mainly modelled upon the Korean-British Treaty of 1884 because Russia wanted to get advantages in Korea at least comparable with those its main rival already had. The Treaty declared Pusan and Inch'on as ports open for Russian trade. Russia also obtained the status of a most favoured nation. These regulations were secured in 1888 by the Convention of Land Trade.

In the 1870-80s the Russian Naval Command was in urgent need of an ice-free base on the Far East coast and several times studied the possibility of occupying a suitable Korean port. These projects were only discussed, however, and not really supported in government circles. Generally speaking, in the 1860-1880s period, Russian diplomacy did not aspire to establish domination in Korea. It was absolutely unrealistic since there seemed to be no military or economical potential in this distant region. The main goal of Russian policy in Korea was to ensure its neutrality and thus to counteract Chinese and British influence. Such an approach was demonstrated during the Kômundo Incident. On 15 April 1885, British warships occupied the Korean island of Kômundo to control the main Russian navigational route on the eve of possible war. Russia began to prepare corresponding measures (the occupation of a Korean port or the establishment of a Russian protectorate were discussed). However, as soon as Britain withdraw her troops in 1887 these projects were also abandoned.

Russia in search for domination, 1894-1904.

At the beginning of the 1890s, Russian policy in Korea changed considerably. This was the time when the Far East instead of the Near East became the main object of Russian colonial expansion. This reorientation become possible after the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway had begun in 1891.

After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, Korea and Manchuria become the main object of Russian claims. This resulted in rivalry with Japan, which Korean patriots tried to exploit to attempt to secure Korea. In the 1894-1904 period, Russia was the main force standing in the way of the increasing Japanese expansion on the Peninsula. Russia was especially popular among the conservatives, including King Kojong himself.

The Russian influence grew gradually from 1891, but it increased dramatically in 1895, when King Kojong, who after the assassination of Queen Min in October 1894, and who had been placed under full Japanese control, suddenly escaped from his palace to the Russian legation. For 375 days he ruled the country from this asylum. A new government consisting mostly of pro-Russian statesmen was formed. This incident marked the beginning of Russian domination in Korea. It was recognized by the Japanese in a special
In Spring 1896, a special envoy, Min Yonghwan was sent to Petersburg and Moscow to attend the coronation of Nicholas II and to seek military and financial aid. He returned to Korea in October with numerous promises from the Russian government and the first group of military advisers (Colonel D.Putiata, with 13 officers and sergeants). For a year these advisers trained a special battalion of king's guards as well as a few dozen officers and senior NCOs. On 5 November 1897, K. Alekseiev, a former official from the Russian Ministry of Finance, was appointed as the main financial adviser of the Korean government and Commissioner of the Korean Maritime Customs Service (the latter post was not really occupied by him as the existing Commissioner, an Englishman, Brown, refused to retire). In December 1897 the Russo-Korean bank was established to promote Russian economical penetration into Korea.

However, increasing Russian expansionism disturbed Korean nationalists, who, not without foundation, thought it may be dangerous for Korean independence. The Independence Club launched an active campaign against Russian advisers and concessions. A new minister, A. de Speyer who replaced the clever and tactful K.Waeber in September, 1897, also contributed to a decline in Russian influence. In Spring 1898, Kojong, being pressed by both public opinion and Japanese diplomacy, had no option but to dismiss Russian military and financial advisers. The Russo-Korean Bank also had to cease operations only a few months after its beginning (it was formally liquidated in 1901). Yet Kojong and the bulk of Korean conservatives retained their pro-Russian orientation.

The decline of Russian influence in Korea was confirmed by the Tokyo Protocol (Rosen-Nishi Agreement, 25 April 1898). According to the Protocol, Russia and Japan agreed not to appoint advisers to Korea. Russia, practically, recognized the Japanese domimative role on the Peninsula.

One of the main reasons of Russian failure in Korea in the 1890s was economic weakness. The scale of Russian trade with Korea was approximately 30-40 times less than Japanese-Korean trade. Thus, searching for ways to increase their influence, Russian authorities after 1894 had actively supported Russian business in Korea. The mining concession of M. Nishchensky and Bryner's timber concession were the biggest Russian projects. However, both projects were economically fruitless.

In the early 1900s, an increasing role in the Russian government was played by the so-called Bezobrazov group. It consisted of court aristocrats who dreamed about more aggressive imperialist policy in Manchuria and Korea. Between 1900-1904 this group, having good personal contacts with the Tsar, bypassed S.Witte and other moderate politicians and succeeded in establishing full control over policy in the Far East.

In 1903, the Bezobrazov group used some economic projects (mainly Bryner's concession) as a tool to cover a military presence in Korea. At the same time, Russia tried to establish a naval base in Yong-amp'o. All these steps resulted in conflict with Japan, which aspired to make Korea its colony. Attempts to solve the conflict peacefully failed and open confrontation become inevitable. War began in February 1904 and Russia was defeated.

**Russian withdrawal from Korea, 1904-1921.**

After the disastrous Russo-Japanese war Russia was swept out of Korean politics. Until 1911, Russian local authorities in the Far East, in spite of the central government's pro-Japanese orientation, sometimes supported guerrillas and anti-Japanese emigration. Such conduct was forbidden by the Russo-Japanese Treaty of 1911, but the local administration was not too active in observing these restrictions. The Annexation of Korea, World War
and Russian Civil War, however, stopped political contacts of two countries.

**Inter-war period, 1921-1945.**

Russian policy in Korea in the 1920-1930s was also passive. Its main goal was to create and strengthen the Communist movement and to use the Korean independence movement to weaken Japan - the main Russian enemy in the Far East. In the 1920s, Russia promoted the unification of small, rival left-wing groups into the Korean Communist Party (1925). These attempts were not especially successful since the new-born Party was dissolved by a special decision of the Komintern in 1928 because of endless factional struggle. Many Korean communists lived in Russia and some of them later become victims of Stalin's purges. In the 1930s, Russia supported the Korean guerrillas in Manchuria.

A Lankov

**Soviet-Korean and Russo-Korean Relations 1945-1993**

Loyal to the promises given to the Allied powers, the USSR entered the war against Japan on 9 August 1945. Korea was thus liberated from her colonial yoke; a result of the allies’ joint war effort against the Japanese aggression. In Korea proper only the Soviet army was fighting and its 25th Army, which operated there under Colonel-General I. Chistyakov, suffered heavy losses, in Korea itself and on the way to it. More than 4 700 soldiers were killed or severely wounded. The Pacific Fleet and the Air Force of the USSR also had losses. The US Army landed in Korea with no significant troop losses on 8 August 1945.

Marshall Stalin’s directive of 20 September 1945 stated that, ‘The Soviet Army entered North Korea in order to defeat the Japanese invaders and has neither the purpose of establishing Soviet order in Korea nor that of acquiring the Korean territory’. Nevertheless, the emerging ‘Cold War’ quickly told on the policies of the USSR and the USA in Korea. Soviet and American troops remained in the territories of their respective occupation being to the north and south of the 38th Parallel which was the dividing line between them, after the task of accepting the Japanese capitulation was fulfilled. Military powers spared no efforts to establish the influence of their respective countries and to help the formation of the friendly regimes in their zones of occupation.

In the north of Korea the Board of Soviet Civil Administration was established, headed by General A. Romanenko and from 1947 - General N. Lebedev. Provincial affairs were supervised by the advisers drawn from the ranks of highly-positioned political officers from the divisions stationed at a given place. There were 113 military headquarters in the towns and larger villages. This system of the Soviet military administration was supposed to rule North Korea and to provide for all sides of the people’s lives, including leisure and work. The general supervision of the Soviet policies in Korea was entrusted to Colonel-General T. Shytov. From the first days of liberation, throughout Korea democratic organs of local self-government were emerging. Unlike the US administration which ignored and gradually wiped them off, (in the South), the Soviet Command in the North immediately recognized the People’s Committees and widened their participation in supervising economic and cultural life. In October 1945, the representatives of the People’s Committees from all five provinces of North Korea met in P’yŏngyang to determine a general structure and set urgent tasks of the newly-born bodies of power. The necessities of further centralization and improvement of the administrative system led to the establishing of the Administrative Bureau of the Five Provinces (November 1945) under which 10 departments were formed to supervise over different branches of the economy, culture, and social order. Only Koreans worked there while Soviet specialists were their advisers.

In these administrative bodies the nationalist leaders at first prevailed, with the well-known political figure of Cho Manshik, at the head. Soviet military bodies helped the Communists to squeeze them out. Favourable circumstances for this appeared when the guerrillas of Kim
II -sung, who spent several years in the Soviet Far East, and the participants of the anti-Japanese struggle headed by Kim Tubong, along with a big group of Koreans, party and economic officials from the USSR, arrived in Korea. On 10 October 1945, the North Korean Organizing Bureau of the Korean Communist Party was established, which occupied a foremost position in the political system emerging in the North. Two months later, Kim II Sung occupied the leading position in this body, with the support of the Soviet administration. In August 1946, through the merger of the Communist and New People’s Party (leader Kim Tubong) the Korean Workers’ Party was formed, which remains as a major force in North Korea today.

After the liberation, out of 1,034 large and medium-sized industrial plants, 1,015 were moribund. Transport and communication systems were ruined, and the supply of foodstuffs and other goods deteriorated. Soviet administration along with the People’s Committees spared no efforts to revitalize the economy. In November 1945, the Command of the 25th Army helped in putting some of the factories into operation, offering trophy materials and equipment, financial support, transportation, food and specialists. By mid-1946, 228 factories had resumed work, to be followed by others. The railway regiment sent by the USSR revived the North Korean railway system. Efforts were taken to educate the national cadres, to organize trade and to prevent epidemics.

At the same time in North Korea (like in the South) a military-police apparatus was being formed - people’s police and security organs were established; with defence squads stationed along the seashore and near the 38th Parallel. For the national cadres of the army, the P’yongyang School was opened in November 1945, and the Central School of Security Workers in July 1946. The Soviet Army appointed teachers and supplied these schools with trophy and Soviet-made armaments, barracks and munitions. With the help of the Soviet Army, police and security forces suppressed, at the end of 1945 several civil disturbances by protestors against economic hardship and the emerging political system of the North.

In Moscow, in December 1945, Foreign Ministers of the USA, USSR and UK met, to discuss the Korean problem and other important matters. The United States delegation proposed a draft resolution suggesting a long (five to ten years) trusteeship over Korea. According to this plan the country was to be ruled at the first stage by the joint military administration headed by the army commanders from the USA and the USSR. After that the administration was to be entrusted to the joint rule of the four nations (USA, USSR, UK and China), with the participation of Koreans only as advisers. After prolonged discussion the Soviet draft was accepted, which supposed that the International Trusteeship over Korea (understood as a system of measures aimed at assisting Korea’s progress and building an independent statehood) was limited by the period of 5 years, and with the formation of the Korean democratic government declared a top priority. A joint commission unifying the representatives of the USA and USSR military commands, was to prepare recommendations for the formation of the government on the basis of consultations with the Korean democratic parties and public organizations and with the help of this government to work out proposals for the future agreement of the four powers on the trusteeship.

The decision of the Moscow meeting played a tragic role in the fate of Korea. It ignored the fact that Korea had a centuries-old tradition of statehood, that its people were just fresh from the Japanese colonial yoke and that they reacted very painfully to every possibility of further foreign domination. The trusteeship was looked upon by many people as a protectorate similar to the one forced upon Korea by Japan in 1905. The attitude towards the trusteeship counterposed the national political forces and sharpened the struggle between them which to a great extent predestined the split of Korea.

In the North the Communists and allied organizations favoured the decisions of the Moscow meeting and supported all Soviet steps aimed at their realization. But Cho Nan-
shik and his followers openly opposed these decisions. As a result Cho Manshik was placed under house arrest and soon disappeared from the political scene. His Democratic party changed leadership and offered loyalty to both Soviet administration and Communist Party.

The situation thus changed allowed definite steps to be carved in the formation of North Korean statehood. In February 1946, the Provisional People’s Committee of North Korea was established as a central organ of power with Kim Il Sung as its head. During 1946 agrarian reforms which wiped out landlords’ rights, together with the nationalization of industry, communications and banks were implemented, labour laws and other important statutes were passed. Elections of candidates for the local People’s Committees were held in November 1946 and February 1947. The Congress of these local elected bodies (February 1947) formed the People’s Assembly of North Korea under the chairmanship of Kim Tubong, and its executive body -- the People’s Committee of North Korea, headed by Kim Il Sung. At the same time the economic development plan for 1947 was formulated. In essence, each and all of these measures enforced North Korea’s transition to Soviet-style socialism.

In cognizance of the fact that North Korea was under Soviet military control, all significant steps of the government were undertaken only with the approval of Moscow. Soviet specialists consulted the preparation of all necessary documents, participated in their realization and helped to solve concrete problems of Korean factories and offices, sharing their experience with the Koreans. In October 1946, the Soviet Command handed-over to the Korean government the industrial and mining enterprises, power stations, banks and means of communications which had formerly belonged to the Japanese state, as well as to private owners. Trade was developing between Korea and the USSR. With Soviet assistance, P’yŏngyang University opened in 1946 and a network of cultural and educational bodies emerged. From 1946, Korean specialists of high and medium qualification level were studying in the USSR, with fifty per cent of the cost met by the latter. Also, the Soviet Red Cross opened seventeen fully-equipped hospitals in North Korea and sent four sanitary-epidemiological groups.

From 16 January -- 5 February 1946, representatives of the Soviet and American military administrations met in Seoul to try to resolve urgent economic and administrative problems. The sides failed to reach agreement, hence the natural economic links between the industrial North and the agrarian South were severed and the aspirations of the Koreans to get rid of the 38th Parallel border, which was becoming more and more impenetrable, diminished.

Further rift between the Soviet and American position was connected with the activities of the Joint Soviet-American Commission on Korea which was supposed to prepare the way for the formation of the Provisional Democratic government in Korea. The commission’s meetings in March-May 1946, and in May-September 1947, resulted only in discussions on the criteria of the estimate and number of the democratic parties and organizations which were to participate in consultations on the future government. The Soviet side opposed the participation of all those who were against the trusteeship, which meant that practically all right-wing parties were denied participation in the consultations. The uncompromising position of the sides disrupted the work of the Joint commission, which helped only to aggravate the political differences in Korea.

The impossibility of fulfilling the decisions of the Moscow meeting brought about new initiatives which changed the Korean situation drastically. On 17 September 1947, the USA informed the USSR about its decision to hand the Korean question to the United Nations (UN) for consideration. Opposing this, the USSR made a counter-suggestion. This was to pull out all foreign troops simultaneously from the North and South and to allow the people of Korea independently to form their own government. The Socialist forces of Korea
approved this plan and declared themselves ready to guarantee civil peace if the foreign troops were withdrawn. But right-wing forces, with Rhee Syngman at the head, who had previously insisted upon the withdrawal, now opposed it on the grounds that South Korea would be unable to maintain its security.

Despite Soviet opposition, the UN put the Korean question on the agenda. Having refused to support the Soviet troop withdrawal proposals, the UN (following the American initiative) formed a Provisional Commission on Korea which was supposed to organize elections to the National Assembly in both parts of Korea and thereby establish the government of Korea. This Commission was ignored by both Soviet and North Korean sides, and was thus blocked from fulfilling its tasks in the North. On the rebound, and when the UN had given its approval, the Commission decided to hold the elections, but only in South Korea, on or before 10 May 1948.

The USSR and North Korea rejected this latest decision of the Provisional commission. Left forces and even some rightist leaders of the South also opposed it. They insisted (and were proved correct) that separate elections would bring about the split of the country. Faced with such a calamity, all supporters of the country's unity cast aside partisan discussions and tried combining their efforts. From 20-25 April 1948 a united conference of fifty-six parties and organizations from North and South was held in P'yŏngyang, which called for the boycott of the separate elections, and for the withdrawal of the UN Commission and all foreign troops from Korea in order to allow the Koreans to organize free elections. The USSR supported this program. But it was too late: on 10 May 1948, elections were held in the South and on 15 August, the Republic of Korea (ROK) was founded.

At the same time North Korean statehood was established. In all spheres of this process, be it Constitution or the formation of the Korean People's Army (KPA) North Korea was assisted by the USSR. On 9 September 1948 the session of the Supreme People's Assembly declared the establishment of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK).

The ROK and the DPRK refused to recognize each other and both claimed supremacy. On 12 October 1948, the Soviet government informed Kim Il Sung that it was ready to establish diplomatic relations with the DPRK, and at the beginning of 1949 the two countries exchanged ambassadors. By the end of 1948, the USSR, at the request of the DPRK, withdrew its armed forces from Korea. The USSR refused to recognize the ROK and for the next forty years ignored its very existence.

In March 1949, Moscow was visited by Kim Il Sung as the head of the DPRK's state delegation, and economic and cultural agreements, as well as some auxiliary documents, were signed by Soviet and Korean leaders (17th March 1949). Kim Il Sung had talks with Stalin and other leaders of the USSR, when the Korean problem was actively discussed - as well as the means of solving it, including, supposedly, the use of force. Some information about the secret talks on this matter between Stalin and Kim Il Sung has come to light, but which is not yet verified by documents.

Both Korean states made quick preparation for uniting the country by military means, each aspiring to do so under its aegis and with the help of its respective allies. The DPRK and the USSR seemed to be the more active in this regard, since by June 1950 the KPA substantially outnumbered the South Korean army and airforce (1.4 x personnel; 1.5 x artillery and heavy mortars; 8 x tanks and 4 x aircraft). Rhee Syngman, never tired of threatening the North, assured everyone that the people there were ready to rise against the Communists. In his turn, Kim Il Sung repeatedly talked about 'liquidation of the treacherous Rhee Syngman clique', expressing his full conviction that the people in the South would rise against the government and its American patrons.