

EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF KOREA

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BOOK I.

Formal Education and Development of Korea

1. Development and Education

- A Critical Appraisal of the Korean Case –

(1) From Ashes to Affluence

Dr. Bom Mo CHUNG

The land of Korea is not particularly fertile even if her landscape is picturesque in all four seasons. More than 60 percent of the land is occupied by untillable mountainous areas, which might have been one of reasons that down through history the traditionally agriculture-centered Korea was generally poverty-stricken, although there were small ups and downs in different historical periods. Frequent invasions and wars must have been another reason for the persistent destitution.

I have a small scar on my forehead, though now almost invisible. It is a scar I got when I was four years old in one winter day, pulling up the well-bucket from the well to get water for the morning ritual of washing one's

face and hands. The ground around the well was all frozen and slippery. While tugging on the heavy well-bucket I slipped and tumbled and my forehead fell upon a ragged rock. Blood oozed. My cry brought my parents dashing to me. I still remember the commotion it created, and the memory still often flickers when I now simply turn the tap to get either cold or hot water.

I went to the elementary school, and during the lunch break while I was eating from my lunch box, I saw that more than a half of the boys went out to the playground to kill time. Only later did I learn that their families could not afford a lunch box. If statistics were available, per capita GNP then must have been not more than 20 dollars. While my lunch box was steamed rice, my desk-mate's was all steamed millet which was supposed to be the diet for poor people. I liked its different flavor, however, and often exchanged the lunch boxes. I still enjoy the taste of millet which I developed then. Every school in Korea now has a school lunch program not because of the poverty of some families but more because of the need for a balanced diet and for saving the busy mother's time in preparing the lunch box.

Fatalism

No statistics exists. However, if one were to conjecture the level of per capita GNP in the years from 1945 to 1950 following liberation from the colonial yoke, it must have been not more than 30 dollars. Korea was a nation of absolute poverty below the subsistence level. The situation was made severely worse by the social confusion and instability following the liberation and further aggravated by the division of Korea into North and

South, regimes of communism vs. democracy. Moreover, there was the devastating Korean War between 1950 and 1953, which rendered the whole landscape of the Korean country to ashes and cinders. The major source of subsistence in the decade of the 1950's, I remember, was economic aids from the United States. So much so that the annual budget of the American aids was then a weighty concern of the Korean government.

People fell into deep fatalistic defeatism when it came to the matter of poverty. It was then, for example, a favorite theme even among the notable Korean economists that, unless north and South Koreas were not reunited, Korean economy was hopeless because the north had the industrial complex of electricity and fertilizers, while the agriculture was concentrated in the south though emaciated as it was. The traditional “barley hill” was inescapable for long well into the early 1960's, which meant that poorer people especially in the rural area, having nearly consumed the rice harvested last autumn through the wintry months, had to endure their unsatiated hunger until the month of May when the harvest of barley began.

Development Authoritarianism

Then in 1961, there was the military coup led by General Park Jung Hee. The military government announced, in summary, three pledges: an economic leap forward, defense against communism and the eradication of corruption. But the people who had become well accustomed to the ideas of democracy through the fifteen years after the liberation, although it was in practice still flawed in many respects, felt averse to the military dictatorship and skeptical of its intentions and kept the stance of suspicious

bystanders. Besides this, they had seen the effects of military coups in other countries, which usually ended up feeding the generals' personal coffers.

As the first few years rolled on, however, people began to see that “they really mean it!” and their skepticism began to turn into acquiescence. Thus started the period of “development authoritarianism” and the successive “five year economic development plans” produced gradual economic gains, accelerating greater momentum towards more sustained economic growth every year. Per capita GNP, starting with less than 80 dollars in 1960, leaped to 250 dollars in 1970 and reached 1,600 dollars in 1980, creating the “Miracle of the Han River” which the world marveled at.

True, the development process was cluttered with authoritarian measures, coercive and oppressive, which any authentic democracy abhors, such as centralized governmental economic planning, nationalization of banks, persecution of dissidents, and oppressive labor management, etc.. There were incessant protests and revolts especially among young college students who had been taught and imbued with the ideals of democracy in the school years. Yet the older generation who had experienced the “barley hill” poverty seemed to say, “If you’ll assure us enough bread, we’ll concede our right to freedom for a while.”

The relationship of democracy vs. authoritarianism and economic development, especially in those countries stricken with absolute poverty, presents a very moot question. Yet I am of the opinion that destitute poverty does not allow true democracy to grow and mature even if they are populistically instituted. In this respect, I am inclined to go along with the assertion of Przeworski and Limonge, based upon an extensive research, that, in countries with per capita income of less 1,500 dollars, democracy lasts mere eight years only to slip back again to a dictatorship even if

democracy had been instituted; in the countries of the income bracket between 1,500 and 3,000 dollars, the longevity of democracy becomes eighteen years; beyond 6,000 dollars, the probability of democracy's demise is 1/500 ; and beyond 9,000 dollars democracy never dies. Therefore, it appears that, when a country reaches per capita income between 3,000 to 6,000 dollars, it is the opportune time, so to speak, to institute democracy. It seems that bread has to precede freedom by that much.

The generalization of Przeworski and Limonge beautifully fits in with the Korean case. Korea's per capita income was less than 100 dollars in 1960, 250 dollars in 1970, 1,600 dollars in 1980, about 5,900 dollars in 1990 when Korea effected successful democracy, beyond the nominal, achieving a peaceful and lawful transfer of political power. It was 9,800 dollars in 2000 and in 2009 it hovered around 20,000 dollars. Since 1990 Korea has enjoyed substantial democracy for two decades with sufficient national wealth. Presently there would be only the very slightest probability of slipping back to a form of dictatorship, I hope. It can be said that Park Jung Hee wittingly or unwittingly paved the way to the safe transition to democracy by raising the level of nation's affluence.

Factors of Development

I was frequently asked during the 1970's and 1980's in many international meetings as to the causal factors of the Korean economic growth, which prompted me to formulate a list of tenable answers.

First should come the political leadership of determination. Historical absolute mass poverty is like an impregnable castle fortified by numerous historical, social, political and psychological barriers that can easily crush the will to overcome them. To conquer it needs a man or a group of men of extraordinary determination. Park supplied that determination in Korea. The leader is a strange being. In time of storm, he is everything and looms big; all look to him for a way out of the crisis. In time of calm, however, he is nothing and is counted for little, and through the hindsight in the tranquil time one might even be tempted to conclude that, after all, the development would have been possible without the leadership exerted by Park. But that is a fallacy of historical hypothesis. The reality is that he provided the decisive leadership of determination. He was nearly an incarnation of the nation's desperate longing for liberation from poverty. He was everywhere with everyone and did everything to inspire the “can-do” spirit and to mobilize brains and capitals home and abroad.

There were frequent instances of revolt against the autocracy of President Park, which were time and again ruthlessly repressed. Notwithstanding the economic development to affluence he initiated, we still have many critics who denounce Park as a mere dictator. I believe, however, he deserves to be held in high regard. Besides, the fact remains that he and his family were not involved in any incidents of personal corruption, and were well noted for thrift and for no accumulation of personal wealth which is rare among dictators of other developing countries. Even the five recent successive presidents of the nation after Park were not quite free from corruption scandals and the accusation of using their position to personal wealth accumulation.

In the national opinion polls held intermittently asking “who was the greatest president?” always more than 75 percent of respondents choose President Park. A Korean professor now in Australia, who used to be a resistance activist against Park during her college years in Korea, recently visited Seoul to attend a conference and had a significant recollection to make, “After all, Park molested us three thousands rebels, but he saved thirty million people from miserable poverty.”

Of special interest to many international observers is the *Saemaul Movement*, translatable as new village movement, which was initiated by Park's development policy. He saw that mental renovation of general populace was as important as the mobilization of material and manpower. Above all, he had to stir up the “can-do spirit” amid the prevailing sentiment of deep defeatism, especially in rural areas, occasioned by the long history of destitution. One of the strategies to that effect was the *Saemaul Movement*.

As I remember, the movement caught the ideas from a fortuitous event of building a bridge in a rural area. Villagers asked a provincial government office for building a very badly needed bridge. After some deliberation, it was decided that the government office would supply necessary material such as cement and iron bar, and villagers together should meet the labor of construction. From this simple event, three slogans of Saemaul Movement were born: diligence, self-help, and cooperation. Although the slogans were simple in words, they epitomized the major tenets of “can-do spirit” and they were applicable and actually applied to many other areas of work in national development. Incidentally, Saemaul Movement has been taken as an exemplar by a number of developing countries in Asia and Africa.

The second is the political stability. An economy is built on an act of trust. Without social trust the economy cannot thrive. Moreover, social trust is buttressed by political stability, which in turn is ensured by the degree of freedom from excessive internal strifes within the nation and from external threats to the nation. So far as the initial stage of economic take-off is concerned, it does not seem to matter much whether political stability is fostered in a democracy or oppressively enforced through a dictatorship. In the case of Korea in the 1960's it was the latter. In the present scene, India is a case of the former and China is an example of the latter.

However, I strongly believe that the indifference of the political systems to the success of an economic take-off, so long as they are stable, does not hold any longer as the economy advances toward accelerating affluence. Growing economic abundance is bound to create a growing aspiration for freedom as it did in Korea. Furthermore, a complex advanced economy could not possibly continue to grow in a persistently totalitarian political system where the nation's governance is highly centralized and dissident creativity is not tolerated. The future of economically fast growing China will be a good test of this proposition.

In regard to political stability, we have to note also the role of the Cold War geopolitics of the time in the countries of the region, including Japan, Korea and Taiwan, which were stably “protected” by the defense umbrella of the United States against communism. The Cold War was unwittingly a blessing to these countries, providing them with the national security necessary for economic growth. They did not have to worry much about external military threats and nor about the undue financial burden of individual national defense. If, for example, South Korea had been

incessantly harassed by North Korea as in the Korean War, its economic development would have been impossible.

Thirdly we have to accord high recognition to the crucial role of education. As noted earlier, Koreans, being under the influence of Confucian culture, have traditionally maintained a persistent desire to further the education of their young. Education to them was the main avenue to ascend the ladder of social prestige, power and wealth. Therefore, as soon as the doors to elementary education were opened and legalized as compulsory in 1948, children flocked in their multitudes into schools. In 1950 the elementary enrollment ratio had already jumped to 70 percent, and practically 100 percent by the mid 1950's. Even during the Korean War and its aftermath of ashes and cinders, education continued in the “plank school houses”, shacks built with raw planks on “the ground torn by bombs.”

What must be noted relatively is that the expansion of education at the time was not necessarily pursued with a narrow view to economic development, as was the “development education” in the 1960's and 1970's. Education then was simply a must for human beings in the minds of people. A five year economic development plan like that of the 1960's did not exist then. However, in hindsight, it was a very wise move, though unintentional, as will be further discussed later.

A total population that was all basically educated in the “three R's” and in the rudimentary knowledge in sciences and arts created a really formidable force profusely available in the coming period of economic development and modernization. If I were to suggest any piece of advice to the still underdeveloped countries, it would be this: Forget about the

selective secondary and higher education for a while and devote as many resources as possible to the elementary schools to educate the whole mass of youngsters as many years as affordable if not for all conventional six years.

The fourth factor, related to a broader meaning of education, was the role of the military experience, compulsory to all Korean boys, especially during the 1950's and 1960's when the secondary school enrollment was relatively low. Those who did not go to secondary schools had in the army the opportunities for the “modern” experiences in military sciences and organizational skills and discipline that were readily transferable to the industrial and other organizational settings.

In the same respect, we also have to appreciate the role of the large number of people who had various forms of educational experiences abroad, the majority of them in America. Since 1945, the doors to the outside world became wide open to Koreans and many went abroad for doctoral and master's programs on scholarship, many for short term training programs and many others for shorter periods observations. Upon return they formed, in the years 1960's onward, the backbone of the professionals and technocrats in universities, government agencies and industries.

The fifth and the last factor in the list is the rise of a group of ambitious entrepreneurs. The biggest of them are the famed conglomerates, such as Samsung, Hyundai, SK and LG that were born at this time and continue to exist and thrive to the present. There were of course numerous other minor entrepreneurs. Their entrepreneurship might partly be due to their abilities and personalities. However, it was more due to the deliberate backing of the government of development autocracy. It is beyond my capability to

discuss the merits and liabilities of the big business, the plutocrats. There is no question, however, as to their contributions to the Korean economic development, although they were often engaged in unjust and unfair practices. These entrepreneurs not only ventured industrial and commercial enterprises in an adverse environment and employed people in greater numbers every year relieving them from poverty, but also instilled in people the activist mentality that they too could overcome the fate of poverty and, through exports, opened the minds of people to the world outside.

Development Education

Development is a magic word. It easily catches the hopes and desires, the wishes and dreams of the people in the developing nations. In the 1960's in Korea, it was the crowning word of the names of many institutions and programs, of the subjects of many books and articles, and of the themes of many seminars and conferences. In education the term “development education” was once in vogue, meaning of course that education should be geared to the needs of development.

What is development? I remember that once there was a seminar on “national development and higher education” scheduled for two and a half days. There were six subtopics presented as the agenda. Naturally the first topic was “What is development?” After a presentation related to the topic, the participants engaged themselves in a heated discussion. Then they suddenly realized that they had spent one full day and a half on this topic still coming to no consensus with only a day left for five subsequent topics.

It seems that the definitions of development could be as different as the breadth and width of human dreams and ideals.

As for me, I am in principle satisfied with the definition that national development is to create those social conditions wherein the people in society can achieve their fullest possible self-realization. No matter how development is defined, however, in practice and reality it is usually taken to mean economic development foremost, overriding other aspects of development, political, social, cultural, and intellectual. In fact, in the fever for economic leap forward, these other aspects are often taken to be the instrumental means to economic development.

Very often, we come back to a simple truth in a hard way after a long period of wondering much like the prodigal son. The simple truth in this case is that, though material satisfaction is no doubt important, still there are other goods more important than materialistic well being, which the holy men and saints of the world have expounded timelessly and tirelessly. This of course is a very hard lesson to learn for those who have been down-trodden by mass poverty through history and especially for those who have recently tasted the honey of economic gains and have therefore acquired a growing appetite and avarice for the material. But, as the personal and social ills accompanying rapid economic growth start to alert people, they begin to give a second thought to their motives and values. With regard to education, it presents a few thoughts to ponder upon.

The idea of manpower planning, like the idea of development is very charming. After all, man is a creature who can look into the future and plan a course of action. No other animal does that consciously. Without planning man ceases to be man. Additionally, we see many sweet

consequences of planned actions. But the problem is: how far ahead and how meticulously can we plan, and how infallibly and steadily can the plan unfold?

“Mission Impossible” always succeeds in making the impossible possible with a series of fascinatingly pre-anticipated and pre-planned actions even to a degree of absurdity. In fiction, yes, but in reality it is obviously impossible. In reality, what is possible is that you plan only a very general course of action, keeping it tentative, and prepare yourself alert to the unexpected opportunities and dangers, reacting to them to the best of your judgment, wisdom and capabilities. In reality, if somebody acted like the men in the “Mission Impossible”, I am sure he would fail miserably. Can we really plan manpower for projected economic development? What do and should we mean by educational planning? Further discussion on manpower will follow in Chapter 6.

Karma

There is a Hindu concept called *karma*. Translated it means “historical consequences”, positing that the present is the accumulated consequences of the historical past. In Korean, we translate it into a word meaning “cause and effect”, or “deed and consequence.” It has to do with the secular doctrine of reincarnation, metempsychosis, which says that, for example, if you do wrong now, you will suffer consequences in the next round of life.

The deeper meaning of karma, however, can be understood, so I was once told by an Indian scholar, as historical causation. We are accustomed to seeing and interpreting cause-and-effect in a simultaneous and short time frame. Strike a match and it will light simultaneously. Plant seeds in the

spring and they will crop in the fall five months later. For a foolish person it may be difficult even to see the relation between the seeds and the crops separated as they are only five months apart. Karma teaches us to further stretch the time frame to decades or even to centuries. In order to get the lumber of pine trees, you should have planted them some forty years ago. The present is the consequence of what people have or have not done in the long historical past. However, you feel so remote, distant and unreal if you are to plant them now only to “see” the result after you are dead. People tend to want quick returns. If you did not plant them, however, your posterity will not reap the timber either.

Here is a painful case of karma. A revolution arises with an ardent desire to wipe out poverty, dictatorship, injustice, corruption, and inefficiency and to institute democracy, development and modernization. Revolutionaries want to write a “new history.” But the inexorable fact is that history can never be written anew totally. The present always carries with it the karma from the past. To their dismay, revolutionaries find, for example, that skilled technicians are not there, that efficient well-trained bureaucrats are not there, that necessary institutions are not there, or that people are still entrenched in the traditional mentalities, say, defeatism and nepotism. In spite of all the good intentions and ardent wishes for the better, and in spite of, or rather because of, their desire for quick returns and people's expectations of quick betterment, they take all the hasty measures and fail miserably. And then another revolution follows and thus a vicious chain of revolutions. What makes a revolution successful, I believe, is not revolution itself but the historical undercurrent, the necessary karma, which has been slowly in the making. The revolutionary has only to ride and capitalize on the undercurrent and wisely channel its direction.

Another case of karma is of interest here. Many outsiders wonder what factors really made the phenomenal Korean economic growth possible. Of course, there are many factors which I summarized afore in my own way. Among them, I believe, an all pervasive factor which nobody can write off was the nearly complete elementary education attendance in the decade of the 1950's as noted before. Really the seeds for economic development in the 1970's were planted twenty years before. In the 1950's. Even in the aftermath of the devastating Korean War, we enrolled and educated nearly all elementary school age children. It was financed by the government, but in greater part by the parents themselves. The great masses that were all elementary-educated formed a really critical mass for the later economic drive. They formed the resource base from which skilled workers, efficient bureaucrats and professionals could be recruited and trained in the 60's and 70's. They formed the massive modernization forces in working, consuming, socializing and thinking.

There is another side, though, to the concept of karma, I was told, that has important significance to educational planning. In addition to the historical causation over a long time span, it says that, even though the present inevitably carries the historical consequence of the past and so will the future be of the present, yet history will not respond favorably to those calculating and utilitarian minds who do something today with an eye to quick and easy returns in the future. Rather, history responds all the more favorably to those who do something simply because it is the thing that “ought” to be done now, because it has in itself an intrinsic value. One ought to do things now to the best of your personal, social and moral judgment, not to the best of your calculation.

This sounds like a philosophy of anti-planning and in part it is. It says, for example: do right not because you want to go to heaven in the next life, but simply because you ought to do right. Plant pine trees not because you want to get the lumber years later, but simply because it is a good thing in itself. Save money not because you want the interest from it but simply because it is a virtue in itself. And, educate students not because you want manpower, but simply because it is desirable in itself. Going back again to the total mass elementary education in the 1950's, it was implemented then clearly not because of calculated manpower needs for economic development. Development plans and development education simply did not exist then. The basic motive was simply the traditional valuation of education among Korean parents and the need for education for all in democracy. To the Korean mind, education was the thing that ought to be done and was desirable in its own right.

The two sides of the concept can be put together. Since it is difficult for mortal souls to see the intricate and complex laws of historical causation spanning over decades and centuries, the best guarantee to personal and social betterment is to concentrate on what you “ought” to do now as one's conviction directs and as the situation demands to the best of your judgment rather than on what you “would better” do as the probable return suggests to the best of your calculation.

The point is this. We can plan rather easily those events and things that are simultaneous or separated over a short time interval. But can we really in the same sense “plan” education for national development where the links of causation among events are so complex and so spread over decades?

What the above discussion suggests to education are two things. One is that what education “ought” to do perennially regardless of the ages is the holistic education which stresses the whole array of intellectual, emotional, social, moral, and physical abilities and virtues in addition to specific knowledge and skills of specialization. In other words, development education should go beyond itself and should not lose the sight of the perennial function of education. We will have further discussions on holistic education in Chapter 4 and 17. The other point is the importance of intrinsic values, as contrasted to the extrinsic values in things and activities that education deals with, of which we will have more to say in Chapter 4 and 7.

(2) The Nation

Dr. Bom Mo CHUNG

Perhaps I should have entitled this chapter more properly as “the nation-state” because the term nation sometimes connotes a more or less amorphous group of people that has developed historically sharing a common language and culture, while the state is a political entity with organizations. However, here I speak of the nation as a short-hand term for nation-state, nation as a polity.

A Nation Lost

During the period of Japanese occupation, being in the midst of innocent boyhood, I took it for granted that the world around me was made of Koreans and Japanese, and did not feel any particular antagonism toward

Japan and Japanese, although at times I found most Japanese around acted a little more haughtily than Koreans. Besides, as afore-mentioned, we were almost completely brainwashed in school to be Japanese subjects.

However, in my third year of the secondary school, a fierce fist fight broke out in the classroom between a Korean boy and a Japanese boy. The fight was started unreasonably by the Japanese boy upon an absurd pretense. He was also the bigger of the two and always acted in a way that was irritating to Koreans. Angered by the insults and provocation, the Korean boy took the hit and run tactics. The fight went on for quite a while. It was a fight not between two boys but between Korea and Japan. So too was it to the eyes of the boys around, Koreans and Japanese, who were watching the fight. It was so fierce that nobody dared to stop it. In the end the Japanese boy got the bloody nose and bloated eyes. I felt great. Then the bell rang for the next class. The incident starkly inflamed a nationalistic sentiment in me and, at the same time, I was crushed by a deep sorrow that I did not have a nation of my own.

In school, we used to sing on special occasions a Japanese song that was meant to boost the sense of loyalty to the emperor and the nation. It went like this — “Go to the sea and be a corpse bloated in the water, go to the hill and be a corpse rotten in the grass. I will not mind it so long as I die for the emperor.” The words and the music were both solemn. Not long after the incident of the fight cited above, there was another occasion to sing the song again. While singing, suddenly I found my eyes unwittingly wet in tears. I quickly suppressed the tears but could not quite figure out immediately why I had been crying. Moments later a thought painfully stung my heart, ‘Japanese have their emperor and their nation that they can

be loyal to and die for. But, where is my emperor, my nation? To whom can I be loyal to and die for?' The thought let loose yet more tears.

Nation Building

A nation is a matter of life and death to its people, its citizens. If the nation perishes, its people undergo unbearable tribulations as Koreans did in the period between 1910 and 1945. If the nation prospers, the lives of its citizens also thrive. Though the modern world is said to be in the age of globalization, the basic unit of political sovereignty remains still with the nation. The relationship between the nation and its people is symbiotic: if a nation is like a veritable nation, people become more like true humans, and if people are more like humans, the nation becomes more like a veritable nation. Veritable nation building or national development is one of the reasons, together with the need for individual self-realization, that the modern nation-states invariably have systems of public education and devote considerable financial assets to it.

Nation building in the case of the Republic of Korea started from the time of its inception in 1948 occupying the southern half of the Korean Peninsula. Korea was then practically an underdeveloped country, although we clung to the idea that culturally at least it was not. The passion for nation building and national development kindled the thinking as to what the kind of ideal nation Korea should be. The dream to build an affluent nation came first and then the passion to build a democratic nation came next, both of which have been achieved to a significant extent. To be sure, with regard to nation building, there have been a persistent longing for the unification of the North and the South Koreas, which, however, has

become in effect an international problem insurmountable by South Korea alone due to the particular geopolitical nature of the Korean peninsula.

However, the tasks of nation building continue. In many respects, Korea is still a developing country and ideally the tasks should still be in progress, even though some prematurely claim Korea to be nearly at the threshold of becoming an advanced nation. What then are the next tasks to be achieved further? I like to conceive the tasks in two large categories: building national strengths and building national integrity.

National strengths

National strengths are the pillars of a nation on which it can stand erect. Of these, the economic strength is obviously the most urgent strength that all countries seek to invigorate themselves with all the time. Then there is the political and administrative strength, by which the formation of productive national policies and their implementation are either efficiently actualized or hampered. Military strength for national defense and security is the basic necessity of any nation from the ancient times and its urgency is the same in the present day Korea. In the modern world, diplomatic strength comes to count more and more as being indispensable for national survival. Elegant diplomatic persuasiveness goes a long way to promoting the nation's security as well as enhancing the economic and cultural trade. It assumes a particular importance in the age of globalization, especially when we take into account the often-cited vulnerable geopolitical locality of the Korean peninsula. Finally there are the cultural strengths in the whole spectrum of socio-cultural activities encompassing arts and sciences, mores and morals, education and welfare, entertainments and sports. This

of course is not a place to enumerate the kinds of national strengths in the myriads of national activities. This is to highlight the following two observations of importance.

First, as it is with the individual, a holistic approach is needed to build the nation's strengths. That is, developments in the different sectors of the nation should maintain the basic minimum of balance among them. That is because the strengths in different domains are closely interrelated and interdependent. If one or two pillars of the nation are too low compared to others, the nation on them would come to be precariously tilted, so to speak. For instance, national security is obviously the prerequisite for the economic development as well as political stability. Unproductively contentious politics could impede the progress of the economy. Sciences and the arts cannot thrive beyond the limits set by the extent of economic affluence, and the economy could be in turn conversely affected by the development of sciences and the arts.

Often reality demands that the priority needs to be assigned to a particular domain of national strength. Even then the minimum essential back-up of other related factors must be assured. The “pillars” of national strengths should not and cannot be too uneven in their heights if the building on them is not to collapse. This is yet another reason that school education has to offer a balanced curriculum.

Second, of all the national strengths, I assert that the moral strength of a nation is the most crucial. It pervasively affects all national activities. If it were faulty, everything else would crumble with it including economic, political, and cultural strengths. I do not mean to sound moralistic on this. However, with or without Fukuyama's admonition, we can easily see the

plain fact that all social activities are made possible on the premise of mutual social trust, and such trust is derived from moral honesty. If one does not trust that others will honor transactions steadfastly, no social activity would ever be possible other than suspicion and enmity towards each other.

We can also safely assume that, as the pace of national development quickens, its economic and social activities become more and more complex, which in turn depend upon the more and more complex system of social trust. Morality then comes to be in a more extensive and intensive demand in the more developed stages of a society.

Needless to say, national strength is nurtured and bolstered through the concerted efforts of all the domains of national activities. Yet it is also obvious that, so long as those activities are carried out by people, by their intellectual, emotional, and moral capabilities and traits, education that trains these abilities and traits assumes a pivotal importance.

National integrity

National integrity, as taken here for discussion, means the national character that is morally and emotionally dignified and refined. An analogy can be taken from the case of an individual. An individual may be strong and competent physically, intellectually and economically. If, however, he is careless and insensitive to other's emotion, rude and ruthless, we naturally consider him less of a human being, lacking in integral character. Likewise, a nation may become rich economically and strong militarily and otherwise, but if the people and the institutions therein are in some way

deficient morally and culturally, we deem it less of a dignified and stately country.

Upon returning from visits to foreign countries, sometimes you carry back with you some endearing memories of the countries and feel like visiting again and even sojourning there for a longer period. Those are not necessarily rich, strong developed countries, but the countries where people are warm and friendly, honest and trustworthy, courteous and dignified. At other times, however, we see countries which you feel you never want to visit again. Again those are not always poor countries, but the countries where people are curt and arrogant, rude and dishonest. The matter is not necessarily of leaving favorable impressions for foreign visitors. More importantly, it should be obvious that the traits of national integrity gravely affect the achievements of national activities themselves.

I posit that there are differences in national integrity among different countries, and that the national integrity may be defined in three terms: legal, moral and emotional, though they certainly overlap each other often.

Nations contrast with each other in the degrees of observance and enforcement of law and order. A nation of integrity has fewer incidences of minor and major crimes due to the custom of law observance on the part of people and to effective law enforcement on the part of government. Streets and alleys are generally safe even in the dark of night. There are fewer unlawful and violent street demonstrations and fewer cases of false accusations.

Nations also vary in the extent to which people are conscious of public morality over and above personal ethics and act accordingly. Morality may be either one of the stages of moral development defined by Kohlberg cited before. Morality of the higher stage should of course be preferable. Either

form of morality has to be there, however, if a nation is to look like a veritable nation. With morality, there will be fewer instances of clandestine bribery, rebate, fraud and cheating. Fewer cases of noisy and blatant disregards of other people in public places, fewer cases of badly processed foods and faulty building construction. People then comfortably feel that they can depend on each other without undue precautions.

Nations differ again, for some reason or another in the general emotional atmosphere of warm sensitivity and empathy to each other. In the street they do not glance at each other with stern and forbidding eyes, let alone carelessly hindering and bumping into other's way. They are quick to know and respond appropriately to other's emotions. They commonly refrain from excessive outbursts of negative emotions such as anger and sorrow, all being exemplary of “emotional intelligence”

In nurturing the national integrity thus defined, the education of a nation has again a pivotal role to play. But, we have to admit that here the role of the political system and administrative efficiency may be more crucial in that they define the general social environment in which the people are tempted to behave accordingly. In this regard, all three dimensions of national integrity, I believe, can be in principle epitomized by the psychological culture of liberal democracy since the care and the respect for human beings is the basic undercurrent of democracy. To enhance the national integrity amounts then to gradually actualizing the basic tenets of democracy.

The individual in the organization

The relationship of the individual to the organization, be it a nation or an industrial company, always involves an intricate problem of tension. During by-gone days of aristocratic kingdoms, the sovereignty of the individual was not recognized as such and at best deemed to be a subject to the state. The state was in effect the king himself as Louis XIV is said to have declared "The state is myself." Rousseau in his "Social Contract" turns the relationship upside down, asserting that it is the individuals who have the ultimate sovereignty, which is delegated to the state through a social contract and which can nonetheless be withdrawn if necessary. Rousseau's stand is plainly that of democracy. The problem, however, involves more than a matter of turning the relationship upside down.

The individual in the democratic political order must face up to the task of balancing or synthesizing seemingly conflicting motives. That is, he has to act as a part of the total like a cog in the machine, and yet at the same time has to retain the sense of separate individuality. He has to subject himself to the laws and orders of the nation, and yet preserve the sense of sovereignty of the individual, too. Patriotism is a prerequisite and yet the habit of independent thinking needs to be maintained. Loyalty to the nation is also indispensable and yet simultaneously the spirit of critical thinking has to be upheld. Efforts to synthesize such conflicting demands inescapably induce tensions within the individual as well as tensions between the individual and the nation's authority in power.

Not only the nation but also many organizations to which the individual belongs, such as companies, universities, political parties, pose a similar individual vs. collectivity problem. They too demand loyalty, cohesion and dedication from the individuals, who, however, wish to maintain individual

identities and a critical stance when necessary. The situation naturally entails tensions.

Such tensions, however, are not only inevitable but should also be taken as indispensable for the healthy development of the nation and of the individual. A status of no conflict means either a state of total suppression or of total brain-washing. What is to be hoped for is not necessarily a status of no tensions and conflicts but the collectivity's capabilities of conflict resolution. The collectivity, nation or company, tends to stress its own interests, often fermenting tensions against the rightful interests and aspirations of the individuals in it, which, if continued, will act as a detrimental tension to the collectivity itself. These tensions, however, can act either as creative tensions or as destructive ones depending upon the society's system of conflict solution. A system of conflict solution that allows constructive critiques can help turn the tension into a creation and their suppression to some form of disruption.

Conflicts and tensions abound in any society. In this regard we note that democracy is fundamentally a peaceful means of conflict resolution, though it often requires painstaking deliberations and irksome negotiations. The basic principle of democracy is not necessarily the rule of the majority, which is only the last resort in conflict resolution. Collective deliberation on conflicting matters that reaches a consensus are of course the best, but even when the majority rule has to prevail, the maximum respect for the minority is what makes democracy authentic, relieving it from falling into the "tyranny of the majority."

I have to note here that, although we in Korea have successfully instituted the democratic political system, we still have a long way to go in conventionalizing a system of creative conflict resolution. We still often

see street demonstrations turn into violent riots. Even the national assembly easily turns into an arena of collective confrontation, often riotous, rather than deliberation. I wish I knew how a country's system of conflict resolution could come to maturity. Perhaps a social and educational campaign for in-depth understanding of the basic tenets of democracy may pave the way.

Nationalism

It is almost self-evident that nationalism in its healthy sense of communal sentiment is a requisite of any nation. Excessive nationalism, though, that we still often witness in Korea and in other countries, too, presents some problems to ponder on. Traditionally, Koreans harbor rather fervent nationalistic sentiment, which, I think, were partly bred by a presumed but untenable belief that Koreans were of a single race, but more by the frequent invasions of foreign powers. High level of nationalism on the part of Koreans is natural and understandable to that extent. But, obviously nationalism in its extremes leads to an isolationistic mentality that is dysfunctional and hostile to national survival itself. In the past, isolationism led to the demise of the hermit kingdom of the Chosun dynasty, and it is obviously yet more fatal in the present age of globalization.

What is needed, I believe, is the gradual expansion of the sense of identity. The individual has a sense of self-identity, and the major part of that self-identity is ingrained with the sense of belonging to the collectivities that are then successively enlarged. One starts to identify oneself with one's parents and family, with community and province, and

with occupation and association. Identification has to further extend to the nation and preferably to the rest of humanity of the world and the future.

When, however, the progression to successive identification stops somewhere in the middle, problems incur. If it remains stuck at the level of family, familism ensues; if it ceases at the provincial, provincialism or parochialism entails; if it stops at the national level, nationalism results, all to the detriment of oneself and of the larger collectivity. That immoderate familism and provincialism hurt the progress of economic and political development is well known. So too does extreme nationalism.

A healthy child gradually grows out of the dependent patronage of parents and family. A mature personality should grow out of the nation's patronage. To “grow out”, however, does not mean to forsake and desert the one's parents, the family or the nation. To grow out of one's parents does not mean to love them no longer. On the contrary, it means to be able to love them more and in a more mature way to “give” rather than to “take.” While your mental outlook is totally dependent on your parents, you are only in a position to be receptively loved rather than to love productively. As you grow out, you can “give” more to parents. To grow out of nationalism does not mean to forsake your country and become a pure cosmopolitan. It means to be able to love your nation in a more mature way, employing your independent rational thinking and capabilities to contribute to the nation. To cite Kennedy's famous phrase, you come to a stage of maturity where you ask not what the country can do for you, but ask what you can do for the country.

There is an additional problem that needs reflection. Koreans in general exhibit fervent nationalism as was mentioned, but the nationalism in Korea

involves a temperament of a rather paradoxical nature. It may not be peculiar to Korea and may apply to some other countries as well.

There are two different contexts to which the concept of nationalism applies. At the beginning of this chapter, I noted that the word “nation” connotes both an amorphous group sharing the same culture and an organized political entity. The word “nationalism” is also applied to both. One may be called “ethnic nationalism”, love of nation as a historically developed cultural collectivity, and the other, “state nationalism”, love of nation as the contemporary political entity. The problem is that Koreans are generally very passionate in terms of ethnic nationalism, but not necessarily so in regard to state nationalism. For instance, we see the frantic cheers for the nation's team in the foot-ball stadium as other nations do and the spontaneous and profuse donations to areas suffering from a disaster. However, in contrast, we see not infrequent cases of tax evasion, for example. We also witness frequent violent street demonstrations openly defying the laws and regulations set by the nation state.

This incongruity was reared, I believe, through the historically prolonged and unhappy experiences of colonial exploitation and oppressive dictatorship. During the period of colonization, Koreans were deprived of their own nation-state, and, therefore, nationalism meant the love of nation but naturally not the love of the state then. The state at the time was not “mine” but some entity I should defy or shirk away from. Many harbored similar aversion to the successive dictatorial governments. The sentiment seems to be still operative, even though less so than in the past. Yet the emotional congeniality of ethnic nationalism and the past aversive sentiment to the state has to evolve into the love of the nation-state that

accompanies a climate of respect for the laws and regulations of the nation-state as well as emotional attachment to the national “brethren.”

This is a view to nation which I hope the students come to realize and which I hope would channel the flow of education.

(3) The Power of Education

Dr. Bom Mo CHUNG

We all say that education is important, that education is an essential need both to the wellbeing of the individual and to the prosperity of the nation. To believe thus in the importance of education is to believe in the power of education. Unless you believe that education is really powerful enough to effect significant change in human behavior, then to that extent you would not believe in the importance of education either.

However, how much and how strongly do people believe in the power of education is a good question to ask. It may be that, while nearly all people overtly pay lip-service to the importance of education, in the back of their minds they differ in the degree of belief in the power of education and many probably simply do not care about whether education is powerful or powerless. Do we believe, for example, that intellectually retarded children may be taught to achieve scholastic excellence, or that delinquent problem

students may become emotionally and morally mature through education? Further, do we believe that, given a class of fifty students, the teacher can help 90 percent of them attain all substantial “A” grade achievements? Do we really believe that a good education can bring enormous blessings and benefits to the nation as well as to the individuals, while a poor education can lead to abyssal curses and disasters?

Group vs. Individualized Instruction

Suppose that a teacher teaches a course in mathematics to a class of fifty students for a semester, and then in the end gives them a test to evaluate their achievements. Normally, the test scores are distributed from low to high, conforming in general to the so-called normal distribution curve, where commonly around 15 percent of students get A grades, and the rest of the students come out to be deficient in different degrees, B, C, D and E. In the group instruction situation, therefore, the teacher from the start has a “trisection expectation”: that some students will be poor, many ordinary and some good. And, that is actually how most school education goes generally.

Suppose again, however, that, instead of one teacher teaching a group of students, each of fifty teachers teaches one individual student. In the situation of such one-to-one individualized instruction, the level of student achievements is raised dramatically and even “frightfully.”

There were a number of instructional experiments comparing the achievements in group vs. individualized instructional settings. The results generally show that the proportion of A grade students in the individualized instruction group now hovers around 85 percent instead of 15 percent! It is

asserted that, theoretically, the A grade percentage can go up even as high as 95 percent, as will be noted later. Statistically, it shows that the mean of the scores of the individualized instruction class goes up generally on the 2 sigma point above the mean, that is, about on the 95 percentile point of the score distribution of the group instruction class! Another collateral observation is that the correlation between IQ's and learning achievements is much smaller in the individualized setting than in the group setting, signifying that low IQ's do not necessarily result in low levels of achievements.

The difference of 85 percent vs. 15 percent is in itself a tremendous difference. If we come to imagine, in addition to the heightened level of achievements, the reinvigorated sense of achievement and self-confidence on the part of so many students who otherwise would have been doomed to failure and frustration, and also the national competencies enhanced by the aggregate increment of their achievements, we can see that this is really a dramatic difference. It is a “frightful” difference because it would also pose a potential threat to the established social order, which will be discussed later.

The experiment above attests to the fact that the power of education in the form of individualized instruction can go up to that height. Even though a system of completely individualized instruction as in the above experiment is out of the dream in the ordinary school context, the power of education is nonetheless latently there. If there is some way to approximate and apply the principles that work in the individualized setting to group instruction, it should be possible to greatly enhance the power of education in the ordinary group setting, too, if not necessarily to the same degree. The strategy of “mastery learning”, so named by Bloom, attempts to apply one

such major principle, along with others, that makes individualized instruction powerful to the group setting: providing periodic diagnoses of learning deficiencies through the formative tests and the remedial learning that follow before going on to learning the next unit. The mastery learning strategy was once experimented and employed in Korea on a large scale.

The general results show that, on the achievement test at the end of the program, the mean score of the mastery learning group is raised to the 1 sigma point above the mean of the score distribution of the class of regular group instruction. It shows that, in the mastery learning group, 50 percent of students achieve A grade. The difference of 50 per cent vs. 15 per cent is not a small one either. Adding other workable strategies to it, the mastery learning system can be rendered still more powerful.

Assertions of Educational Power

Long years ago, John Locke, the empiricist, declared that the mind of the new born baby was like a blank paper, a tabula rasa, upon which experiences inscribe what the world was and what the baby was to be. His view may well be challenged by modern psychology. Yet he must have been a staunch advocate of the power of education since education prescribes those experiences. The controversy of nature vs. nurture notwithstanding, to weigh experience heavily is to weigh the power of education heavily to the same extent.

Of special reference to school learning, Bruner once claimed that with appropriate “representations” of the topic to learn, which means the same as appropriate instructional methods, any topic of advanced difficulty can be understood by any child. This, if we ponder upon it, is really a

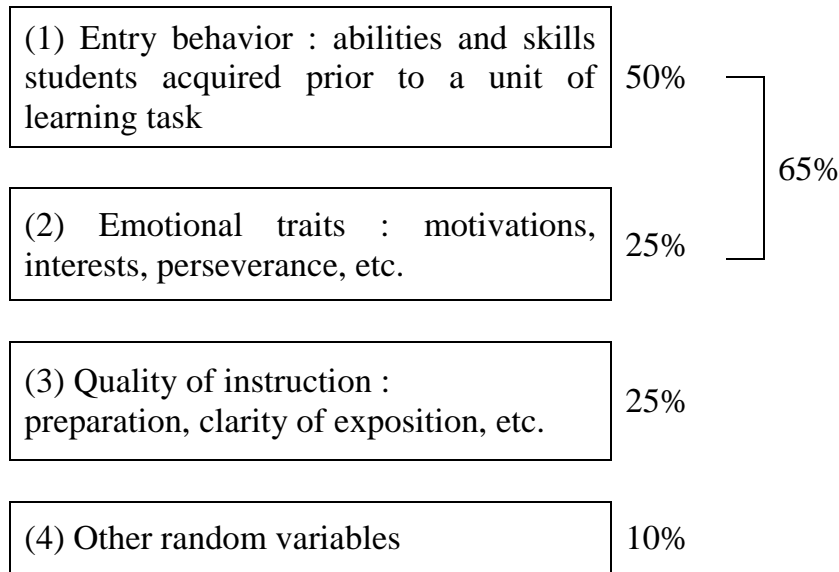
revolutionary statement. It says, for example, that, if the instructional methods are right, a young boy of IQ 90 can come to understand the gist of Einstein's relativity theory! This represents an extraordinary belief in the power of education.

Again Carroll proposed a simple formula by which different degrees of learning achievement are attained by students,

$$\text{Learning achievement} = f \frac{\text{Time spent in learning}}{\text{Time necessary in learning}}$$

That is, the degree of a student's learning achievement is the function of the time he actually spends in learning a topic over the time necessary for him to learn the topic. If a student, for some reason such as having a high IQ, needs a shorter time to learn, then the time spent in learning may also be shorter to attain a given level of achievement. If another student, for some reason such as having a low IQ, needs a longer time to learn the topic, he can still attain the same level of achievement as the former by devoting more time to learning it. What is revolutionary about this simple and innocent formula is that, if anyone spends a large enough amount of time in learning, he can master anything. This is another strong belief in education. The task of education then is to contrive instructional methods that can effectively shorten both the time necessary for learning and the time to be spent on it. Then the power of education can be magnified further.

Bloom, after an extensive survey of studies on school learning, identified four determinants of learning achievement and their weights, that is, the variances they accounted for, as follows.



Since the entry behavior and the emotional traits are statistically correlated, their added weight becomes 65 percent rather than 75.

There are many significant points to observe in the above list. For example, in order to raise the level of achievement, the most important measure is to diagnose the deficiencies in students prior to learning a task and to remedy them, assuring the necessary entry competencies and emotional traits that account for nearly two third(65 percent) of the weight. The point of concern here with regard to the power of education is that, if the entry behavior and traits are all sufficiently corrected and if the quality of instruction is superb, we could theoretically expect 95 percent of students to attain the complete mastery of learning, supposing that the effect of the “random” variables acts half favorably and half unfavorably. Ninety five percent of students graduating from schools and colleges all with excellent levels of achievement! It sounds unbelievable but theoretically education can be as powerful as this.

Should Education Be Powerful?

Another good question, however, which may in fact lurk consciously or unconsciously in the minds of many people is that “Does education have to be so powerful?” Rather, is it not better and safer to have and keep education much less powerful as it is now?

Suppose that education were so powerful that it turned out every year nearly all graduates from all high schools all with excellent A grade achievements. Colleges would then have a difficult time selecting candidates for admission. Again if all college graduates were A grade students of excellence, companies and government agencies would find the same difficulty in selection and placement of personnel. Or on the contrary, would it be much easier because you may then randomly select anybody?

More to the point is the issue of what would be the social effect of an extremely powerful and effective education. Unequal abilities among people have been the major basis of differential social class structures throughout history and in every society. In days past, common people were not allowed to have access to education so that they might not threaten to replace the people in the ruling class and, therefore, were relegated to the status of dullards. The ruling class tends to wish consciously or unconsciously to keep the ignorant still ignorant and keep the unable still unable so that they may continue to keep their superior status and prerogatives.

Even today in modern society, the social classes are maintained mainly by differential abilities, which were created by differential educational opportunities. The point of concern here is that a powerless and ineffective education that turns out the “trisections” of students into the unable, the

able, and the abler may well be the main cause of producing wide differences in abilities. The weak and ineffective education is then a powerful and effective means of maintaining the status quo of the social classes. In other words, a powerful and effective education would be a tremendous threat to the present social order. Therefore, even though lip service is often paid to the importance of education, many covertly wish and believe that the status quo of poor education may well be maintained. Might this be one of the reasons why education reform is hard to be effected in general?

Education or Brainwashing

Still another pertinent question is “What is the difference between education and brainwashing?”, because a powerful system of education appears very akin to a brainwashing. Is not then a powerful education an encroachment upon the personal freedom and human dignity? By the same token, how does education differ from training?”

The questions immediately incite an association with the theme of the famous Huxley's “Brave New World”, where people were made born, raised and cast into pre-determined molds to fit into the five social classes from birth to death, by mobilizing every possible biological, psychological and social means. It might well be taken as an example of a very powerful education. Again, Skinner in his “Walden II” fictitiously illustrates how his theory of operant conditioning might be applied to form an ideal society by perfectly conditioning people to fit into it. The title of his another book “Beyond Freedom and Dignity” is indicative of the intention bordering on brainwashing.

During the Korean War, many American soldiers fell into the hands of the Chinese army and were brought to the POW camp. Back in America, the government and the people worried that they might have been badly mistreated with hunger, cold, hard labor and other abuses. When they were finally released with the armistice, people in the American government expected that they would return as hardened anticommunists having gone through all these presumed hardships. However, in the interviews upon their return, the interviewers were appalled to find that quite a number of them had become quite obviously pro-communists.

It was revealed that the American POWs had not at all been mistreated. Instead they were treated exactly the same as the Chinese soldiers, no more and no less, with the same living quarters, meals and clothing, which were themselves shabby and scanty. They were not put into hard labor either. The only difference was the five to six hours of daily lessons on the ideas of communism. As the days went on, those POWs who attended the lessons dutifully and showed evidences of good progress began to be rewarded with special privileges such as chocolates, extra cigarettes, playing cards, short tours out of the camp and the like. Gradually, a number of them turned into willing sympathizers of communism.

The Chinese army unknowingly or instinctively applied the psychological mechanism of what is now called positive reinforcement in the operant conditioning theory advanced by Skinner.

The question is “Were the lessons given to the POWs an education or a brainwashing?” The outcome of powerful education is not much different from that of brainwashing in that both forcefully and effectively change the behavior they intend to change. Education intends to build the brain.

However, after all, are not brain-building and brainwashing nearly synonymous? What should we then think are the criteria that differentiate the two? I propose three, as follows.

Differentiating Criteria

The first criterion is the relevance of educational objectives to the individual human being and to the national society. So long as the objectives are relevant, it is an education, and if not, a form of brainwashing. This is essentially a philosophical problem. What objectives are considered to be relevant would differ depending upon the notions of ideal man and society that educators cherish. To the Chinese army, the treatment of American POWs was an education but a form of brainwashing to America. To develop critical thinking is an education in a democratic country but a brainwashing in a totalitarian despotic nation.

When and where the power of education is insignificantly weak, what educational objectives are to be defined and promoted is not really a serious matter because, with an ineffective system of education, they would not be, or only poorly, achieved anyway. However, the more potent the power of education is, the problem of objectives becomes ever more critical, for then the professed objectives would be effectively achieved literally as they were meant to be.

Secondly, I propose the degree of free will on the part of the learner involved in learning is another differentiating criterion. If a learning program is pursued by the free will of the learner, it is an education, and if not, brainwashing. Philosophically free will is a loaded term beset with

controversies. Here, however, I use it its simple mundane meaning of doing things because “I want to”, not because “I am forced to.” We can easily imagine that in ordinary educational settings children and students engage in varied learning activities with different degrees of free will, some very willing and enthusiastic and some others half-hearted and even rebellious. The ordinary learning activities are then carried out with a mixture of varying degrees of free will.

Toilet training of the infant is not up to the baby's free will. Children are coerced to memorize the multiplication table regardless of their initial willingness. They have to be persuaded and coaxed to do it. Requisite courses in colleges are required of all regardless of students' will to take them. To the extent of disregarding the learner's will, these are, according to my definition, all inescapably forms of brainwashing.

Although part of education may have to be inescapably brainwashing, education accrues its greatest achievements to the extent to which it capitalizes upon the spontaneous free will of the learners. We have to make room, however, for what the psychologists call “functional autonomy”, which says that an initially dull and even repugnant activity, which was engaged in only as a means to some other ends, after repeated rewards, becomes a value in itself that comes to be autonomously sought after.

The third criterion differentiating education from brainstorming is the dimension of open-ended vs. closed-ended educational achievement. The open-ended form of achievement is one that is open to continuous improvement and revision if necessary and that openly and profusely connects itself to many other things, other bodies of knowledge or practical uses. The closed-ended form is that which does not permit any

modification or revision even when necessary and that stands all alone not in any way connected to other things.

If, for example, an educational program trains a learner to be a fanatic adherent to a faith without any faint trace of doubt and with no intention of understanding other faiths, it is clearly a form of brainstorming rather than education. If knowledge that an education achieves in students is such that it is taken as the absolute and is in no way productively related to other knowledge or to any practical use, which is not an education but a form of brainwashing.

Dewey says that education needs to satisfy no external aims since education as the reconstruction of experiences has in itself an intrinsic value, and that the intrinsic value of educational experiences resides in their potency to further widely open the doors to the world of richer experiences. Education that fosters a closed mentality that is neither open to the next richer experiences and nor related to the others is to him, he would say, not an education but a brainwashing.

Education can be powerful without lapsing into the realm of a brainwashing. Education is in general a mixture of education and brainwashing. Yet education is an authentic education, however powerful it may be, to the proportion and to the extent that its objectives are valid and relevant, that it encourages the student's free will and spontaneity in learning, and that its achievements are open-ended to continuous reconstruction and growth.

Finally, the strength of belief in the power of education, I believe, is proportionate to the degree of our affection for human beings, for the nation and for education. If you love individual human beings, you would

not abandon students of poor achievement to their frustration and despair. If you love the nation, you would not tolerate the loss in the national strength and dignity incurred by poor education. Finally, if you love education, you would not be satisfied with a mediocre educational achievement.

2. Japanese Colonial Education as a Contested Terrain:

**What Part Did Koreans Play in the Expansion of Elementary
Schooling?**

Dr. Seong-Cheol OH & Dr. Ki-Seok KIM

This paper is a slightly revised version of the paper published in *Asia Pacific Education Review* (Vol.1 No.1 December 2000, The Institute of Asia Pacific Education Development, SNU. pp.75-89.) with same title.

This chapter examines the process of structuring Korean elementary schooling under the Japanese colonial rule for a period of 35 years, spanning 1910 to 1945. Prior studies on the subject have focused mostly on analyzing how the colonizer country handled education policies in the colonized country, and the case of Korea is no exception. However, this chapter will adopt a somewhat different point of view. While it is important to identify what Japanese education policy in Korea did or did not include,

it is even more important to determine the reaction by the Korean people to this policy.

In African and other Asian nations that were once colonized by western Europe, “while some colonized reacted favorably to colonial schools, others did not. Apathy was probably a more pervasive response than anything else” (Kelly & Altbach 1978, p.18.). In contrast, it is somehow characteristic of Koreans to show active attitude toward the policy (Oh 1996). Unlike the Taiwanese who were also under Japanese rule, Koreans defied the system rather than be neutralized or brainwashed by it (Tsurumi 1977; 1984). Considering these facts, we can infer that Koreans’ expectations for and recognition of the education policy were not synonymous with the Japanese governments. One step further, we might hypothesize that the Japanese imperialists did not attain its intended goals and inadvertently caused unexpected problems through their education policy.

In this chapter an attempt will be made to reevaluate the true intent of education policy during the colonial period in Korea from the Korean agency’s point of view. However, we will not overlook the intent of Japanese colonial education policy, either. All the more, we expect to see facts as a “contested terrain” in which both nations’ expectations and recognition diverge through policy collision or interaction.

The main focus of this chapter is primary education, and analyzing the process, size and function of expansion of colonial education and its curriculum will produce both ironies and unexpected conclusions.

Characteristics of the Expansion of Colonial Education

Shortly after colonizing Korea in 1911, the Japanese colonial empire announced “the Korean Educational Ordinance”, a law that established the colonial educational system in Korea. As primary schooling, it mandated four years of Common School (*futsu-gakko*); as secondary schooling, four years of high school for boys (*koto futsu-gakko*), three years of high school for girls (*joshi koto futsu-gakko*), and two or three years of industrial school (*jitsugyo-gakko*). In 1915, the Japanese announced “the Regulations for Special Schools”, which legalized special schools (*senmon-gakko*) as postsecondary schooling. In the 1910s, there was no university in Korea and primary or secondary schooling for Korean was not as long as it was for Japanese in Japan or Korea. During the same period, primary school (*sho-gakko*) for Japanese in Japan or Korea was a six-year course, high school (*jyu-gakko*) or girls’ high school (*koto jogakko*) for Japanese in Japan or Korea offered five years for boys and four years for girls. After the outbreak of the March First Movement for independence of Korea in 1919, the Japanese partially changed their colonial education policy; through the Korean Educational Ordinance of 1922, they extended the Common School course to six years.¹ They also extended the high school course to five years, the girls’ high school course to four years, and industrial school to three to five years. And they legalized normal school as a secondary schooling in 1922 and established the only university, Keijo Imperial University, in 1924. Through such procedures, the colonial education system for Koreans became equal to that of Japan and that for

¹ But along with the six-year-course Common School, the four-year-course Common School lasted through the late of 1930s.

Japanese in Korea. But the co-education of Japanese and Koreans was not established on a full-scale basis. Primary schools and high schools were divided in terms of ethnic group; industrial schools, normal schools, special schools, and the university were co-educational for both ethnic groups. After the Korean Educational Ordinance of 1938, there were slight changes in these systems. For example, the names of primary or middle schools, which had been different for Koreans and Japanese, were unified and the rate of co-education in those schools increased. Until 1945, however the systems were maintained without significant changes.

Separate from those schools initiated and controlled by the Japanese colonial government, however, another modern educational institutions existed in Korea, modern private schools institutionally excluded from the colonial educational system. These schools had roots in the voluntary educational efforts of Koreans or Western missionaries before colonization. At this time, the Korean imperial government had been planning the modern educational system through the Kap-Oh Educational Reformation in 1894. The content of this reformation included such things as all-out opening up of educational opportunities, publishing new textbooks, training primary school teachers, and establishing the structure of primary-secondary-higher education (Ryu 1995). Because of other internal problems, including financial factors, the government could not accomplish good results in a short period of time. On the other hand, the Koreans actively developed these modern schools on their own, and Western missionaries also built many private schools that Koreans actively endorsed.

In the early 1900s, apart from private schools built by the Christian missionaries, there were more than 1,000 private schools built by Koreans. These efforts were the result of the Patriotic Awakening Movement carried

out by Korean citizens to oppose Japanese aggression in the early 1910s. These schools, however, were destroyed or suppressed by the Japanese colonial power. The Ordinance for Private Schools in 1908 and Regulations for Private Schools in 1911 were edicts issued to restrict or suppress the educational facilities established by Koreans or Western missionaries. Simultaneously the Japanese Government General of Korea began a strategy either to change these schools into facilities for colonial education or, failing that, to delegitimize them. Labeling them “various private schools” (*shiritsu kakushu gakko*), the Japanese did not acknowledge the credentials of these schools. In the meantime, the Government General kept a close eye on their curricula and teachers.

Traditional educational institutions, called *sodang*, also continued during the colonial period. The *sodang* was a primary-level educational institution teaching the rudiments of Chinese characters and arithmetic, Confucian ethics and the classics. Koreans had a long tradition of running *sodang* in local districts using their own funds. In the colonial period, the *sodang* was not so severely oppressed by the colonial government as the modern private schools were, since its credentials were not socially recognized. It was also a marginal institution outside the colonial educational system.

If we look only at the surface of the colonial educational system, it seems to show the characteristics of the modern educational system. It consisted of primary, secondary, and postsecondary levels of schooling, and educational opportunities were legally open for all Koreans regardless of class or social background. Looking more closely, we can see that colonial characteristics were strongly systemized inside the structure of educational institution.

To begin with, we can examine the expansion of education in colonial period. The composition and trends in the increase of schools at each level during colonial domination is shown in Table 1. What kind of progress in expansion do colonial educational facilities show? In 1912, there were 343 Common Schools for Koreans; these numbers increased to 3,263 by 1942. For secondary schooling (high schools for Koreans and industrial schools or normal schools for both ethnic groups), the number increased from 64 to 400; and for postsecondary schooling (one university and other special schools for both ethnic groups), from 2 to 21. In the case of the primary level, most colonial educational institutions were public schools and the proportion of private educational institutions was less than 5%. For the secondary level, it was about 15%, for the post-secondary level, it was about 50%.

Table 1. Schools for Koreans, by level and foundation, 1912-1942

Year	Primary			Secondary			Postsecondary			Priva	Sodang
	Tot	Pu	P	T	Pu	P	To	P	P	to school	
1912	343	34	0	6	63	1	2	2	0	1,32	18,238
1913	368	36	0	9	91	1	2	2	0	1,28	20,268
1914	404	38	2	9	94	5	2	2	0	1,21	21,358
1915	429	41	1	1	10	5	2	2	0	1,09	23,441
1916	447	42	1	1	11	7	5	5	0	973	25,486
1917	461	43	2	1	11	9	7	5	2	827	24,294
1918	507	47	3	1	11	1	7	5	2	780	23,369
1919	570	53	3	1	11	1	7	5	2	698	24,030
1920	681	64	3	1	99	1	7	5	2	661	25,482
1921	794	75	3	1	93	1	7	5	2	625	24,193
1922	947	90	4	1	96	1	8	5	3	653	21,057
1923	1,0	1,	5	1	11	1	8	5	3	637	19,613
1924	1,1	1,	5	1	12	1	9	6	3	645	18,510
1925	1,2	1,	6	1	12	1	10	6	4	615	16,873
1926	1,3	1,	7	1	13	2	11	6	5	600	16,089
1927	1,4	1,	8	1	15	2	11	6	5	566	15,069
1928	1,5	1,	8	2	17	2	11	6	5	549	14,957
1929	1,5	1,	8	2	18	2	12	6	6	528	11,469
1930	1,7	1,	8	2	18	2	14	6	8	513	10,036
1931	1,8	1,	8	2	19	2	14	6	8	497	9,208
1932	1,9	1,	8	2	20	3	14	6	8	471	8,630
1933	2,1	2,	8	2	20	3	16	8	8	457	7,529
1934	2,2	2,	8	2	20	3	16	8	8	430	6,807
1935	2,3	2,	8	2	21	3	16	8	8	412	6,209
1936	2,5	2,	8	2	23	4	16	8	8	394	5,944
1937	2,6	2,	9	2	25	4	16	8	8	393	5,681
1938	2,7	2,	1	3	27	4	16	8	8	357	5,293
1939	2,8	2,	1	3	29	4	19	9	1	335	4,686
1940	2,9	2,	1	3	30	5	19	9	1	300	4,105
1941	3,1	2,	1	3	32	5	20	1	1	284	3,504
1942	3,2	3,	1	4	33	6	21	1	1	252	3,052

Sources: Government General of Korea 1932, 1933, 1938 and 1942.

- primary level: Common School / secondary level: high school, girls' high school, industrial school, normal school / post-secondary level: special school, university
- pub: public school / prv: private school within colonial educational system
- private school: "various private schools" outside colonial educational system
- sodang: traditional primary school for Koreans

The so-called "various private schools" excluded from the colonial educational system had diminished dramatically during the colonial period. In the period 1912 to 1942, the number had decreased from 1,323 to 252.

The *sodang* had a similar destiny, but its proportion was larger than that of the “various private schools”. In the 1910s, Koreans preferred the *sodang* to colonial primary schools (Common School) in general. From 1912 to 1920, the number of *sodang* increased from 18,283 to 25,482. After that year, however, they began to decrease; in 1942, they numbered only 3,052.

Only by looking at the increase in numbers of their schools, it seems that the Japanese established a well-systemized modern educational structure. These figures might also show that the Japanese were very positive and active in the education of their colonized pupils. But the actual expansion of education for Koreans should be clarified more specifically through the increase in the number of Korean students enrolled in school rather than through the increase in number of schools.

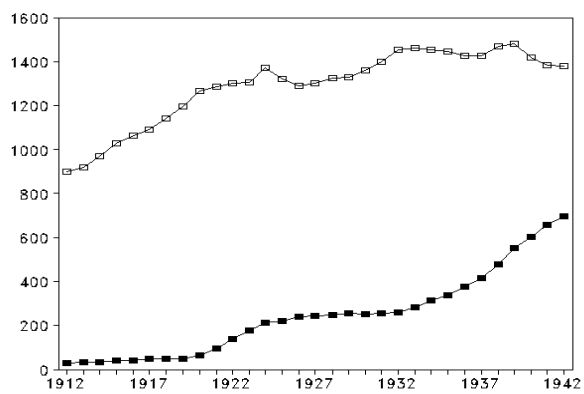
How many Koreans were actually allowed to attend the modern schools? To address this question, we must examine closely some of the key educational statistics, such as school enrollment rates by nationality. It is very difficult, however, to estimate the school enrollment rate for colonial education. There are no data to show the age composition of the total population each year, and years, of course, were various according to school type, especially at the post-primary level. Because it is impossible to identify the exact population of school age of each levels in every year, we used the estimated number of students per 10,000 inhabitants each year. Table 2 and Figure 1, 2, and 3 show the real number of students and the estimated number of Japanese and Korean students per 10,000 inhabitants in each educational level.

Table 2. Students by Level and Ethnicity, 1912-1942

Year	Primary education		Secondary education		Postsecondary education	
	Korean	Japanese	Korean	Japanese	Korean	Japanese
1912	41,509(28.5)	21,882(897.8)	2,597(1.8)	1,572(64.5)	67(0.0)	15(0.6)
1913	47,451(31.3)	24,915(917.4)	3,136(2.1)	1,918(70.6)	113(0.1)	28(1.0)
1914	53,019(33.9)	28,173(967.4)	3,762(2.4)	2,195(75.4)	143(0.1)	35(1.2)
1915	60,690(38.0)	31,256(1029.3)	4,440(2.8)	2,678(88.2)	141(0.1)	13(0.4)
1916	67,628(41.5)	34,100(1062.5)	5,372(3.3)	3,270(101.9)	464(0.3)	74(2.3)
1917	75,688(45.5)	36,183(1088.4)	6,106(3.7)	3,833(115.3)	559(0.3)	125(3.8)
1918	80,113(48.0)	38,447(1141.3)	6,535(3.9)	4,290(127.3)	567(0.3)	187(5.6)
1919	80,632(48.0)	41,447(1195.8)	5,064(3.0)	4,920(141.9)	392(0.2)	256(7.4)
1920	107,365(63.5)	44,007(1265.1)	6,507(3.8)	5,862(168.5)	454(0.3)	250(7.2)
1921	159,361(93.4)	47,279(1286.1)	9,826(5.8)	6,790(184.7)	532(0.3)	362(9.8)
1922	238,058(138.3)	50,322(1302.0)	12,411(7.2)	8,394(217.2)	806(0.5)	468(12.1)
1923	306,358(175.6)	52,686(1307.3)	15,557(8.9)	10,189(252.8)	890(0.5)	566(14.0)
1924	374,347(212.5)	56,478(1372.2)	19,169(10.9)	12,650(307.3)	1,080(0.6)	785(19.1)
1925	407,541(219.8)	56,105(1320.9)	20,427(11.0)	13,949(328.4)	1,144(0.6)	921(21.7)
1926	441,872(237.4)	56,987(1288.3)	23,004(12.4)	15,354(347.1)	1,347(0.7)	1,024(23.2)
1927	453,943(243.6)	59,091(1299.0)	25,727(13.8)	16,402(360.6)	1,338(0.7)	1,144(25.1)
1928	465,314(249.3)	62,130(1324.6)	28,184(15.1)	16,998(362.4)	1,434(0.8)	1,276(27.2)
1929	474,117(252.4)	64,963(1329.9)	29,105(15.5)	17,662(361.6)	1,564(0.8)	1,553(31.8)
1930	492,613(250.2)	68,253(1360.0)	30,341(15.4)	18,708(372.8)	1,710(0.9)	1,767(35.2)
1931	502,107(254.7)	71,925(1397.5)	31,872(16.2)	19,416(377.3)	1,854(0.9)	1,823(35.4)
1932	517,091(258.1)	76,052(1452.9)	32,828(16.4)	20,215(386.2)	2,056(1.0)	1,954(37.3)
1933	564,901(279.6)	79,397(1461.9)	34,312(17.0)	21,414(394.3)	2,345(1.2)	2,365(43.5)
1934	640,140(312.1)	81,523(1452.2)	36,719(17.9)	22,172(395.0)	2,502(1.2)	2,410(42.9)
1935	720,757(339.2)	84,395(1446.5)	39,238(18.5)	23,300(399.4)	3,044(1.4)	2,441(41.8)
1936	802,976(375.7)	86,775(1424.9)	42,748(20.0)	24,864(408.3)	2,834(1.3)	2,406(39.5)
1937	901,182(415.6)	89,811(1426.7)	45,583(21.0)	27,202(432.1)	2,847(1.3)	2,382(37.8)
1938	1,050,371(478.5)	92,991(1468.3)	51,420(23.4)	29,353(463.5)	2,980(1.4)	2,408(38.0)
1939	1,215,340(550.0)	96,156(1479.1)	57,555(26.0)	31,564(485.5)	3,443(1.6)	2,572(39.6)
1940	1,385,944(603.8)	97,794(1417.7)	68,281(29.7)	33,075(479.5)	3,865(1.7)	2,766(40.1)
1941	1,571,990(657.4)	99,316(1385.1)	76,031(31.8)	35,328(492.7)	4,166(1.7)	3,124(43.6)
1942	1,779,661(697.2)	103,831(1379.2)	86,110(33.7)	39,147(520.0)	4,505(1.8)	3,502(46.5)

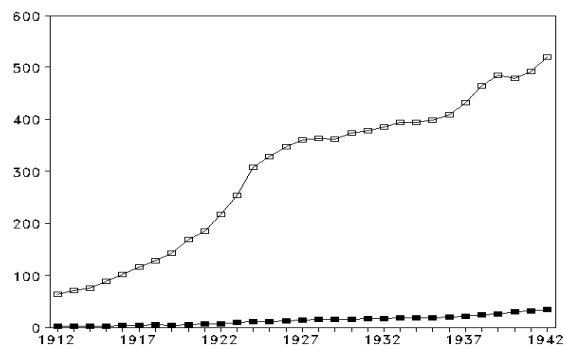
Sources: Government General of Korea 1932, 1933, 1938 and 1942.

(): number of students per 10,000 inhabitants



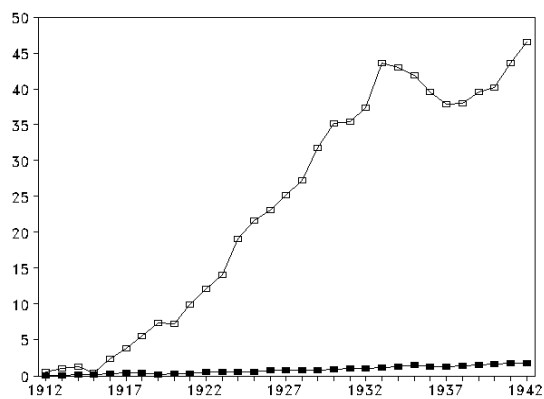
Korean
 Japanese

Figure 1. Number of students in primary education per 10,000 inhabitants, 1912-1942



Korean
 Japanese

Figure 2. Number of students in secondary education per 10,000 inhabitants, 1912-1942



Korean
 Japanese

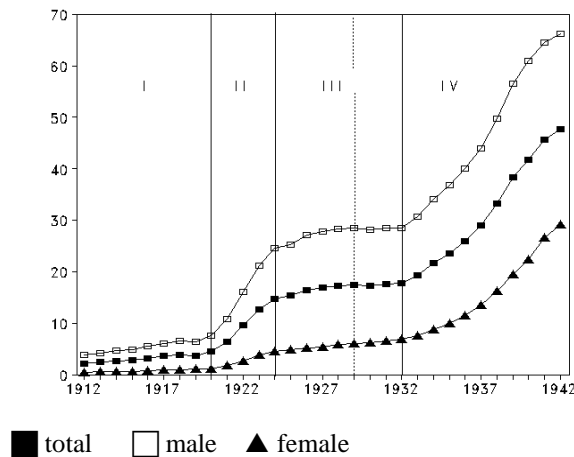
Figure 3. Number of students in postsecondary education per 10,000 inhabitants, 1912-1942

The opportunities for Koreans to obtain secondary or postsecondary education were severely restricted. In 1942, the number of students enrolled in Korean secondary schools was only 34 out of 10,000, but the number of Japanese was almost 520. In the case of postsecondary schools, there were two Koreans to 46 Japanese in 1942. The absolute number of students in postprimary schools did increase gradually, but the opportunities for postsecondary schooling were severely restricted for Koreans. Although the number of secondary and postsecondary educational institutions increased during the period of Japanese domination, actual opportunities were open almost exclusively to the very small percentage of Koreans who could afford the large tuition and pass a highly competitive application procedure. Secondary schooling and postsecondary education in the so-called modern colonial education system constituted a rather nominal entity of little benefit to Koreans.

In the case of primary education, however, there was indeed a rapid expansion of educational opportunity, even though a positive difference between Korean and Japanese still obtained when it came to accessibility. Let us examine more specifically the expansion of colonial education through the rate of enrollment. Figure 4 shows the estimated rate of enrollment for Koreans in primary education.² Any private school outside

² The method for estimating the enrollment rate is as follows: to begin with, it is necessary to confirm the exact proportion of the population of primary school age. There are, however, no data about population by age each year for the colonial period. The only proper data for population by age available are census data collected in 1930 and 1935. According to the census data for 1930, the proportion of the population from ages 6 to age 11 was 14.4% of the total population. This figure was used to estimate that proportion of primary school age (see Government General of Korea 1935).

the colonial educational system or traditional *sodang* is excluded from the figure.



Sources: Government General of Korea 1932, 1933, 1938 and 1942; Government General of Korea, Bureau of Education 1912-1942.

Figure 4. Common School enrollment rate for Koreans, 1912-1942

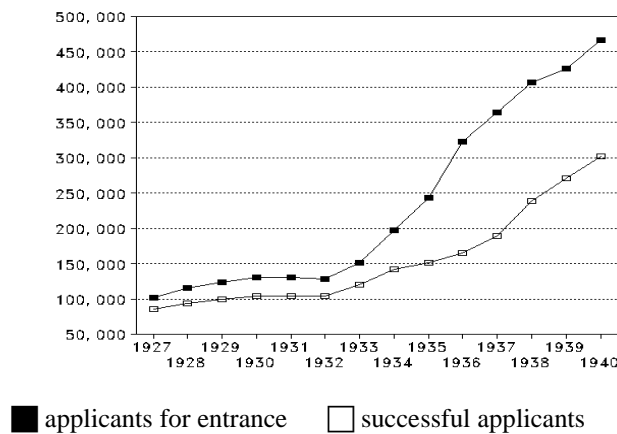
The enrollment rate for primary school can be divided into four phases. The first phase starts from the decades of the 1910s. In the 1910s, the enrollment rate was less than 10%. Koreans preferred the *sodang* to the Common School in this period.³ But after 1920, the situation was reversed. It was around this time that the primary education began to expand. This phenomenon, which we will examine in detail later, suggests that the March First Movement in 1919 was closely connected to the expansion. As a result of this movement, the attitude of Koreans toward the Japanese Common School started to change. After 1920, more students enrolled in

³ Early in the 1910s, some Japanese Common School teachers and military policemen of the region tried even to capture *sodang* children and force them to enter Common Schools, which had difficulty gathering enough Korean pupils. And among the Korean people, rumors circulated that Japanese were plotting to make Korean pupils into soldier (see Oh 2000, p.23.).

the Common School than did in the *sodang*. The second phase is from 1919 to 1924, when the Government General made the academic curriculum for Korean students nominally similar to that for Japanese students. They also attempted to establish one Common School for every three districts. Immediately, an overheated competition began to get into these schools, and the number of applicants outnumbered the available slots. By the 1930s, the enrollment rate had declined temporarily. There was a shortage of Common Schools after the “one school for three districts” plan, and the great recession of the early 1930s was one of the major causes. However, after the last phase, beginning in 1933, the rate of enrollment dramatically increased again.

During the 1930s, the Government General continued its expansion policy and more educational opportunities became available. This policy of expansion continued until the end of colonization. In 1942, the enrollment rate for all Korean students over 50%. Yet there was a distinct difference of sex in Common School enrollments; the enrollment rate of Korean men was double the size of that of women. In 1942, the rate of Korean men was almost near 70%. This shows that primary education for male students was almost universalized during the late period of colonization. For women, the case was different; the ratio between the sexes was still unbalanced.

At the primary level, the expansion policy was carried out in practice, but still did not satisfy the educational desires of common Koreans at the time. After the 1920s, the demand for education always surpassed its supply. Figure 5 shows the number of applicants and actual admittance in Common School for Korean students.



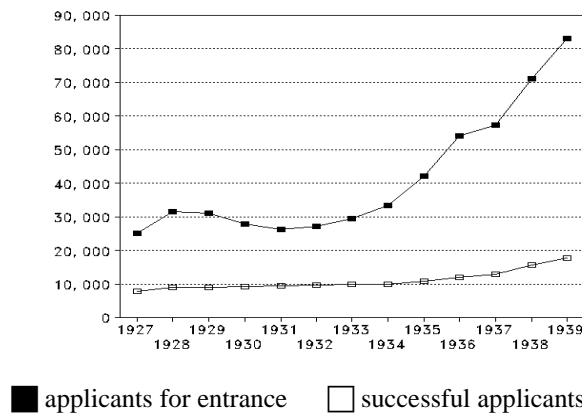
Sources: Government General of Korea, Bureau of Education, Education Branch 1937 and 1941
 Figure 5. Common School entrance competition, 1927-1940

Until 1932, the number of openings increased smoothly and the number of applicants increased similarly. In 1933, both numbers increased rapidly, but this time the number of applicants greatly surpassed the supply. Such conditions did not diminish until the end of Japanese colonization.

After the 1920s, the competition to enter elementary school became chronic. The entrance examination for Common School, called the “mental test,” was a basic intelligence test that also reflected the financial status of the children.⁴ This entrance examination soon became a serious social issue. After the 1920s, Korean newspapers cited the entrance examination as a social problem and criticized the restrictive education policy of the Government General. The major point of criticism was that, unlike any other nation on earth, Koreans had a qualification exam for primary school, while almost 100% of Japanese children in Korea went to school with test waivers.

⁴ For example, in the “mental tests,” teachers asked applicants questions like these: “If you add 3 to 2, what’s the result?” or “What’s the price of this bill?” showing a 100 *yen* bill, or “What’s wrong with this picture?” showing a picture of a horse with horns (see Oh 1996, p.150).

The extreme difficulty of getting into school was not just a problem of primary education. The demand for secondary education had increased rapidly as that for primary education. However, because the same expansion did not take place in secondary education as it did in primary education, entrance competition for secondary education became even more intense. Figure 6 shows the number of applicants and the actual number of students admitted into secondary educational institutions.



Sources: Government General of Korea, Bureau of Education, Education Branch 1937 and 1941.

Figure 6. Secondary schooling entrance competition, 1927-1939

Competition temporarily decreased in the early 1930s when the number of applicants decreased as a result of the economic depression. It did not disappear altogether, however. Competitive situations became more serious as time passed. In 1939, the rate of entrance dropped to 20%. Everything is same for the post-secondary education. For example in 1939, among the 4,041 applicants of the special schools, only 1,027 entered the school (24%); for Keijo Imperial University, among 588 applicants, only 74 entered (12.6%). Insufficient opportunity for secondary and postsecondary education had become a serious social problem.

Dynamics of the Expansion of Primary Education

As we have seen above, even though it was limited to primary education, an expansion of educational opportunity did take place under colonial rule. Does this mean that Japanese actively carried out the expansion of primary education? To find the answer, we must first look at the historical facts. The schools that were expanded were almost all the public Common Schools. Because they were called “public” rather than “private,” it could be said that the colonial government established those public schools. But the situation is more complex than this. It is necessary to find out who initiated the expansion of the public Common School systems, especially after the 1920s. A unique phenomenon shown in the expansion of these schools is that most Koreans were exceptionally interested in the process. In other colonized countries under Western imperialism, other than the elite group or those groups related to the market economy, most people were generally indifferent to colonial education (Kelly & Altbach 1978).

Initially, of course, this interest was not present, and it fluctuated from period to period. In the 1910s, when Japan carried out a “strictly oppressive policy” in ruling Korea, most Koreans refused to enter the Common Schools, as mentioned, they preferred the *sodang*, and some went to private schools with nationalistic character. As a colonial educational facility, the Common School was not entrenched in Korean society during this decade. After the March First Movement in 1919, however, the direction of Korean educational action abruptly turned toward the Common School. After that, entrance examinations began to be adopted and, as we have seen, entrance competition became a chronic social problem. Among other factors, many

Koreans strongly resisted the Japanese policy of restricting educational opportunities.

In the 1920s and afterwards, Koreans maintained a critical common view on education regardless of their political status and ideology and social classes. Including nationalists, socialists, intellectuals and the common people, almost all Koreans urged the expansion of educational opportunities. Their main emphases were: to reflect the national interest in the purpose and content of education, to increase the number of Common Schools, to reduce tuition fees, to ultimately institute free compulsory primary education, and to expand opportunities for secondary and postsecondary education.

The Government General was skeptical towards this expansion plan, being especially cautious about Koreans' enthusiasm for education. In 1929, for example, a superintendent's office in the Government General reported: "There potentially exist impure elements in such an overheated desire for education" (Government General of Korea, Bureau of Police 1929, p.5.). In the mid-1930s, a similar political policy dominated, as expressed by the Governor General, Ugaki, during a provincial governors' meeting:

...Considering the facts that there are so many who are eager to quench their own greed and desire or those who just provoke competitiveness, there is a strong possibility of producing unemployed people who are highly-educated or hopeless lazy who do not conform to social standards, if we allow them to take advantage of the opportunity for education. (Ugaki 1936, p.144)

In short, the Government General of Korea must have had no option but to be skeptical about accepting Korean's demands for education, on the

other hand, however, it was impossible to suppress their desire for education. This discrimination toward their colonies' educational opportunities was something that clearly showed the self-contradiction of the Japan's colonialist ideology of so-called "treating with same charity" (*Itshidojin*) or "the Oneness of Japan and Korea" (*Naisenittai*). Therefore, the Government General of Korea could not but regard the problem of insufficient educational opportunity as a political issue. This passage from "The History of Thirty Years of Government in Korea" shows their position clearly.

Recently, as educational aspirations suddenly rose, demand for schooling became more intense, even in the remote corners of the country. The impact of this phenomenon on public sentiment of Korean should be regarded as a very serious situation. (Government General of Korea 1940a, p.796)

The Government General found itself in a political dilemma about whether to agree to expand the primary schools. After the 1920s, it did activate a series of expansion policies in primary education, as we have seen: a "one school for every three districts (*myon*)" policy (*sammyonilkyoje*) from 1919 to 1922; and "one school for every district" policy (*ilmyonilkyoje*) from 1929 to 1936. Along with this, a "sub-school" (*kani-gakko*), a two-year primary education facility, was built after 1934. Despite this expansion of primary education, competition for entry did not subside, it became even worse. From 1938, consequently, a "Second Planning for Expansion of Primary Education" was activated. This series of expansion policies was put into effect under the condition that Koreans could raise the funds for establishing the school. Thus, the Government

General only allowed and supported school expansion when Koreans provided a large portion of the cost.

The Korean people initiated a massive movement to establish a public Common School of their own. If there were no Common School in their district, people organized to build one school; after it was built, they expanded the number of classes and extended the education period from 4 to 6 years. Thus, the Japanese expansion policies for primary education could not have been carried out without the foundational support of the Korean educational movement. Expansion was not imposed from the top but initiated from the bottom, by the colonized people.

What was the specific procedure for founding a Common School? A typical case was that of a village in Choong-Cheong Province.

...Yang-Gang district, Choong-Cheong, is a relatively big area where 1500 houses are located. There is a shortage of schools, the only school is temporary. Many children do go to school more than 10 miles away, but only those who can afford to; many cannot go to school. Those concerned about the youngsters' future, Seok-Yong Bae and Yong-Rae Kim, founded an organization called "Heung Hak Hoie" and collected money, as much as 7,000 won, but to gain approval from the Government General they need an extra 3,000 won. They have decided to get a loan. They also plan to raise funds to pay back the loan as soon as the economy recovers. When they raise 10,000 won, they will submit the approval form for founding a school. (*Tonga Ilbo* 1930,1.27.)

Establishing schools began from the active efforts of Koreans. First, people in certain district agreed on the need for a Common School, then started a movement to collect the necessary amount of money. If the money

was raised, next they had to obtain permission from the government. At that point, they determined the amount of money to be spent by the provincial government and Korean civilians, respectively. After gaining permission, they combined their own money with the provincial government's support fund and built a school. Expanding the number of classes and extending the length of study went through the same procedure. In raising funds for the construction of the Common School, almost everyone in the district participated. Most raised money by collecting crops after the harvest. This method was rather like a traditional practice used for managing the *sodang*, and it was broadly adopted in establishing Common Schools, especially in rural communities.⁵

What was the ratio of Koreans' expenses in the overall expansion process in primary education? This figure is very important in establishing who oversaw the procedure throughout the country. Table 3 shows the rate of expenses assumed by Koreans in establishing public Common Schools after 1920.

⁵ In urban communities, where the major colonial administrative organizations were located, many Common Schools were built before 1919. Schools built after the 1920s were also partly funded by Korean civilians, but their proportion was relatively smaller than that of rural communities (see Oh 2000, pp.101-110.).

Table 3. Local Education Finance for Public Common School Construction, 1924-1938
(unit=yen)

Year	Expenditure for school construction	Endowment by Koreans	Percent of endowment (%)
1924	3,251,885	1,179,063	36.2
1926	2,427,976	928,198	38.2
1928	2,031,403	941,407	46.3
1929	1,949,350	754,873	38.7
1930	1,582,184	751,238	47.4
1931	1,441,766	574,807	39.8
1932	1,491,574	511,673	34.3
1933	1,262,408	503,672	39.8
1934	1,607,350	758,342	47.1
1935	2,137,496	927,160	43.3
1936	2,521,298	1,161,990	46.0
1937	4,697,902	2,170,684	46.2
1938	6,371,674	2,497,160	39.1
24-38	32,774,266	13,660,267	41.6

Sources: Government General of Korea, Bureau of the Interior 1924-1938.

The table shows that among the overall construction fees, about 42% came from the fund money raised by Koreans. Other portions of the construction fee were not supported by the Japanese fund or the Government General, but were paid by “local finance” from the province. And major portions of “local finance” were composed of taxes paid by Koreans.

Ordinary expenditures, mostly used for the salary of schoolteachers, come from grants from the Government General of Korea and from the “dues for school budget” (*gakkohi-hukkakin*), which was a semi-tax like the educational budget paid by Korean inhabitants and from school fees. For example the proportions of each ones were 48.5%, 22.5% and 20.8% in 1930 (Oh 2000 p.103.).

Primary education expanded through this procedure but, looked at in absolute numerals, was still dissatisfying to most Koreans. Opportunities available to Koreans in the 1940s were even less than the opportunities given to Japanese in the 1910s. In 1942, for example, Korean primary school students numbered almost 700 among 10,000; in 1912, Japanese primary school students in Korea numbered almost 900 among 10,000. But because of continuous Korean educational movements and pleas for educational opportunities, expansion of primary schooling became a reality. The important factor is that Korean civilians initiated and drove forward the expansion of colonial primary schooling.

We cannot, however, overlook Japan's expansion policy. Why did the Japanese government put a series of expansion policies, albeit restricted ones, into operation? The answer to this question is undoubtedly found in a self-contradiction of the ideology of Japanese imperialism. The “treatment with the same charity” ideology declared by the Emperor of Japan, which stated that there would be no discrimination between two nations, is a fine example. As shown in that motto, if equalization between the nations is actualized, then colonization itself must come to an end. In reality, however, inequalities in everyday life could only become chronic and worsen in a colonial situation, so colonial ideology necessarily contradicts itself and rather becomes a target for criticism. And inequality in educational opportunity was one of the most distinct social issues that made Koreans experience discrimination in everyday life and the spuriousness of the colonial ideology. As a result, to secure the minimum consent from Koreans necessary for the continuation of colonial rule, the Japanese colonial power was obliged to heed some of the Koreans' demands.

The Government General's expansion policy had as well a side other than those just declared: the hidden purpose of intensifying colonization via education. The "one school per every district" policy of 1929 complemented the "practical education" policy, which emphasized low quality manual labor training in school that would inhibit any sort of national movement that might spring up through modern education. The "subschool" policy in 1934 complemented the "farm development movement" policy, which reorganized a farm economy that had gone bankrupt under the colonial economic system. The "Second Plan" in 1938 complemented the "volunteer army" policy of extracting military resources to invade China from Korea, and the plan of "compulsory education" in 1942 is directly related to the introduction of the conscription system in Korea. In short, the colonial government partly accepted the educational demands of Koreans always under the condition of meeting the specific needs of colonial policy.

Characteristics of the Common School Curriculum

What kinds of courses with what content were offered in the Common School during colonization?

Initially, Japan's colonial policies focused on assimilation, turning Koreans into Japanese culturally and spiritually and eradicating the idea of a Korean nation. Along with the policy of assimilation, they never omitted a simultaneous discrimination policy of appropriating the major social and political rights of Korean citizens. In other words, cultural assimilation via imposition of the Japanese language and social-political discrimination by blood were two sides of the same coin in the Japanese colonization policy

(Komagome 1996). Fundamentally, the policies could only contradict each other. In a theory, the colonizer wants to treat the colonized as equals; at the same time, they do not allow the colonized access to the privileged life system of the colonizers. These self-contradictions did not diminish throughout colonization, and they became more serious as Japan decided to use the Korean people as a means of achieving their imperialistic goals, especially after the 1930s. Despite the self-contradiction, or rather because of it, Japan emphasized a strange policy as a way of concealing the problem, which was to make the Korean people “subjects of Tenno”. This designation, which suggested Japanese ideology, was forced upon Korean. Despite a delicate difference of expression in historical usage and Japanese courses between Korean Common School and Japanese primary school, the fundamental principle was the same as in Japan. Teaching ideology through colonial education seemed no different than at home in Japan. In both countries, the Imperial Edict on Education (*kyoiku ni kansuru chokugo: kyoiku chokugo*) was a source for Korean educational goals and curriculum contents.

Common School teachers taught students with textbooks written and edited by the Government General. The official teaching language was Japanese, and the larger portion of the curriculum was devoted to Japanese and algebra. In the 1920s, the ratio was 39.7% and 18.6%; 37.6% and 17.6% in the early 1930s; and 35.2% and 16.5% in the late 1930s. The Japanese emperor’s ideology was reflected not only in such subjects as Japanese language, history, and geography but also in Korean language instruction, for which the number of credits was getting smaller and smaller. In the 1910s, the four-year Common School course provided 22 hours (including Chinese character lessons) of Korean lessons out of a total 106 hours per

week. In the 1920s, the percentage of Korean lesson hours dropped to 12.4% (22hrs/161hrs). In the early 1930s, it became 11.7% (20hrs/182hrs). After 1938, it dropped dramatically to 8.8% (16hrs/182hrs). Eventually, Korean became an optional subject and disappeared from the Common School curriculum after 1941.

Under any school system, whether high school or primary school, school discipline plays a major role as well as curriculum. School discipline became even stricter in the early 1930s, when different types of ceremonies celebrating the Japanese emperor and imperialism became increasingly frequent. Pseudo-religious rituals such as “bowing to the Imperial Palace”, “visiting the Shinto shrine” on ceremonial and national occasions, and idol worship such as cults related to the document of the Imperial Edict on Education, the Imperial Portrait (*gojinei*), the Divine Box (*kamidana*)⁶ were also frequently compulsory for Korean pupils, especially after 1930(Oh, 2000). The content and form of school discipline all displayed militaristic, totalitarian and pseudo-religious characteristics.

The schools also provided a new course for physical training and even one similar to military drill and ceremony. Tenno ideology was not the only feature of Japanese colonial education in Korea; a characteristic of colonial education everywhere is that courses are not focused on academics subjects such as science and literature but mainly on lower-level job training (Kelly 1978; Kelly & Altbach 1978). Korea was no exception to this rule, as illustrated by the so-called “practical education” policy of the 1930s. In

⁶ The Imperial Portrait (*gojinei*) was a portrait of the Japanese Emperor; the Divine Box (*kamidana*) was a small wooden box in which the so-called spirit of *Amateras Oomikami*, the founder of the Japanese Empire, was deified. Both symbols of Tenno ideology were located inside a small shrine called *Hoanden* in every school. All pupils had to vow to the shrine when they entered and got out of school (see Oh, 2000, p.349.)

1929, the Government General of Korea amended the Regulations for Common Schools and introduced a mandatory new course called “Vocation” into the Common School curriculum. From that year on, the expansion policy of primary education, called “one school for every district” (*ilmyonilkyoje*), began to operate.

Additionally, the policy of “guiding Common School graduates’ was introduced to reinforce vocational training in primary education.⁷ Under the “practical education” policy, knowledge-oriented education was strongly criticized. “Vocation” courses consisted of manual agricultural labor, such as weeding, sowing seeds, plowing, webbing straw ropes, feeding cattle, rear silkworms, harvesting, selling vegetables at the market and building barns (Oh 2000, pp.299-310). These activities were basically the same as those enacted in the traditional sector of Korean agriculture. Some proportion of hours in the curriculum was allocated to this course, such as 320 hours for six years, but actual hours devoted to the course in the school usually amounted to more.⁸ The goal of the course was to decrease Koreans’ desire to move toward more modern vocations and force them to remain in the agricultural sector. Through this policy, the Japanese hoped to suppress any sort of socialist, labor or peasant movement from Koreans educated in school. Their motto was: “The lazy brain is the factory that produces the devil” (Kamasuka 1931, p.26).

⁷ The policy of ‘guiding graduates of Common School’ aimed to train graduates of Common School for efficient farmers two or three years more after graduation. In most cases, teachers of Common School took charge of training (see Oh 2000, pp.309-310.).

⁸ For example, in 1933, some Common Schools located in Kyongki province forced their pupils to take 418 hours of the vocation course in six years. The Government General of Korea fostered rivalry among Common Schools vocational education by giving funds to schools according to the outcome (see Oh 2000, p.304).

Of course, the Japanese had carried out a similar policy in their own country a few years back in pursuit of the goal known as “adapting education to real everyday life.” The policy, however, was implemented differently in the colonial education system in Korea. First, while the Japanese intended to run middle schools in Japan as vocation-oriented, they made primary schools vocation-oriented in Korea. In Japan, they maintained the general policy that vocational education should be prolonged after general education was completed at the primary level. In case of Korea, they enforced a new policy called “vocational education should totally replace general education.” Second, vocation-oriented education in Japan focused on industrial labor training related to the industrial sector of economy; in Korea, as we have seen, it focused on low-level manual labor that was related to traditional agricultural economy. This fact shows the clear intention on the part of the Japanese to degrade the quality of Korean education, as compared to that of Japan (National Research Center of Education 1974, pp.350-358; Oh 2000, pp.310-314).

The important point is that the two-pronged policy of assimilation and discrimination was enacted in colonial education even though on the surface Japanese and Korean education in this era looked to be the same. This education policy, rarely seen in other colonized countries, such as Asia and Africa, deprived the colonized of their past and future at the same time, as Albert Memmi (1967) indicated, and never contradicted the Japanese goal of keeping their Korean colony a colony.

Unintended and Unexpected Consequences of Japan's Colonial Education Policy

Colonial education in Korea was used as an ideological device to perpetuate the colonization of Korea. Koreans, however, resisted the policy consistently. Not just a small number of pro-Japanese people, but the majority of Koreans irrespective of social class, demanded the expansion of primary education and even started to raise funds for it. Here one must realize that the unspoken aspirations of the Koreans were not synonymous with the Japanese intent. Koreans and Japanese had different ideologies and expectations for the establishment of the Common Schools.

The expectations underlying their active interest were manifested in the following ways. First, Koreans intended to strengthen their political power through education. The fact that the main forces of the March First Movement in 1919 were students was something that especially changed Koreans' conceptions of modern education. The idea that modern education could develop knowledge and thoughts had already existed long before the colonization. In the decade after 1900, civilian groups carried out an education movement to establish private schools along with the Patriotic Awakening Movement. But they were almost completely suppressed or forced to convert themselves into colonial educational institutions after colonization, and the Japanese continued to carry out a policy that was intended to oppress any nationalistic educational activities. Under these circumstances, there was no other choice but to use the ongoing colonial education system. After the 1920s, most Koreans chose to enter colonial Common Schools rather than remain illiterate.

Second, Koreans wanted and expected social upward mobility through education. Of course, the chances for such mobility were rare under the colonial social structure. But in fact it was the only avenue that provided the opportunity of social upward mobility to Koreans. Especially after the

1920, most Korean farmers began to experience serious financial problems. Because of various irrational farm policies and regulations set by the Japanese, the farm economy rapidly began to go bankrupt (Lee 1994).⁹ It can be said that Korean reactions to the colonial education policy showed the characteristics of a survival strategy under the extremely hard living conditions of a colonized country. Thus, it is evident that education became the only means for those Koreans who had no other option but to repeat the farmers' hardship. Because it was only hope and possibility they could count on, many Koreans began to participate positively and actively in educational activities. The pursuit of education, however, did not entirely ensure upward social mobility or improved living conditions.

The Koreans' hidden aspirations and expectations inevitably clashed with the Japanese goals for colonial education. Would not the perception of such clashes by the Japanese authorities have an influence on actual education? In respect to the unintended consequences of colonial education in Korea, the admonition of the Japanese Vice Governor General Ikegami in 1928 is significant. While explaining the background of introducing the practical education policy, he pointed out several problems of colonial education in Korea.

It should be pointed out that these days some students are reading wrongful materials full of false ideology and are eager to receive higher education only for the purpose of getting a good paying job, disregarding the Great Empire's need for building its abilities and future. They are not

⁹ In 1938, among about 3 millions households of Korean farmers, the proportion of upper-level farmers was about 3%; of middle-level farmers, about 20%; and of low-level farmers, about 73%. And seventy-four percent of low-level farmers were extremely low, cultivating fewer than 2.5 acres (see Lee 1994, p.163).

willing to work hard, and thus are having trouble getting a job, are accustomed to using “radical” language and even “polluting” the main idea of the people’s commonwealth. It is very important to intensify the education of loyal citizens and the work force, not only to meet the purpose of establishing the principle of education but also to correct the people’s wrong ideas toward education (Ikegami 1928, p.455).

In his speech, Ikegami criticized colonial education for being a “reading education” and pointed out “false ideology”, “the unemployment rate”, “overheated competition for higher education” and “radical language” as its bad consequences. Could these four points be the unintended consequences or unexpected ironies of colonial education?

First of all, “false ideology” seems to point to the student movements based on nationalism and socialism. Students became literate through their courses in Japanese and Korean language in Common Schools. To become literate not only implies a greater possibility of becoming institutionalized to Japanese imperialism, but it also implies that Koreans had obtained a foundation for obtaining knowledge and judging certain matters independently. Tsurumi (1977; 1984) pointed out that in Korea, unlike Taiwan, education allowed Korean nationalism to spread widely and deeply.

Second, what Ikegami referred as “overheated competition for higher education” signifies the ironies inherent between people’s desire to change their social status and the goals of colonial education. As Foster (1965) pointed out, colonial education will stir up people’s desire to change their social status, an outcome never intended by the colonizer country. The Government General of Korea intended to allow Koreans to obtain only

limited educational opportunity at the primary school level, with no advance to the secondary school level. However, Koreans' desire for higher education became stronger as they received education, and as a result the so-called "overheated competition" phenomenon arose. The Government General established a new policy to cool down competition and finalized education for Koreans at the level of primary school, but this policy failed. Koreans' desire for higher education became even stronger than before, generating again the social problem of competition. Under these circumstances, the education provided in Common Schools took on the features of preparing students to take the entrance exam for higher schools. Teachers praised by Korean students and parents were the so-called "good instructors" who knew how to guide students in passing the entrance exam. Sometimes parents called for dismissal of teachers who failed to help enough students to passing the exam (Oh 2000).

Third, "unemployment rate" signals the ironies inherent in the Koreans' desire to upgrade their social status versus the Government General's dilemma arising from not recognizing the Koreans' desire. Educated Koreans were eager to get jobs in the "second and third industry" sectors, in which no slots were available for them. Even though colonial industrialization took place in Korea after the 1930s, it did not generate enough jobs (Jeong 1984).¹⁰ Consequently, the unemployment rate became even worse, and people who had received higher education had no jobs. Among the Koreans an insightful idea spread about the source of the

¹⁰ From 1933 to 1938, the proportion of factory workers in secondary industry decreased from 46.5% to 30.5% and the actual number of factory workers in 1938 was just 182,771 (Jeong 1984, pp.31-38). From 1930 to 1940, the proportion of unemployed in the total population increased from 53.6% to 62.1% (Government General of Korea 1940b).

unemployment, namely, that it was inherent in the colonial system; the Japanese had higher priority for qualified positions in the second and third industry sectors.

The fourth irony of Ikegami's speech is his mention of "radical" language. Here he was referring to the complaints from qualified people who failed to get careers. Since social crises inevitably arise when the common people's ordinary desires are frustrated, this problem could never be solved. Even when the Government General set a policy that Koreans could only receive a rudimentary level of education or tried to adjust people's thoughts towards education. That is not the problem of ideology but of existence - to be precise, the "unintended outcome" for Koreans that originated from their practices of educating the younger generation under Japanese rule. For these reasons, Japanese colonial education in Korea can only be evaluated from a perspective of "contested terrain."

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3. Making World-class Research University at Seoul National University

Dr. Ki-Seok KIM

This paper addresses to the question of how to empower research competence of a kind which would lead a peripheral university like SNU to becoming a world-class university. There have been noticeable achievements in building competitive, first class universities in many developing nations, particularly in Asian countries. This paper will examine the process by which SNU can be transforming SNU into a world-class university in Korea. The analysis will focus on the internal reforms implemented at SNU over the last 10 years and the effectiveness of these policies. The main strategy undertaken to bring SNU up to the world-class level was to emphatically pursue excellence in research. Long before governmental funds were allocated for this purpose from 1999 onwards, SNU had already vigorously pursued excellence in research and teaching. The experiences of SNU in these endeavors represent an important case study that bears vital theoretical and practical implications for other Korean universities, as well as for universities in other middle-income countries.

Key words: research competence, Korean universities, higher education, higher education reform

To the Memory of Late Martin Trow (1926-2007) of Emeritus Professor of Public Policy at UC-Berkeley, especially of his seminal work on the transition from elite to mass to universal education.

Introduction

Can a peripheral country like Korea build a so-called world-class university? What would it take for a non-western country to create an internationally competitive research university? In response to an increasingly globalized economy, many developing countries have been paying serious attention to building world-class universities. How to develop a research university which can compete with world flagship universities presents challenges on a number of fronts; and this is especially true in the case of a country like Korea that has been peripheral for so long and has only joined the ranks of middle-income countries relatively recently. As Altbach (2003) poignantly points out, the patterns, ideas and values of a world-class university among academic institutions in the Western tradition are reflected in the criteria themselves. Applying these terms of reference to universities in non-western regions may invite skepticism or worse. Furthermore, it is becoming increasingly difficult for a middle-income country to become a competitive player in the international knowledge system, because the fiscal demands of playing

on the world's stage of science and scholarship are growing exponentially.

Despite these challenges, there has been noticeable achievement in building competitive universities in many developing nations, and particularly in Asian countries. Singapore's attempt to establish itself as the "Boston of the East" and South Korea's "Brain Korea 21" program are cases in point (Altbach, 2000). China launched its "211 Project" in 1994 with an ambitious plan to build 100 universities by the early 21st century and the "985 Project" in 1998 with an impressive budget of 3.4 billion U.S. dollars invested in 33 key universities with the intention of developing them into world-class institutions. While Altbach (2000) maintains that these attempts have produced mixed results, it is arguably premature to draw any conclusive judgments.

There has been serious commitments undertaken and efforts made on the part of Korean universities to empower themselves to produce internationally competitive human resources. One of the most central strategies in moving toward this goal has been to empower graduate programs with a specific focus on excellence in research and build them up to a world-class level. However, the very term "world-class" is not by any means an analytic one and therefore is not a very clear term of reference for scholarly discussions. As shown clearly in refractory remarks by an American historian (Lucas, 1994), since no attempt has been made to construct a true "global" history of higher education, in the use of this term an unabashedly "Eurocentric" discourse prevails. According to various measures and standards, Seoul National University (SNU), a flagship university in Korea, seemingly appears to have achieved world-class status in line with western conceptions of the university. In 2005, *the Times Higher Education Supplement*, a British newspaper, ranked SNU as 45th

among the world's top 100 science universities and as the 93rd overall. One year later, to every body's surprise, the overall ranking of SNU increased dramatically to 63rd, a great leap of 30 ranks. The only two other Korean schools within the world's top 200 universities are Korea University (150th) and KAIST (198th). This leap by SNU is less to do with improvements in research competence but more to do with a noticeable presence of foreign students, post-doctoral fellows and faculty members at SNU. Here we clearly see *The Time's* heavy reliance on internationalization in its rankings of world universities. However, with a short institutional history of 60 years, and with a mere 30 years of offering full-fledged doctoral programs, SNU's accomplishment is extraordinary. What were the driving forces behind this university's great leap forward?

This paper examines the process by which SNU transformed itself into a world-class university. The analysis will focus on the internal reforms implemented at SNU over the last 10 years and the effectiveness of these policies in building a world-class university. SNU is an important case study which bears vital theoretical and practical implications for other Korean universities, as well as for universities in other middle-income countries.

Economic Restructuring and Higher Education Reform

The speed and level of economic development that Korea has achieved since the early 1970s have been well documented. By 1996, South Korea, with a per-capita national income of \$10,000, had become a major competitor in the world market. By the end of the 1990s, however, the Korean economy was faced with serious economic hardship, mainly due to

the foreign exchange crisis. The unemployment rate jumped from 2.6% in 1997 to 7.9% in 1998. This economic crisis uncovered the limitations of a materials-oriented manufacturing economy, and the Korean government proposed a shift to a knowledge-based economy as one of its major policy goals. The Ministry of Education formulated a series of educational reform policies to lay the foundations of a knowledge-based society. In this context, building world-class research universities that can play a central role in Korean economic development has become a national priority.

One of the major policies in this goal of establishing and supporting world-class research universities was the Brain Korea 21 Project (BK21). BK21 is a major higher education reform project that aim at cultivating the creative, high-quality human resources necessary for a knowledge-based society. To accomplish this goal, the Korean government decided to invest approximately US\$1.2 billion in universities over the seven years between 1999 and 2005. The most significant difference in this project compared to previous education reform policies lies in its specific focus on graduate programs, and it is the graduate students in the selected schools who are the direct beneficiaries of this project. Research funds do not go directly to the faculty in the form of grants. Instead, three quarters of the entire BK21 budget is used to provide a supportive educational environment for graduate students in the form of stipends, financial support for overseas study, and research infrastructure.

The budget allocated to BK21 was absolutely unprecedented. However, the amount actually available for policy-related reform programs was still relatively limited. For example, in 2004, the Ministry of Education (MOE) allocated 13% of its budget (about US\$28 billion) for higher education. This amount is about 0.43% of Korean GDP, which in

comparison to other OECD member countries is less than half of the average percentage (0.9) of GDP spent on higher education. The actual amount spent on policy-related reform programs is only 1.3 trillion Won (1.3 billion U.S. dollars), which is less than 40% of the total budget. In the same year, the MOE spent 858.2 billion Won (8.6 million U.S. dollars) on supporting research and development at universities. Of the budget allocated for research and development, 31% was given to research universities with graduate programs, 46% was given to 4-year teaching universities, and the rest was spent to support vocational colleges and schools. About 140 billion Won (140 million U.S. dollars) from the budget allocated for research and development was spent on BK21, and 123.7 billion Won (123.7 million U.S. dollars) was spent on supporting pure sciences and humanities. Besides the MOE, other government institutions provide financial support for research and development for universities. In 2003, about 2 trillion Won (2 billion U.S. dollars) was spent on research and development at universities. Of this funding, 76% came from the government,

14% was donated by private parties, and 9% was supplied by universities themselves. The largest portion went to the field of engineering. The second and the third largest amounts of research funds were given to the fields of natural sciences and pharmacy, respectively. The most competitive university received the largest amount of financial support for research and development. The top 10 universities received 46% of research funds, and the top 20 universities received 63% of research funds. Two thirds of research funding was given to public universities.

Although the funds available for the actual reform policies were limited, BK21 has had an enormous impact on Korean universities as a whole. In

particular, both its emphasis on graduate programs and graduate students and the scale of the project have provided Korean flagship universities, and especially SNU, with an unprecedented opportunity to become world-class universities despite their position on the periphery.

Rapid Transition to Universal Access to Higher Education

As Trow (1970, 1980) has repeatedly pointed out, higher education in contemporary society has gone beyond the stage of elite education, has passed the stage of mass education, and has entered the stage of universal education. The experience of higher education in the United States is a case in point.

The way higher education expanded in Korea during the last several decades is unique. First of all, the speed of the transition has been very impressive. Korean higher education has accomplished in about three decades what the U.S. took half a century to achieve (Trow, 1961). By 2000, Korean high school graduates were 5% more likely to obtain higher education in one form or another than their counterparts in the U.S. In the same year, Korea's enrollment rate in 4-year colleges was 38%, and the enrollment rate in various higher education institutions overall reached 81%. This trend is continuing today. It appears not only that tertiary education has become universal, but also that even graduate education is becoming increasingly standard in Korea. Between 1995 and 2000, the number of graduate students doubled to 230,000 and has continued to increase. Additionally, and unlike the U.S. experience, the rapid transition from mass higher education to universal higher education occurred almost immediately after, or simultaneously to, the swift transition to universal

secondary education. However, it is this unprecedented double transition with little time for adjustment that has brought about the so-called “examination hell” or “educational bottle-neck” for students as they advance from secondary to tertiary education.

There are several issues that the Korean higher education system has encountered due to its rapid growth and transition. Many universities have experienced rapid expansion, or rather “exploration,” without having the opportunity to make adequate adjustments to their missions, functions and structures. Instead, such universities offer similar programs and majors without any real, functional differentiation among various levels of schooling. All universities in Korea consider SNU as the “defining institution,” to use Steedman’s term (1987), and attempt to model themselves after SNU. In other words, what Riesman (1966) called a “meandering procession” on the road toward excellence, observed in the U.S., is also occurring in Korea. Most universities in Korea aspire to be like SNU, a Harvard or a “Todai” of the Korean peninsula (Cutts, 1999).

Another serious issue resulting from the rapid transition of higher education concerns funding. The speed and level of expansion of higher education in Korea exceeded the government’s ability to support it financially, which has resulted in both parents and students having to shoulder an ever greater financial burden. It is worth noting that in the case of Korea, the main driving force behind the rapid transition of higher education came from the zeal and willingness on the part of parents to financially support their children’s higher education, rather than from the central planning efforts of the government. As a matter of fact, 83% of the national budget for higher education comes from family funds (Kim, 2005), a phenomenon unseen even in Japan or the U.S., where the private sector is

far more dominant than the public sector.

Private education has always played a key role in Korean higher education. While privatization of education in Korea began long before the open-door era, the modern form of private education appeared with the arrival of Western missionaries in Korea (Lee, 2004), which continued during the Colonial Period (1910-1945). From 1948, when the independent Korean Republic was founded, privatization was further intensified as the country experienced rapid educational expansion in the absence of the central government's financial commitment or capacity. Currently, more than 80% of college students attend private schools. Additionally, unlike the U.S., where private universities were founded and sponsored by private donations, Korean private universities are sponsored and financially sustained mainly by student tuition.

Some Characteristics of Korean Universities

There are several unique characteristics of Korean universities, and these characteristics are intimately linked to the evolution and historical development of university education in Korea. In traditional Korean society, the ruling elites were the main beneficiaries of the educational system. A good number of academic circles (or what Korean scholars may call "Gates"¹) were formed with a prominent scholar of Buddhism and Confucianism as a central figure. Indigenous scholastic traditions were cultivated and maintained through academic discussions and extended exchanges of manuscripts, correspondence and letters. In contrast to Europe, a formal educational institute like "universitas," (identified by Durkheim (1938) in his extraordinary historical sociology of medieval

University of Paris), did not serve as the institutional basis of intellectual life and scholarly activities in Korea. During the Chosun Dynasty (1392-1910), although there was a system of formal, governmental educational institutions that could also be readily found in China (Min, 2004), Korean intellectuals participated in academic activities through informal channels of communication between mentors and their disciples. Just as Western Scholasticism blossomed in medieval universities, so did the renaissance of Korean Confucianism occur among Gates, and not through any formal institutions led by either the central or local government. Interestingly, these traditions and practices are found even in today's academic environment in Korea, and they serve as a powerful and effective driving force for successful academic achievement. It was against this cultural background that the Western concepts of the university were introduced and implemented, firstly by American Protestant missionaries (Lee, 2004) and later by Japanese colonizers.

During the Colonial Era (1910-1945), Imperial Japan imposed its own notions of the university, largely adopted from Germany and based on the Humboldt model (Fallon, 1980). This Japanese version of a research university was transplanted to Korea in the 1920s (Altbach, 1998), and since then until recently was regarded as "the University." The current system of higher education in Korea was established during the presence of U.S. military forces (1945-1948). A Columbia University graduate who worked as deputy-director at the Bureau of Education under the U.S. military government introduced an American concept of the university with a whole system of modern public education in 1946. However, graduates of the Japanese colonial universities and colleges made persistent efforts to maintain the colonial legacy of the Japanese-German idea of "the

University,” which was in fact a “faculty republic” (Fallon, 1980; Musselin, 2001).

SNU was founded in this context of severe power struggles between the bearers of these two conflicting ideas of the university under the same banners of “de-colonialization” and democratic reforms (Kim, 1996). In other words, SNU, in its inception and subsequent development reflects the “twisted roots” of the Western university model (Altbach, 1998) or, more specifically, internal (by faculty autonomy) and external (Board of Directors) governance. SNU integrated the Seoul Imperial University and other professional colleges with the American university system of departments as units of the school and a Carnegie unit system for academic grading. The American model was further reinforced by the educational background of the faculty. Since most professors in Korean universities, and especially those in SNU, earned doctoral degrees from universities in the U.S., their idea of the university was the one which was learned through their own experiences at their alma maters. Thus, it is not surprising to find that the American pattern has served as a benchmark in recent self-directed efforts to restructure Korean higher education. In short, the current structures and operational environment of Korean universities, including SNU, reflect various systems and models including the traditional mentor-disciple (Gates) relationship, the German model of a research university adopted and altered by Japan, and an American system of tertiary education. Therefore, like other Asian universities, the Korean ones are in indeed “hybrids” (Altbach, 1998). Furthermore, the interaction of these three conflicting models of the university may explain the enormous difficulties encountered in producing a working consensus among professors about how to reform their own universities and colleges, not to

mention how to develop a world-class university.

Korean universities are differentiated at two levels, namely in accordance with reputation and in accordance with areas of specialty. SNU and KAIST (Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology), both public institutions, and POSTECH (Pohang University of Science and Technology), a private university, are the best known Korean research universities. These three plus Korea University and Yonsei University (both private schools) comprise the leading flagship universities. In a recent ranking by *The Times* of the 200 best universities worldwide, SNU, KAIST and Korea University were included for the first time in the history of higher education. The next tier among the Korean institutions is made of 4-year comprehensive universities located in the metropolitan area of Seoul. The group after that in ranking consists of provincial public and private universities. The last group in this differentiation includes 2-year and 3-year junior colleges and vocational schools. Differentiation by area of specialization reflects both institutional prestige and the university's marketability in the job market. The fields of medicine (including traditional Chinese medicine), law, business, pharmacy and education comprise the top tier specialties.

The hierarchy within the two levels of differentiation is determined by the level of applicants' academic aptitude and postgraduate employment. For example, specialty differentiation is consistent with applicants' test scores on the college entrance examination (which is equivalent to the SAT in the U.S.). College ranking is determined by the rate at which graduates are placed in high-ranking occupations, such as prestigious civil service positions (e.g., judges, attorneys, diplomats, civil officials, and teachers), medical doctors, pharmacists, and employment in large companies (e.g.,

Samsung, LG, and SK). The academic background of those who are currently high-ranking government officials, judges, journalists and CEOs of large corporations reflects the ranking order of colleges in Korea.

A typical path for a successful student is to be a top-caliber student in high school, to be admitted to a high-ranking college, such as SNU, to pass a qualifying examination, and eventually to become a medical doctor, a judge, or an attorney. A similar pattern is found in Japan (Cutts, 1999). Unfortunately, this employment pattern makes for an educational experience in high school, as well as in college, that is based on rote memory and repetition of formal knowledge rather than higher order thinking and creativity, because students focus on the college entrance examination while in high school, and on preparation for various examinations that will lead to prestigious jobs while in college. Curriculum-in-reality in high school is simply drilling and preparation aimed at obtaining high university entrance exam scores. Even children in elementary school attend private after-school academies (Juku in Japan) with the ultimate goal of entering a top-ranking college in the future. The prime clients of these private academies are high school students and those who were initially unsuccessful in entering the institution of first preference. After entering college, instead of concentrating on the college curriculum, students are concerned with the job market and begin to prepare for the qualifying examinations for their future careers. In contemporary Korea, even students majoring in engineering and natural sciences are spending 3 to 4 years during college to prepare for civil service examinations for careers in law and the public service. It appears that education in Korea, rather than reducing the level of social and economic inequality, instead perpetuates, reinforces, and even justifies inequality in

the social and economic system.

Self-Strengthening Research Competence at SNU, 1994-2005

The current system of doctoral programs at SNU was fully implemented in 1975 as a part of upgrading the university after it moved to a new campus, now embracing all its scattered colleges except the medical college. Obsolete was the “old form” of doctoral program, in which a degree could be earned based solely on a thesis. That was the common practice taken from the colonial Japanese university system, and thus the term “old form” was used. Replacing it was the “new form,” with prescribed graduate course-work and a qualifying examination to be passed before writing a doctoral thesis, in accordance with the standards of American research universities. As mentioned above, though SNU had a historical legacy from Japanese colonial universities at its inception, its structure and operation since then have been modeled after American universities. It is important to note that the self-strengthening efforts toward building a world-class university began at SNU long before the launching of BK21 in 1999. Altbach (2003) points out several important conditions that are necessary to achieve world-class university status, including excellence in research by top-quality scholars, institutional autonomy, academic freedom, adequate facilities for academic work, and long-term public funding. The main strategy to bring SNU up to the world-class level was to emphatically pursue excellence in research, the first among the five critical conditions identified by Altbach. Governmental support came at an opportune time for SNU to take full advantage of the resulting funding and other forms of assistance in the university’s

endeavor to empower its doctoral programs. As a major beneficiary of this 7-year-long, large public funding effort, SNU was provided with an extraordinary opportunity and resources to pursue its long-cherished goal, chosen and supported by the faculty, to become a world-class university.

In order to promote quality research among the faculty, newly hired faculty were required to have established publication records in internationally renowned science journals and to participate in a tenure review process, which was recently deferred to the stage of promotion from associate professor to full professor. The research records of the top-ranking U.S. schools have served as a benchmark in evaluating the progress of yearly academic accomplishment and productivity at SNU since 1994. Various internal evaluations of progress have been conducted at the university, college, departmental, and research group levels (Kim et al., 2004; Kim, 2005; Kim et al., 2005). A self-evaluation appears to be the only reasonable way to assess academic achievement and progress, for there is no “right” formula for a flagship university in the periphery to become world class (Altbach, 2003) SNU bolstered its graduate program by providing graduate students with generous stipends and research assistantships. Also, the postdoctoral program was expanded in order to support young scholars.

Global connections and cooperation are also critical for creating a world-class university. SNU has promoted global connections by regularly inviting internationally accomplished scholars in various fields for both short-term and long-term residencies. International cooperation was pursued by implementing a joint-degree program with foreign universities and other scholarly exchange programs. SNU’s outreach efforts now include academic exchange programs with about 90 universities in 27

countries around the world. There were only 100 foreign students at SNU in 1995, however, by 2005, there were more than 700. Over the last five years the number of foreign professors has doubled to 58. SNU supports graduate students for their overseas studies and their participation in international conferences. These overseas experiences are particularly important in that they give junior scholars a strong sense of self-confidence in their competitive status in the international arena. Additionally, there is considerable infrastructure support, including an electronic library with easy access to various academic databases, high-tech computer labs, and a housing facility for international scholars and students.

These series of changes and reform policies have produced impressive results. Senior officers at SNU began to pay particular attention to the number of science papers published in America and other advanced countries. It is well known among scientists that the Institute of Scientific Information (ISI) in the U.S. maintains a database on the published scientific articles in the Science Citation Index (SCI) annually. Reform-minded school officers and government bureaucrats as well, believe that the number of published articles listed in SCI could serve as a quantitative indicator of productivity for a university. According to a tally of the number of articles by SNU faculty listed in the SCI, the world ranking of SNU was 75th in 1999, and has increased dramatically every year since then, reaching 34th place in 2003 (Kim et al., 2004). Even though this quantitative index is a controversial one, the trend of a consistent increase in ranking gives senior officers a sense of the direction of SNU's self-strengthening efforts. The latest ranking is far higher than their early estimation based on the current, observable trend and has indeed been a surprise to all interested observers.

The measurement of productivity levels by the number of published scientific articles provides insufficient information, however, for it only captures the gross productivity, not the real net productivity. The real productivity actually depends on the level of financial investment devoted to the school under consideration. Harvard University, the University of Tokyo, and the University of California at Los Angeles are the top three universities with regard to the number of published articles in 2004. In fact, Harvard University produces three times as many articles as SNU (9,421 vs. 3,116). However, looking at the financial resources invested in each institution produces a somewhat different ranking order. Table 1 compares the productivity levels indexed by the number of papers of these top three universities with those of SNU, the one adjusted for annual budgets and research funds of each school³ (Office of Research Affairs, 2006). SNU's budget is only about one-quarter that of Harvard University. The amount of funds spent on research at Harvard University is more than twice as high as that at SNU.

Table 1. University Publications and R&D Expenditures at SNU and the Top Three World-Class Research Universities, 2004

Variables	Harvard	Tokyo ^c	UCLA	SNU
Publications ^a (ranks)	9,421 (1)	6,631 (2)	5,232 (3)	3,116 (31)
Operating budget				
Total Coast (TBW) ^b				
Publicationsper	2,857	1,732	3,651	647
TBM ^b	3.3	3.8	1.4	4.8
Research funding				

Total funds (TBW) ^b		648	426	611	270
Publications	per	14.5	15.6	8.6	11.5
TBW ^b					

Note. Exchange rate; US\$1=1,100 Korean won; 1¥=9Korean won.

^aSCI-indexed articles

^bTBW=10 billion Koreanwon, approximately US\$10million.

^cUniversity of Tokyo data from 2003.

From Research activities at Seoul National University: 2005/2006 by Office of Research Affairs, 2006, Seoul: Seoul National University; How to Get a World-class University in Korea? The Case of Self-strengthening Program of SNU, 1994-2005(Research Note, No.24) by Seoul National University and K.S.Kim,2005,Seoul:Educational Research Institute, SNU. Copyright 2006 by Seoul National University. Adapted with permission.

As shown in Table 1, considering the relative lack of financial resources available at SNU, the adjusted productivity level according to the level of investment at SNU is not very far behind that of the other top-tier universities. For 1 billion Won (about 1 million U.S. dollars) of the school operating budget, SNU and Harvard produced about 5 and 4 articles, respectively. Every 1 billion Won in development funding yielded 56 articles at SNU and 10 at Harvard, and the same amount in research funding yielded 13 and 16 articles, respectively. With the exception of productivity per dollar of research funds expended, the figures for SNU are fairly competitive. When we move from gross to adjusted productivity, we can see some potential for international competitiveness in research at SNU.

However, creating a world-class university requires qualitative rather than just quantitative advancement. To measure quality in the manner widely used by specialists is an impact factor which has potential shortcomings for understanding the research competence of a paper. Principal investigators of the BK21 groups began searching for a

qualitative index to reveal the level of research competence at SNU. Kim and his colleagues (2005) produced an internal evaluation on SNU's international competitiveness in terms of the level of research competence in the field of science and technology. The report analyzed both the quantity and quality of research articles published in SCI-indexed journals within six different fields: mathematics, physics, biological science, chemical engineering, mechanics and aerospace engineering, and pharmacy. As indicators of the quality of research papers, investigators counted the number of times each published paper was cited, based on the ISI Web of Science Database. Tallying the citations for each scholarly contributor is a time-consuming and tedious, as well as error-laden, job. Not surprisingly, the estimated margin of error is said to be about 10 percent (Kim et al., 2005). To make a specific comparison with US counterparts, two groups of US universities were identified based on the annual rankings for selected fields reported by the U.S. News and World Report. The "top university" referred to an American university that ranked among the top three in a particular field, and "high-ranking" referred to the top 20 to 30 US universities.

The major findings of the analysis are as follows:

1. According to the measure of the quantity of articles published in the six fields, SNU achieved only 75% of the Top University category in the U.S. in 1994, but achieved 151% in 2004.
2. According to the quality index of the number times a paper was cited, during 1994–1995, SNU jumped to 35% of the Top University category and 53% of the High-Ranking Universities category. Since then, there has been a significant and steady improvement, and by 2002-2003, using the

same index, SNU reached 74% of the Top University category. In comparison with the group of High-Ranking Universities, SNU's quality was in fact higher than the former by 37% for 2002-2003.

3. Judging by the quality of published journal articles, SNU's graduate program in science and engineering is ranked at approximately 20th place amongst High-Ranking American Universities.

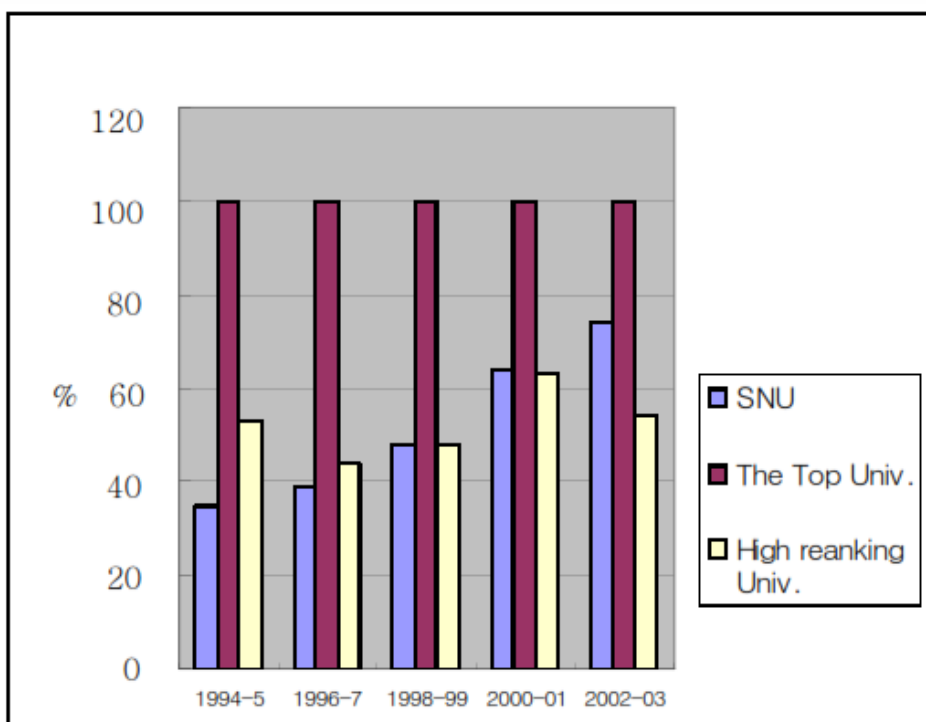


Figure 1. Comparison of Quality Index between American Research Universities and SNU, 1994-2003. ¹¹

This internal review, however, provoked many hot debates and

¹¹ Percentages of the average of six fields, taking the top American university as 100%. From An assessment of research competence in science and engineering (Research Bulletin), by K.W.Kim et al., 2005, Seoul: Seoul National University, Copyright 2005 by Seoul National University. Adapted with permission.

controversies, with much deep skepticism surrounding the evaluation, simply because it ranked SNU in the 20th place among American research universities. However, this soon was seen to be a reasonable estimation. An examination of SNU's internal review data and *The Times*'s international comparisons of the world's top 100 science universities yields quite consistent results for the ranking of SNU.²

This ranking would drop quickly, as with *The Times*'s overall rankings, if we took into account other criteria for ranking world-class universities, such as the ratio of professors to students, the number of foreign students, and the number of visiting or hired foreign scholars. The remarkable leap forward achieved by SNU during the last 10 years is the result of many factors. Although the American model may have served as a benchmark, it should be noted that SNU has made deliberate efforts to develop an academic model that is globally competitive and at the same time maintains culturally relevant mentor-disciple relations.

Conclusion

The great leap forward in terms of excellence in research shows that SNU appears to have reached the world-class level. It shows that a flagship university in the periphery has the potential to become a world-class university. There are many factors that may have led to these impressive achievements.

The first factor is the fundamental strength of the Korean secondary education system. Students who enter SNU do so after having undergone a tremendous amount of high-quality preparation. According to an international survey published by the Organization for Economic

Cooperation and Development, Korean students in secondary education ranked among the top three countries in terms of problem-solving and mathematical skills (OECD, 2004a, 2004b). Thus, it is not surprising that SNU, which admits only the most able students from a wider pool of students who already exhibit high level problem solving and mathematical skills, has the potential of becoming a world-class university.

The second factor is the quality of undergraduate education received by the students while at SNU. In the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, it was reported that SNU was second only to the University of California, Berkeley in producing more undergraduate students who later earned doctorates from American universities between 1999 and 2003 (Gravois, 2005). The undergraduate programs of SNU seem to serve as the second-best “university college,” an outstanding source of undergraduates who went on for advanced study in the United States (Jenks & Riesman, 1968, p. 20–27).

The third factor supporting the creation of world-class universities involves the Korean intellectual tradition of a strong and committed relationship between a mentor and disciple that serves as a potent academic force for graduate programs. It is fascinating to see the Korean traditional cultural pattern playing a practical role as a crucial resource in the globalization of its modern educational institutes.

One of the reasons for Altbach’s (2000, 2003) pessimism about the possibility of a middle-income country establishing a world-class university is the issue of institutional autonomy, which is particularly critical for academic creativity and freedom. He questions whether the ambitious Korean BK21 Project would be effective, given the lack of institutional autonomy in Korea. Since central governments in many

middle-income countries are attempting to build world-class universities to promote economic growth, it is a tremendous challenge for academic institutions to maintain a meaningful level of autonomy. In fact, it has been difficult for SNU to remain autonomous as a public institution, especially because it was a main recipient of public financial resources. To receive adequate funding, SNU has had to compromise its autonomy, and this is something which has made it difficult to maintain consistent policies. Given their insufficient financial resources, even private universities in Korea face this dilemma—albeit to a lesser extent.

There is another unique Korean dynamic that has affected SNU's autonomy. In the Korean educational arena, the private sector plays a very important role. The educational zeal of parents has been the strength and driving force behind the consecutive transition to universal higher education in Korea. The highly competitive college entrance examination system has always been a major source of conflict among parents, teachers, the government, and the universities. The policy concerning the college entrance examination system has become a political bargaining chip between the government and the private sector, which in turn has threatened the autonomy of universities. SNU, the flagship university and the dream destination of all Korean students, has paid a heavy price for its academic prestige. For SNU, all policies in general, and admissions policies in particular, have always been under close scrutiny by politicians as well as the public, resulting in some loss of institutional independence. It is not a university like SNU but, rather, the central government that has set critical limits on admissions policies. Among the “four essential freedoms” of a university, SNU lacks the freedom to determine “who may be admitted to study” (Bok, 1980). In the current political milieu of emphasizing social

equity in Korea, the coming of a credential-based society and an intensifying pecking order among universities are hotly debated political issues. There have even been radical proposals—such as one in which SNU would be completely closed down to defuse and resolve this ever intensifying competition.

The achievements of SNU are indeed remarkable and should serve as a model and encouragement to other middle-income countries with similar aspirations and determinations. On the other hand, lessons can be learned by reflecting on the experiences of SNU. First, the focus of higher education reform policies should be on comprehensive and fundamental change. Although quantitative measures have been taken, they should not be the sole approach in creating a world-class academic institution.

The delicate balancing act between institutional autonomy and the role of the central government is critical for building a world-class research university in middle-income countries. While the government should provide financial and institutional support, as Altbach argues, institutional autonomy is a critical aspect of the intellectual environment that promotes academic freedom and innovation.

Lastly, scientific knowledge is not immune to political and ideological forces. A challenge that will require ongoing attention is the task of enabling a university in a middle-income country to find a niche in the global intellectual community while maintaining a commitment to the country's unique traditional heritage without compromising the institution's international competitive edge. Participation in the global community of world-class universities as a competitive partner requires enormous reserves of determination, tremendous effort, and a plethora of

resources. Even while taking as a benchmark the models developed and refined in the core industrial countries, middle-income countries should not abandon their own intellectual traditions. These countries need to be relevant in the global intellectual community while being mindful so as not to become victims of any emergent tendency towards intellectual neocolonialism in the 21st century.

Notes

1 The term “gate” originated from and was widely used in the Buddhist academic traditions and practices from thousands of years ago. The Buddha himself is, for example, the gate to the Buddhist way for his many thousands of disciples and greater number of faithful followers. Likewise, Confucius himself is also the gate to the Confucius way for his legendary 3,000 disciples from all over China. For Buddha and Confucius, a gate signifies the highest degree of intellectual excellence combined with the same degree of moral integrity of a prominent mentor. Entering a certain gate means positioning oneself as a lifetime disciple of the mentor. Korean scholars often call someone “a student working under a certain gate” to classify a serious and committed disciple of a particular prominent scholar. Here “under” means making the student a humble disciple. Heated debates among competing gates reinforce their own intellectual standings among scholars with and without civil service jobs. Sometimes a group evolves into a political party, especially when national security is in danger. These circles constitute loosely connected mentor-disciple relations but have neither an institutional base as in European universities nor an organizational base as in medieval guilds among artisans. These relations,

however, have been the center of excellence in research in keeping with the Confucian way and teaching of the power elites during the Kingdom of Chosun.

2 According to The Times, SNU with a score of 38.3 is located between Johns Hopkins University with 39 and UC-San Diego with 36.7. If we only count American research universities, leaving out European, Japanese and Chinese institutions, among the 100 universities, Johns Hopkins University is 16th and UC-San Diego is 17th. If these rankings are valid, we can hardly reject SNU's self-evaluation of its standing among its benchmark counterparts in America. For data on Harvard, see the school's 2004 Analysis of Financial Results. For data on the University of Tokyo, see the school's statement of 2003 (http://www.u-tokyo.ac.jp/fin01/06_01j.html); its total research funds included a research subsidiary from the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology, in addition to external funds from private groups, enterprises, and other sources. For data on UCLA, see the Campus Facts in Brief 2004–2005 (<http://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/annualreport/2005/>).

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4. Tertiary Education For All

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This article¹ analyzes the unique development of tertiary education for all (*TEFA*) in Korea. Access to tertiary education in Korea has recently reached 81 percent, the highest in the world (Grubb et al. 2006, 7). The transition from elite to universal access to tertiary education was attained in less than three decades, an achievement that took almost half a century in the United States (Trow 1961). As recently as the year 2000, Korean high school graduates were 5 percent more likely to pursue tertiary education, in one form or another, than their counterparts in the United States, a world leader in universal higher education. Korea has also become one of the first countries to have achieved almost universal completion of secondary education, at the highest growth rate of any of the OECD countries (OECD 2009; Grubb et al. 2006, 16).² The rapid transition to universal access to tertiary education in Korea occurred almost immediately after, or

simultaneously with, the swift transition to universal secondary education. The phenomenon of a simultaneous transition to universal access to secondary and tertiary education is unprecedented (Kim 2007a, 3). Grubb et al. draw attention to the fact that, “the idea of “tertiary education for all” is closer to reality in Korea than in any other country” (Grubb et al. 2006, 16). Is this a success story? In this article, we will address this question by explaining the mechanism and consequences of this simultaneous transition.

The rate of expansion of TEFA in Korea exceeded the government’s willingness and ability to provide financial support. The resultant gap was filled by privatization of this new education market, leading to the erosion of the notion of the “public good” in tertiary education. A unique aspect, particular to the case of Korea, lies in the zeal and willingness to financially support their children’s studies on the part of parents, and not a concerted central planning effort by the government, as the main driving force behind the rapid expansion of higher education. Thus, leading to a simultaneous shift, to increased levels of higher education together with increased privatization.

As will be demonstrated, over-privatization has been the primary mechanism behind the transition since the late 1960s. Due to a heavy reliance on private funding, parents and students must pay a high price, including, “education fever,” “examination-hell,” and “cut-throat competition.” Recent trends reflect a set of deep-rooted cultural norms fostered by this rapid double-transition. The reliance on privatization in achieving universal access to higher education places a significant financial burden on families, particularly those of a disadvantaged socioeconomic status. Therefore, the more financial resources that come from the private sector, the more difficult it becomes to attain equitable access. Nevertheless,

there is no sign of a narrowing in the gap which exists between regions, socioeconomic status, gender, and family background, all of which have led to inequality of access to universities and colleges.

The global trend toward privatization in higher education has seen such policies have adopted in Western societies, including in former socialist countries, where a public higher education systems had been the norm. Critiquing this trend, Altbach (2002, 10) cautions that “while many look to America’s impressive private higher education sector, it is more useful to draw on the Asian experience.” Countries considering privatization would do well to consider the experiences of Japan, the Philippine and Korea. More than 80 percent of all students in Korea are currently enrolled at private universities and colleges, compared to only about 20 percent in the United States. Indeed, 83 percent of the national budget for higher education in Korea comes from family funds (Kim 2007a), an unparalleled phenomenon, unseen even in America, where the private sector is far more dominant than the public sector. Furthermore, the distinction between the public and private sectors has been blurred, with even the top Korean national universities relying on tuition fees for more than one-third of their revenue.

The pace of development of Korean higher education is remarkable, especially considering the extremely limited public financial resources and infrastructural support it has been given. Korea has played such an archetypal role before, such as when the Chinese government studied Korea’s privatization efforts before launching their own. Thus, the Korean experience is worth examining and may be beneficial to other countries, especially those whose educational cultures and societies are more similar to Korea than America. This article examines policy implications and

conditions under which universal access and equity may be pursued by other countries.

FROM PRIVATIZATION TO OVER-PRIVATIZATION

The Historical Origins of Private Higher Education

Both the public and private sectors have traditionally played important roles in higher learning in Asia (Min 2004). As was the case in China, in Korea there existed a dual system of education: public education run by the central and local government and a system of various private education institutes. It was long a common practice among historians of Korean higher education to argue that the first public college, *Taehak* (Great Learning), founded in 372 AD and its successor, *Sungkyunkwan*, established by the government in 1398, were the Asian counterparts to the Western medieval university as traditional centers of higher education. However, unlike the University of Paris in the twelfth century, *Sungkyunkwan* was not a center of excellence of academic studies, but a governmental institute for lesser degree holders to reside for a certain period of time in order to prepare for their final national examination for the selection of civil officers. It was also the center of Confucian ceremonies and, over time, the ceremonial function prevailed over the educational function. Most of the training of the Korean literati was conducted at a variety of non-formal and less-institutionalized (*NFLI*) institutes, ranging from the family school, to the *letter hall*,³ to the private seminary, known as *Sowon*—the most institutionalized of the private schools with governmental authorization.

The origin private education in Asia can be traced back to the legend

of Confucius' teaching practices dating back to around 500 BC. He became a teacher at the age of twenty-nine and his house became a site of pilgrimage and a centre of learning for his followers. According to *Confucius Analeptics*, an early form of his teaching began as follows: "The Master (Confucius) said that from the men bringing his bundles of dried flesh for my teaching, I have never refused instruction to anyone (VII, 7)" (Legge 1892, 61). Dr. Legge, the highest authority on Chinese Classics in the English speaking world, interpreted this phrase as follows: "However small the fee his pupils were able to afford, he never refused instruction. All that he required was an ardent desire for improvement, and some degree of capacity" (Legge 1892, 61). His teaching was not carried out in any formal school or teaching institute established by the government, rather it was a model of private education, whereby a great scholar to offered lessons at his house. This form of NFLI private higher education was long practiced in the Eastern civilizations (Lee 1984, 220).

While teaching almost anyone who had desire to learn and could pay a nominal fee for tuition, Confucius rigorously selected a small number of disciples amongst his followers. According to legend, he had at least 3,000 followers. Of these he formally handpicked only seventy-seven, stating, "The disciples who received my instructions, and could comprehend them, were seventy-seven individuals. They were all scholars of extraordinary ability" (Legge 1892, 62). Among those selected, twelve disciples were placed, only one level below Confucius, at the Shrine of Confucius the Saint, where a ritual memorializing him had been observed. Thanks to their continuing scholastic efforts, Confucius' teachings survived various historical upheavals and maintain their place amongst the greatest classics of higher learning in Asia.

Korean Confucianism is based on Chu His' (1128–1200) Neo-Confucianism, which was revived during the Song Dynasty. The Korean literati found it most appealing, for it sought to establish an ethical base for an enlightened political world with fully developed theoretical studies (Lee 1984, 217). The Korean scholar, T'oegye (Yi Hwang 1501–1570), developed a full explication of *i* (*li* in Chinese) philosophy,⁴ which accounts for what things are and how they behave. As a result of his philosophical endeavors, he was revered as a Korean Chu His, a Confucius, or sometimes as both. He presented a philosophical doctrine emphasizing moral self-cultivation as the essence of learning. He was the greatest figure in the history of philosophy in Korea and exerted a huge influence on the shaping of Japanese Confucian doctrine as well.

Under T'oegye, a group of the brilliant Neo-Confucian literati living in the Southern area gathered and devoted their energy to academic pursuits, mainly at the private academies or *Sowon*. They remained in the South for a very long period, in order to avoid being swept up in court politics. The top level of scholarship was passed down through an academic lineage. Among the Southerners, Sungho (Yi Ik 1681–1763) became the model Confucius intellectual. With enough flexibility to embrace Western scholasticism, his teachings made a great contribution to the renaissance of Korean Confucianism in its later days. When he passed away, one of his disciples, and the statesman of the time, Prime Minister Chae, inscribed on his tombstone that “Our scholarship had always grown from an academic lineage. The Korean Confucius, T'oegye, taught his Way to Hangang who taught it in turn to Misu. As a disciple of Misu, Sungho inherited the legitimate academic lineage of T'oegye” (ITKC 2001, 444).

This academic lineage had nothing to do with *Sungkyunkwan* or the

Four Schools established and run by the government. Instead, this lineage was made through private education. The academic lineage was transferred to the next generation of scholars. The East and West cultural collision in the early eighteenth century led to the birth of a variety of new schools of thought, ranging from voluntary conversion to Catholicism, to the birth of a movement rejecting heterodoxy, and to the rise of practical learning.⁵

The main characteristics of private education in the Chosun Dynasty can be summed up as follows: informal, non-institutionalized education; the use of letter halls made study possible anytime for any scholarly teacher and group of students with a minimal level of financial resources but having a desire and capacity for learning; the letter hall was open to virtually all men with a few exceptions; private education functioned as the center of excellence in research and higher learning, coexisting with a network of public education institutes; family, not government, was the main actor in increasing educational opportunities. This archetype of private higher education repeatedly appeared to meet peoples' demands for higher learning under the Japanese occupation which tried systematically to destroy indigenous private higher education.

The Development of Modern Privatization

The current "modern" education of Korea started from the 1894 Education Reform. Figure 10.1 shows the trend in school expansion at each level during the past decade. The transition from mass to universal access to tertiary education took place only after 1980. As shown in the graph, indigenous forms of private education like letter halls persisted during the colonial period. It is impossible to calculate a reliable participation rate of

students attending letter halls, for they took a NFLI form of education which hardly produced any statistics. However, Japanese statistics showed the number of Korean students attending indigenous schools exceeded that of colonized schools until the middle of the 1920s. Sociologists of colonial education have had heated debates in trying to explain why the Korean system collapsed at that particular time.

Contrary to Japanese “official” and propaganda claims, the colonial education was part of an assimilation policy, but designed to liquidate Korean values, culture and identity. As indicated in Figure 10.1, the colonizers severely limited the Korean people’s opportunity for higher education. This policy of repression distorted the development of the secondary education, which functioned as a preparatory program for universities and colleges. Since the late 1920s and early 1930s, primary education seemingly started to expand, not because of the provision of free and compulsory education for all Koreans by the Japanese, but because of its enforcing privatization at the level of primary education. From the beginning, Japanese colonizers shifted the responsibility for financing education to Korean parents. This policy was maintained during the whole period of occupation. In his brilliant historical sociology of the elementary school expansion in the 1930s, Professor Sung-Cheol Oh (2004) showed how Korean parents, resisting Japanese policy for rudimentary vocational education to the Ordinary School (i.e., elementary schools) for producing docile peasants, chose to pay the costs of non-vocation general education and encourage their children to prepare for the entrance examination to the next level of education. Their financial commitment led to school expansion and an early form of “examination-hell” in the 1930s.

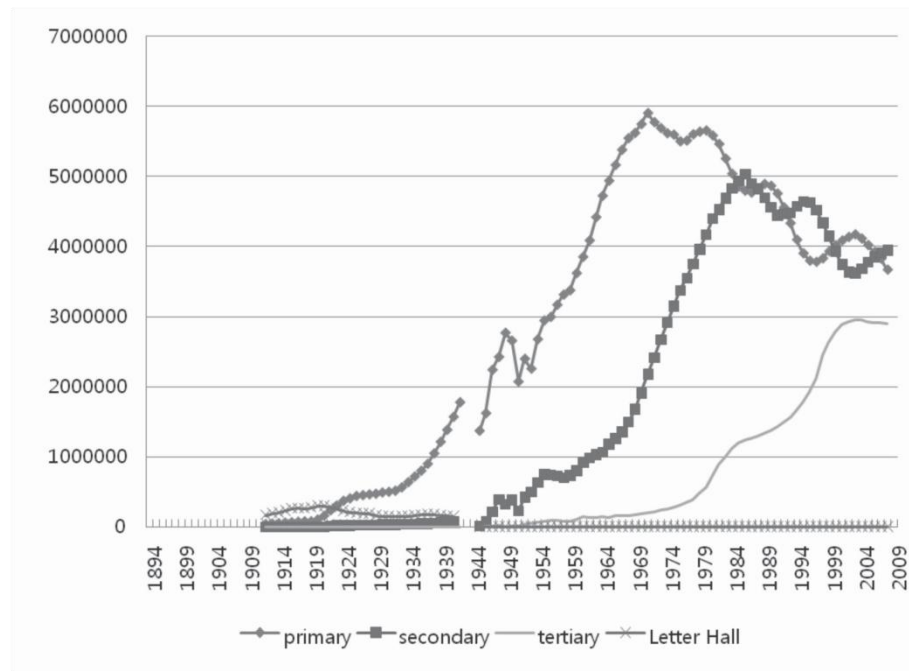


Figure 1. Education Expansion by Level of Education 1894-2009, Source: Kim, K. S. (1999)

Despite a series of education reforms to de-colonize immediately after liberation, the colonial principle of privatization of elementary education was kept and further extended to secondary and higher education. By the early 1950s, the number of students attending private universities and colleges exceeded the number in national public schools. This trend has continued, and has led to an extreme dependence on private education.

Privatization has accelerated school expansions and has led the transition to universal access. The speed of this transition in Korean is unique (and thus difficult to compare to other countries). A comparison between America's "parallel transition" (Trow 1961) and Korea's "simultaneous transition" (Kim 2007a) show some interesting differences. As a result of the simultaneous transition since the 1980s, the educational attainment level of Korea reached the top level among OECD countries. The top level of tertiary educational attainment was facilitated by the recent

expansion of two-year private college. As shown in Figure 10.2, the majority of tertiary students attend private universities and vocational colleges.

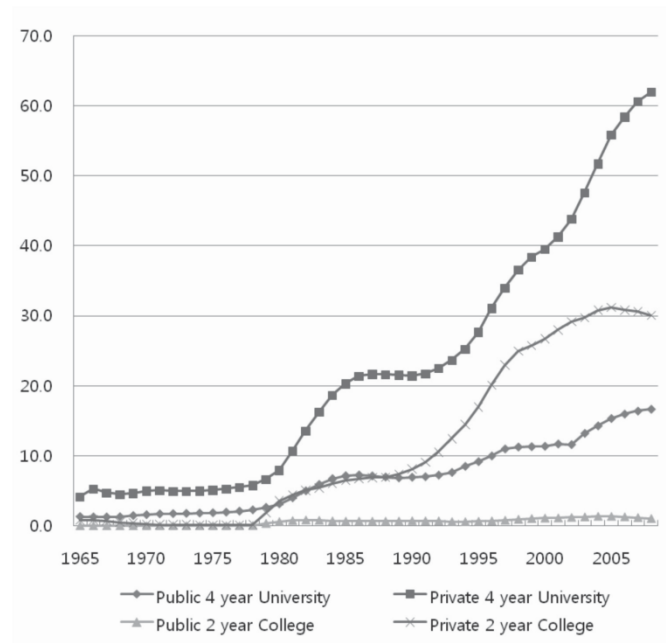


Figure 2. Enrollment Rates by Type of Institution 1965-2008, *Source: Kim, K. S. (1999)*

While all higher educational institutions in Korea rely on private funding, vocational colleges have the highest degree of reliance on the private sector. This pattern differs sharply from the American model where large research universities and elite liberal arts schools show a higher level of reliance upon the private sector than community colleges, which are mostly state funded public institutions. This dominance of private vocational training creates a greater financial burden on poorer parents, thus eroding the idea of higher education as a “public good.”

This phenomenon emerged more than half a century ago. In the early 1950s, UNESCO and UNKRA (United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency) jointly sent an Education Planning Mission to

study the situation of Korean education and make recommendations for a rebuilding the education system from the ruins of the Korean War. The Mission's report underscored the fact that a "striking feature of the financing of education in Korea is that secondary and higher education are financed to the extent of at least 75 per- cent by voluntary contribution from parents" (UNESCO 1952, 103). It also reported that, "Even the unsatisfactory program of education today is maintained, not as a charge upon the whole people through public taxation, but largely through the voluntary support of these families who have at present members to be enrolled in a school or college" (127). Based on these conclusions the Mission recommended: The full cost of primary education and at least 50 percent of the costs of public secondary and higher education be supplied from tax sources (UNESCO 1953, 103).

The Korean government has never implemented UNESCO's recommendation for higher education. It did not start funding even basic education from tax sources until the 1990s. For Korean and foreign education experts the core problem lies in shifting the financial burden away from private funding to public taxation as a basis for the financial support of public education, including tertiary education. Figures 10.3 and 10.4 indicate that dependency on private funding had been increasing over time, resulting in Korea being the most dependent on private funding among OECD countries.

Japan and Korea were the two countries that spent the least amount of public funds on higher education, but Korea's dependence on private funding was considerably greater than that of Japan. Korea is the only country that has let privatization prevail in the field of public education, particularly in tertiary education. The absence of education being defined as

a “public good” has contributed to this phenomenon. The increasing proportion of private funding invested in the education market by parents has further diminished the idea of education as a “public good” in the minds of the general population. This vicious circle of privatization was the mechanism which led the simultaneous transition to universal access to secondary and tertiary education to develop as it has.

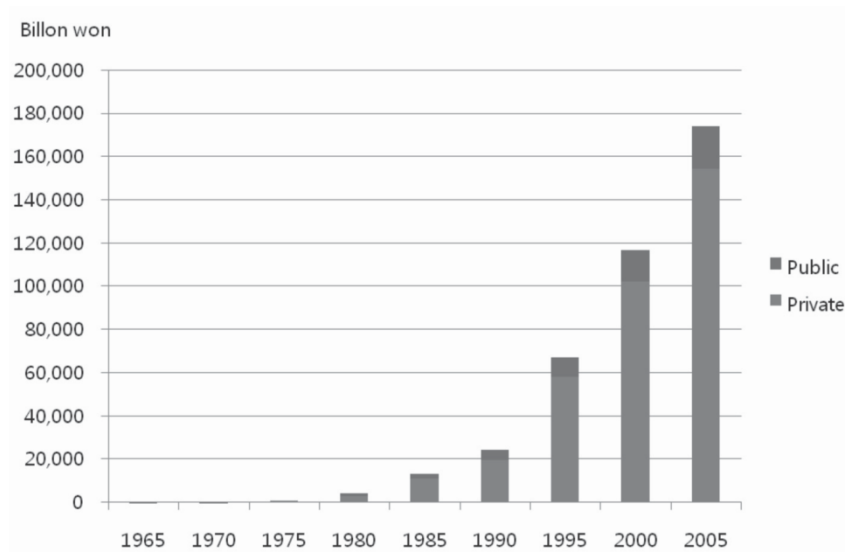


Figure 3. Expenditure on Higher Education by Funding Sources 1965-2005

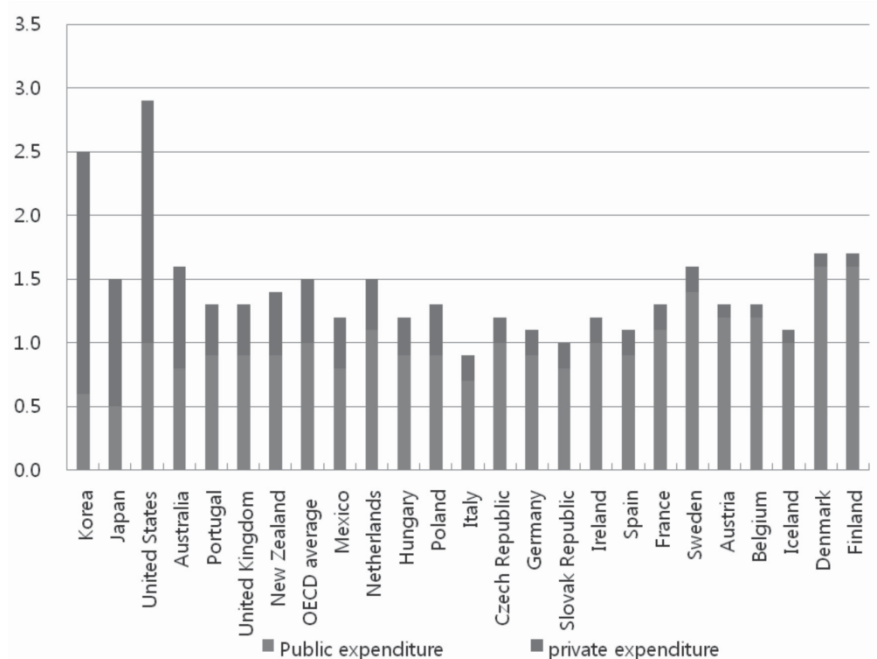


Figure 4. Expenditure on Higher Education as Percentage of GDP, by Funding Source (2006)
Source: KEDI & MOE, Education statistics yearbook; OECD (2009)

Consequences of Over-Privatization

The pace of expansion of Korean higher education, which can only be described as explosive, has been particularly rapid since the 1980s (as illustrated in Figure 10.1). One of the consequences of the simultaneous transition was that there was very little time to build up an efficient university system with adequate functional differentiation, between public and private institutions, between metropolitan and provincial universities, between four-year universities and junior colleges, and between research-oriented and teaching-oriented institutions. This also occurred in the secondary educational system, which also failed to develop a reasonable differentiation between college preparatory schools and vocational schools. No efforts were made to make secondary education comprehensive. Instead, vocational high schools separated from academic schools, and were

allowed to provide a college track for their students, many of whom went on to receive some type of tertiary education.

Therefore, different universities and colleges in Korea did not develop their own unique missions and functions. All universities aspired to be major flagship universities. It may be understandable that a newly established school would choose to model itself after a top-ranked university. Many universities in the United States have tried to use Harvard University as a model. However, in Korea, all universities (public, private, metropolitan and provincial) model themselves after Seoul National University. As a result, there has been very little differentiation of functions and purposes amongst various institutions. One example of the negative consequences of such a process is that several private universities have offered doctoral programs without adequate academic and institutional preparation and support.

The absence of a well-coordinated higher educational system has also critically affected the Korean economy and impacted upon the labor market. The higher educational institutions have not been able to adequately meet the human resources needs of Korea's rapidly growing knowledge-intensive industries. There has been a serious mismatch between the "end products" of higher education and the real needs of the labor market (Grubb et al. 2006). Some large corporations have responded to this by establishing their own educational training facilities where they are able to retrain their college graduate employees.

The past sixty years of Korean higher education can be summed up as low- cost education. In 2006, the Ministry of Education allocated 6.4 percent of its budget to higher education. This amounted to about 0.7 percent of the Korean GDP, about half of the average allocation (1.3

percent) of OECD member countries (OECD 2009). Despite the government's unwillingness to provide adequate resources, the Korean higher education system has expanded rapidly, largely due to intensive privatization.

What has been compromised in the record-breaking growth of higher education in Korea is the value of the “public good” in education. The Korean government has transferred responsibility and commitment for educating the general public to the private sector, more specifically, to the parents and students. This pattern is particularly noticeable in the tertiary education system. As shown in Figure 10.3, only slightly more than 10 percent of the Korean higher educational budget was provided by public funds.

The Korean case is one of the most extreme among OECD countries. The degree of financial responsibility on the part of parents and students far exceeds the case of Japan and the United States, which are known to have the most well-developed private educational systems. This pattern of over-privatization continues unabated in Korea.

LESSONS FROM THE KOREAN MODEL

Korea has transformed from the ruins of the civil war, into the world's 11th largest economy. In this rapid and impressive transformation, the higher education system has played an essential role. This system can be encapsulated in three salient characteristics: The quantity is impressive, privatization is unprecedented, and the quality is varied. Several lessons may be drawn from the Korean model.

Functional Differentiation Among Universities and Colleges

The most critical issue that emerges from the Korean model is the strong need for rebuilding a coherent system of tertiary education, including lifelong learning, which provides a diversity of higher educational opportunities. To this end, Grubb et al. recommend “a structure that links individual colleges, universities, and other tertiary institutions, rather than simply a group of unrelated institutions” (Grubb et al. 2006, 63). The California State University System is an example of a coherent higher educational system that provides an equal educational opportunity to a student population remarkable for its tremendous diversity in terms of both educational needs and personal backgrounds. As Douglass (2000) points out in his analysis of the Master Plan of the California System, this success is a result of long dialogue and hard-won compromise between the various stakeholders with conflicting views and interests. Like the land grant universities of other states, the California system has successfully established a higher educational institution system with reasonable functional differentiation among colleges and universities that successfully meets diverse and unique educational needs. Thus, the California system has been able to not only meet the expanding demands of higher education, but also build several world-class research universities. The California University System has played an essential role in helping California’s economy become the world’s tenth largest. This is a truly remarkable achievement.

The difficulty in establishing a higher educational system with efficient functional differentiation stems from the fact that the Korean government has relied heavily upon the private sector to meet the

expanding demand for higher educational opportunities. It is difficult to establish a coherent and well-balanced educational system when approximately 80 percent of higher educational needs are met by private institutions and private funding. A comprehensive master plan has to be prepared to guide the process of expansion, so that the educational system will not be guided by private sector interests.

A couple of important conclusions may be drawn from the Korean experience. First, the higher educational system has to clearly differentiate between research universities, teaching universities, and vocational colleges. Each individual college and university should develop their own unique system and structure for finance, curriculum, faculty recruitment, and student admission policy according to their missions and functions. The different levels and types of institutions should be coordinated so that, for example, a vocational college graduate would be able to transfer to a four-year university for a doctoral degree. Faculty should also be able to transfer between different types of schools, depending on their ability and interests. However, teaching universities should maintain their commitment to the mission of teaching and instruction by carrying out teaching-related research, education and vocational-training.

Second, there has to be a governance system for universities and colleges of similar types and functions. An autonomous committee of post-secondary education on a central government level should manage the governance system. The committee should be responsible for higher education as well as life-long education provision for adults and the elderly. Such a committee would be better able to foster and expand the idea of 'public good' in education. The central or regional government should be responsible for providing and securing finance, while the

individual institutions would manage their funds according to their unique needs and institutional environment. Universities and colleges would be granted freedom in the areas of faculty recruitment, curriculum development, classroom instruction, and student admission policy.

The Renewal of the Idea of the “Public Good” in Higher Education

The greatest challenge for public education in Korea is restoring the *public* aspect of public education. After several decades of the central government’s lack of willingness to provide the necessary resources for public education, policymakers, politicians, and even scholars have lost their critical perspective regarding the authentic and real meaning of the “public good” in education. It is the central government’s responsibility to fund and provide adequate public education.

The idea of the “public good” in higher education can be promoted and reinforced by the national government providing the necessary resources for all citizens. Interestingly, the only consistent policy in Korean public education during the last sixty years has been the principle of exporting financial responsibility from the government to the so-called beneficiaries, i.e. students and parents. Parents have been forced to share the financial burden with the national government. Consequently, the public’s fundamental right to be educated has been reduced to a form of economic behavior, and major educational decisions are made on the basis of profit motives. The element of the public good in education has been replaced by the market principle. An individual’s right to education has turned into profit seeking commercial behavior. This has undermined the

legitimacy of the public good in Korean higher education. The trend toward privatization was initially introduced during the Japanese colonial era in order to suppress or limit the public's educational opportunities. Under the American military administration during the second-half of the 1950s, privatization was a necessary, temporary strategy used to cope with the rapidly expanding demand for higher education. Unfortunately, what was supposed to be a temporary measure has become permanent. Privatization has its limits in terms of both quantity and quality, especially the quality of teaching and research. Building a world-class university, for example, requires a tremendous amount of funding and resources, which cannot solely be driven by Korean parents willingness to sacrifice for their children's education.

The Making of an Internationally Competitive Research University

Rapid academic growth, led by privatization, has resulted in a great disparity in the quality of higher education. Korean higher education is a mixture of simple custodial institutions, diploma-mills, vocational colleges, comprehensive universities, and a top-level research university. As Kim (2007a) shows, a self-aware and self-empowering program of a particular institution can result in the creation of a leading-edge research university in a peripheral country like Korea. Some of the Korean flagship universities are examples of such a development. The graduate programs of Seoul National University (SNU), Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST) and Korea University have recently become very competitive by global standards. *The Times* ranked SNU 27th among the

world's top fifty universities for engineering and Information Technology in 2009. The overall ranking of SNU has jumped from ninety-third in 2005 to forty-seventh in the 2009 survey. Kim (2007a) dubbed this impressive ascendance in world rankings "a great leap forward" (Kim 2007a).

A number of factors may help explain this impressive achievement at the top-level universities in Korea. First, is the fundamental strength of the secondary educational system. Students enter flagship universities only after top quality preparation. According to an international comparison published by the OECD, Korean students in the secondary education level ranked among the top three countries in problem-solving skills and mathematical abilities. Thus, it is not surprising that SNU, which admits only the top-tier students, has the potential for becoming a world-class university.

A second factor is the quality of the undergraduate education at SNU. According to the Survey of Earned Doctorates conducted by University of Chicago's NORC, SNU (3,420 recipients), was second only to UC–Berkeley (4,398 recipients), in the number of undergraduates who earned doctoral degrees in the United States between 1997 and 2006 (NORC 2008). SNU's undergraduate programs have been an excellent training ground for graduate programs in American research universities since the 1960s (Jenkins and Riesman 1968).

Finally, the Korean intellectual tradition of a strong and committed relationship between a mentor and his disciples has provided a productive and potent academic force for modern graduate programs. Thus, the ancient native academic traditions have been a vital resource for empowering the international competitiveness of Korean research universities in the modern era of a global information-based economy.

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NOTEs

1. This paper is a revision of first author's paper presented at Hurst Seminar on Higher Education and Equality of Opportunity, Ben Gurion University and published on *APER* 10(1) 2009. Funding of this research was in part provided by NRF of Korea (Outstanding Scholars Program) and Academic Leadership Institute for Competency- Based Education (BK21) of SNU.

2. Table A.1.2, p. 37.

3. The "letter hall" is a kind of home-based school or village school. In Korean it is called "Sodang."

4. The other contrasting but inseparable component of Confucius philosophy is *ki* (*Ch'i* in Chinese) which emphasizes the energizing component. See "The Culture of the Neo-Confucian Literati" (Lee 1984, 217–20), for the detailed discussion of Korean Confucian tradition.

5. See Kim and Woo (2009). "Is it Pyrrhic Victory?: Over-Privatization and Universal Access in Tertiary Education of Korea," *Asia Pacific Education Review* 10(1).

Book II

Non-formal Education and Development of Korea

1. The Origins of New Village Movement (NVM)

Dr. Jin Hwan PARK¹²



1. Introduction

When World War II ended in August 1945, Korea was released as a colony of Japan; however, this resulted in the physical division of the

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Former Special Agricultural Aid to the President, Blue House, &
Former Professor, Seoul National University

country. Shortly afterwards, North Korean forces invaded South Korea on 26 June 1950. In the meantime, farmers in South Korea had been slipping into unending poverty, all the while enduring constant troubles and hardship since the end of the Lee Dynasty, seeming only to exist for a fruitless life.

At the end of Korean War (1950 - 1953), re-building a now devastated South Korea required appeals to the people for individual independence and self-help throughout the country; in terms of economical re-development, all South Koreans needed to be diligent and place their savings in the bank as much as they collectively could. In addition, to rectify the traditional system of an agrarian society in rural areas required an innovative spirit in order for rural people to work together and to be in mutual cooperation.

I would state that the Saemaul Movement (A revolution for the creation of a new village) during the 1970s (also globally known as the New Village Movement: NVM) was a practical method for the revival of the farmers' agricultural spirit. I believe that the agricultural spirit, which had been lost due to long-term exposure to hardship, was the momentum required to revive rural and agricultural areas. As a practical method to regain the lost spirit, each village implemented Saemaul projects. Residents in the village participated in various projects to build a new modernized village using raw materials, including cement and steel structures, provided by the government. As a result, most agricultural area's residential environments were modernized and also the agricultural spirit was rejuvenated. At the same time, to promote the movement and its small projects, a well informed-leader was needed to lead the villagers for the success of each targeted project. Accordingly, at the beginning of the Saemaul Movement,

an educational program for Saemaeul leaders was also initiated. It is known that President Park Chung Hee is credited with the idea for the program leading to the creation of the Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute.

In the wake of successful outcomes of this Saemaeul training, the system was quickly spreading to other training centers, such as official training institutes under government bodies and corporate training institutes from the mid-1970s. Moreover, the Saemaeul Movement had propagated to cities and factories from rural areas. In the meantime, since the late 1950s, Ilga (One Family) Kim Yong-Ki performed spiritual education to farmers at the Canaan Farms, and such educational results were deemed to have been successful. The Great Ilga and his family's educational methods at the Canaan Farmers' School were delivered to the Saemaeul Education Center. I would suggest that their beliefs and the educational materials of the Canaan Farmers' School were a cornerstone, which in turn influenced the Saemaeul Movement in the 1970s.

As still currently involved with the study of agricultural economics, I feel there are many issues still to be raised in describing what Ilga Kim Yong-Ki actually contributed to for the agricultural development in South Korea when it comes to his life and ideology. This report is designed to convey that Ilga Kim Yong-Ki and the Canaan Farmers' School largely contributed to the success of the Saemaeul Movement in Korea. Presently, South Korea has changed to an emerging economy leaving behind agrarian society, achieving a position of one of top global exporters. As the world has been rapidly changing ever since, we as Koreans must raise our competitive power throughout international society. Needless to say, to keep up with the flow, Koreans are required to make every effort to continuously upgrade the standard of thought and scientific technology.

However I would say that is still not sufficient. Along with information technology development, the people's daily belief should be set at a level of international competitiveness. I suggest that to obtain such international competitiveness we would be better to follow Ilga's life and ideology as a daily belief. I believe that Ilga's diligent and economical attitude were the momentum for the overcoming of past national difficulties.

In the 1970s, The Saemaeul Movement was used to promote the modernization of rural areas, and was based on a standard of life with an attitude for diligence and savings. In return, during the 2000s I consider that we as Koreans should once again raise the spirit of The Saemaeul Movement to be competitive internationally. Back in 1953 when the Korean War (also known as the 6.25 invasion) ended, Koreans must have had two deep resentments deep: one of poverty and the other being that tragic war should not occur, where such war results in the divide of people of the same ethnicity into two, North and South. Up until now, South Korea has overcome poverty through economic and industrial development. The other resentment remains still to this day, as we are yet to realize peaceful reunification.

To accomplish peaceful unification of the Korean peninsula, it requires that South Korea must accumulate enough capital to cover the future costs following reunification. Accordingly, it sounds fair that we follow Ilga's life attitude for the purpose of reunification of the Korean peninsula. If so, who will assume such a responsibility for the people's spiritual education in order to break national difficulties, which is now a growing question. The more the South Korean economy increases; we now find that spiritual education decreases. When it comes to spiritual education, it seems that only the Canaan Farmers' School has continued to implement such work.

There is an old saying that downstream waters cannot be clearer than those of the upstream ones. It is interpreted that leaders and celebrities of today's society initiate a daily belief for international competitiveness; thus it is natural of people to follow their beliefs.

2. Historical background of Saemaeul Movement

(1) National development and Mind-set (Simjeon) promotion

All of us as Koreans have a duty to construct a rich country on the basis of the given and limited resources of the land. Obviously we must seek sustainable economic growth in order to be an advanced country. When Korean resources are divided into two categories, such as physical resources and human resources, the physical resources are ultimately limited. Therefore it is not an overstatement that the future of Korea depends on human resource quality when it comes to Korea's economical development to a large extent.

Let us take a look at some of the richest countries in recent times. Of course, some have both human and physical resources to have enabled economical prosperity. On the other hand, others including Switzerland have people of high quality rather than abundant physical resources to attain being an advanced and rich country. This shows that Koreans can also take a step forward in terms of sustainable economic growth to the point of being a rich and developed country through increasing the quality of people.

When it comes to the physical resource difference amongst countries, international trading transactions could be a solution. However, the

difference when it comes to human resources of each country cannot, of course, be balanced by means of trading. To reach such a national project for the enhancement of the quality of people, such may require many dilemmas or long periods, as each person in the country should place himself or herself into a leading role. Based on such an aspect, it is told that a country with high quality people is the one that possesses the most priceless resource. South Korea's motivation to evolve into an industrialized society from a poor agrarian country was that the quality of the South Korean people was greatly improved.

With respect to the quality of the people to accelerate the economic growth of a country, there may be many factors. To the point, I would like to suggest the following two factors. One is the science and technology standard of the Korean people, the other is the daily attitude (everyday belief) of the Korean people. I believe these two factors are highly interactive, rather than independent of each other. Let us imagine that the greatest science and technology are introduced even in an advanced country and the daily attitude of the people who observe such technology does not prepare for the development of the latest technology. Even up to date technology can be useless and thus cannot be introduced to society.

I consider that the relationship between science and technology standards of the people and the daily attitude of the people is similar to the relationship between seeds and soil in agriculture. For instance, if a good strain of plant is introduced from an advanced country and we have only infertile soil, we cannot achieve a good crop. Hence if one expects a good harvest, one needs to have both fertile soil and superior seeds. Similarly, when a new scientific technology has landed in a country full of people with a good daily attitude, such a technology will bear a fruitful success.

Now, to obtain superior seeds from overseas is easy due to well developed international trade, on the contrast, it is difficult to realize improved farmland as farmers are required to do it in person. We can sense that to make people live with a daily attitude is much more difficult than the introduction of a new scientific technology.

Over the course of thousands of years, Korea has been involved in farming, mostly centering on rice. The Korean peninsula is subject to monsoon conditions that bring with it high temperatures combined with high humidity. So, during the rainfall season in the summer, there was no other crop produced other than rice at that time. Korea is one of several countries that have a high-density population, so that the provision of rice to feed as many as people as possible per hectare rather than other crops fits to this situation. The Korean agriculture industry consists of small farming operations and farmers have lived in small villages. Out of the daily attitude (daily belief) of Korean farmers, there are not only factors that are liable to impede economic growth, but also desirable factors for economic development. For instance, there are irrational systems or unscientific methods of thought formed during the feudal system with a strong center to government. These are considered as one of the bottlenecks in the attempt to modernize and to pursue economic growth.

In the meantime, Korean farmers have implemented positive daily attitudes formed through a process of intensive rice farming in small rice fields. Namely, independence, self-help, diligence, savings, mutual help and harmonious cooperation are desirable to succeed for modernization and economic growth. In addition, as having survived through thousands of years, the Korean people (compatriot) have endured many national difficulties, protecting ‘my own family and our own community’. We as

Koreans have passed down a priceless cultural asset in that we come to gather for one purpose and make every effort to help this country whenever in trouble. However by the end of the Lee Dynasty, the political and social situations under the Japanese control could not help but place farmers into troubling situations. Accordingly the farmers set aside their good daily attitude and becoming dependent on undesirable daily attitudes and thoughts. Farmers' lives were deteriorating and there was no escape from the cycle of poverty, as the feudal social system had taken as much as possible from the farmers. The situation worsened when Korea was exploited as a Japanese colony where half the farmers in rural areas then fell into deprived peasantry. Shortly afterwards, there seemed to be no hope for the Korean farmers.

It was 1953 when the first status of national income for South Korea was initially released. The per capital national income for the year was 67 US Dollars. Ten years later, in 1962, the per capita national income had not changed by much, then being recorded at 87 US Dollars. This meant that the economic growth rate of South Korea from 1945 to 1960 was almost the same as the growth rate of the population in that period, showing that the per capita national income had remained largely unchanged. We referred to this phenomenon as a “vicious cycle of poverty”. During 1945 - 1960, the Korean economy had seen severe inflation, was dependent on international support, and maintained a ‘stagnant economy’ with a vicious cycle of poverty. It is considered that the then Korean government was unable to actively participate in the economic development of the country.

(2) “Pre-industrialization, Post-Agriculture Development”

From the end of 1960, Korea has seen a drastic increase in terms of per capita national income. For example, the per capital income in 1965 was posted at 105 US Dollars, surpassing the 100 US Dollar value for the first time. That figure doubled to 252 US Dollars in 1970. When it comes to the outstanding growth of the Korean economy, economists in advanced countries analyzed that the Korean economy actually took off at around 1970. I would interpret this as in 1970, an airplane, called South Korea, finally began to take off after having long lingered on the runway.

The reason why the national income of South Korea had doubled over several years was that exports had dramatically increased. South Korean exports remained at the 30 million US Dollar level annually until the end of the 1950s. The amount of export then increased to 100 million US Dollars in 1965, and amazingly jumped to 1 billion US Dollars in 1970. Following this lead, the Korean economy was modernized through the accomplishment of export-oriented industrialization. The success of the Korean economy was exceptional in view of general theories in regards to a developing country. In general, a developing country is required to initiate its agricultural development to stimulate the economy. After that, with the help of capital accumulated from such growth, they can then move to industrialization. However, Korean agriculture had a different situation in that Korean farmers were far too exhausted to lead agricultural promotion and thus had no room to support the country's industrialization measures. Instead, due to then President Park Chung Hee's export-oriented policies, Korea had succeeded with industrialization and the government budget was also augmented. That caused the government to actively participate in self-defense and the modernization of the agricultural community. At the time, neighboring Asian countries began considering

South Korea as a new role model for economic growth. These included Malaysia, Indonesia, China, Vietnam, etc.

(3) Life with Thatch Roof (Chogagibung) and Oil Lamp (Deungjanbul)

In the process of export-oriented industrialization in South Korea, non-agricultural industries were growing faster than all agricultural areas. The urban city was rapidly evolving into a convenient place to live. On the contrary, the agricultural community had remained largely unchanged, having a pre-modern way of life and thought. By early 1970, houses in agricultural areas had around 80% with thatch roofs, and the rate of villages having electricity was recorded at less than 20%. There were insufficient infrastructures in rural areas. For instance, 50% of villages had no roads connecting from the local road thus vehicles could not pass through. Even worse, a power cultivator (Gyeongwungi) could not drive through the inside of a village, which was actually common in most villages. Each year the rural area youth began to note the inconvenience when replacing the thatches of the roof, carrying an A-frame (Jige) on their backs or carrying items on their heads to transport things. Most agricultural people surely felt a large gap when using an electric light in comparison to urban life.

The agricultural policy of the government during 1945 - 1970 focused on food augmentation. The budget for the agricultural sector was spent in order to recover from the Boritgogae (Farm hardship period), to reduce foreign currency dependency, which was used to import grains from overseas, and to cultivate fields as much as possible. In accordance with

this policy, an organization under the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry was established that was aimed at managing food augmentation and food; yet there were no departments or offices that were responsible for agricultural affairs that included rural standard of living improvements. I once worked as advising Professor for the establishment of the Third Five Year Economic Development Plan (1972 - 1976) for the Economic Planning Board at the end of 1960. Proposals for the Third Five Year Economic Development starting from 1972 kept being submitted to each department. Despite many proposals, there was no suggestion in regards to the modernization of agricultural living standards.

In addition, it was a similar situation at the Ministry of Commerce & Industry. At that time the Ministry of Commerce & Industry was rather committed to the increase of exports rather than taking care of the farmers through requesting the Korea Electric Power Corporation to supply electricity to farmers in rural areas as much as possible. The Ministry of Construction & Transportation seemed to keep themselves busy through the building of highways, so in turn they paid little attention to village road development. The Ministry of Health and Welfare did not make plans for people in rural areas; for instance, the supply of hygienic tap water; building of hospitals, etc. The same went for the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunication. This Ministry had no room for the establishment of a telecommunication system for farmers to place a phone call. They just focused on the supply of telephone services to urban citizens in the cities. The Ministry of Home Affairs also did not plan for agricultural affairs and did not apply for a budget to the Board as they were not part of the economy related ministry. I remember just one exception. In 1968, the Ministry of Home Affairs' regional office had a plan for village

arrangement with the regional office's budget. This was due to President Park Chung Hee's interest in rural standard of living improvements during a meeting with the Mayors of national cities and the county heads. As such, the national economic development projects had no interest in a Saemaeul project (an innovative village development) being designed to modernize the agricultural environment. However, during the off-farming season cement were delivered to each village in the national agricultural area and then the Saemaeul Movement was triggered in the winter of 1970. This project was actually an unplanned project which came from President Park Chung Hee's political will for leading the agricultural area's modernization in advance.

In a nutshell, the Saemaeul Movement was not launched on the basis of a related act or an exclusive organization. Regardless of an act, organization, etc, the Saemaeul Movement quickly spread due to the desire of the farmers. I see that this fervor had originated from the farmers' longing that they deserved a better life. On top of this desire, President Park's leadership was added to further the spread of the movement. As of 2000, there would be acts or organizations related to the Saemaeul Movement, which were constituted after the assassination of President Park. Accordingly it may prove difficult for the next generation to seek the required materials for research on the movement that now belongs to several departments.

(4) Ignition stage of Saemaeul Movement: National Reconstruction Movement and the Canaan Farmers' School

President Park Chung Hee himself was born into a poor farmer's family, and was raised in a small village in a rural area. Accordingly it seemed that President Park had a strong will and the tenacity to assist the farmers to get out of the vicious cycle of poverty. Shortly after the military revolution of 5.16 in 1961, the revolutionary government unfolded the national reconstruction movement in order to stimulate the independent spirit of farmers, and at the same time to relieve the farmers from borrowing money at illegal rates of interest. At the time, then Chairman Park Chung Hee came to visit the Canaan Farmers' School whilst travelling from region to region to gain an insight into the conditions of the people. Through Principal Kim Yong-Ki's guidance, Chairman Park came to know that the school was designed to train leaders in the mental practice of the agricultural area, thus leading to make every effort to realize the school's purpose with his family. I would consider that his visit to the Canaan Farmers' School helped him later form an idea for Saemaeul Education. During the National Reconstruction Movement of the early 1960s, President Park used to stress to the farmers some old sayings: for example, "if there is no self-help spirit, even God cannot help the way out of poverty" "The best in the world is diligence, the worst is laziness", "Diligence, Self help and Mutual Cooperation need to be a pre-requisite for all government policies", etc. As part of the efforts to ramp up the movement, the head office of the National Reconstruction Movement and its regional office were formed, thus creating a lot of jobs. However the Korean government in the early 1960s could not afford to support the resources required to help the farmers' projects. With a restricted subsidy from the government, only the organizing offices could be operated. The National Reconstruction Movement stretched a campaign without the support for goods only for the

farmers' mental enlightenment. During the early 1960s, there was a time when both urban people and rural villagers were suffering from poverty. It was difficult to stimulate and increase the farmers' participation in the enlightenment campaign, as the farmers were not ready for overcoming poverty on their own. Provided with this poor result, it seemed that President Park could question the validity of the enlightenment campaign or the formation of the office in order to realize the national enlightenment movement.

In early 1970, ten years after, the government supplied cement and steel frames for the Saemaeul Movement and also provided training for Saemaeul leaders (leaders for the movement). By way of support both physically and mentally for the movement, a real campaign began to expand to move the farmers' mind. President Park maintained the performance of the movement in this method without the launch of a special organization, act, or constitution for the movement.

A Special Project for the Increase of Farmer's income and findings of a successful farmer's case

By the end of the 1960s, the difference between urban and rural life had emerged as a political challenge. Some politicians raised the opinion that it was required to double the price of rice in order to reduce the income gap between urban and rural people. Still, it seemed hasty to entertain such a discussion as the Korean economy in the 1960s remained at a per capita GNP of 100 US Dollars. At that time, only 15% of rural villages had access to electricity; the politicians had overstated unrealistic public promises in order to obtain votes from rural people. President Park then made a

decision that the government would develop economical crops or livestock in addition to rice, taking part for the increase of agricultural family incomes. This effort was regarded as a special project to increase farmers and fishermen's income, which had begun in 1968. This special project was designed to make the main producing districts regarding various items, including vinyl housing complexes, silk raising, mushroom, fruit tree, tobacco, beef cattle, poultry farming, pig farming, and coastal cultivation. Nationally, some 100 regions were selected; a serial number was added onto each region so that President Park was able to easily monitor each special project for organizing the main producing district.

An individual project district development was allotted to a county's administration and related institutes in the region. The launch of this development caused the lower-level officials to gain interest in the agricultural family's income increase in their respective county and accumulate experience in regional development projects. These experiences of the agricultural development of the lower-level officials became a basic education when the public servants per eup, myeon (districts smaller than county) worked on the front lines of the Saemaeul Project in the 1970s. Moreover there was a close cooperation amongst the related departments of the central government in order to make a difference to each special project. These efforts also played a key role that allowed pan-government support to all kinds of Saemaeul Projects for the next stage of extending to villages throughout the land. Nowadays many developing countries are attempting to perform agricultural development synthetically just as South Korea had done previously. The governments of developing countries governments have seen discord amongst ministries, which in turn becomes one of the biggest bottlenecks that impedes development. With

the special project unfolded, Korean agriculture changed from self-sufficiency into commercial agriculture. Many successful cases occurred amongst farmers who participated in the special project. These successful cases were then utilized as efficient materials for later Saemaeul Education. On November 11, 1970, the National Competition of the Second Farmers & Fishermen's Income Increase Special Project was held at the Civic Center in Seoul. Officials in charge of the regional administrative bodies and the representatives of the farmers and fishermen from national villages were invited to participate in the competition. President Park Chung Hee also was also in attendance, watching from the special seat on the second floor of the center. A successful case of a farmer, Mr. Ha Sa Yong was presented. Mr. Ha had become an independent and successful farmer even though he came from a poor rural family. I present his story as follows. He was a servant for a wealthy family. When reached adulthood, he married, however, the couple was forced to live apart for three years after the marriage. They needed to earn money as the husband lived as a servant and the wife worked as a maidservant. After three years, they could afford to purchase a 240 pyeong parcel of land at a riverbed. They made a dugout (small cottage) on the land and started vinyl house cropping. When Mr. Ha said that they could communicate with vegetables as a result of making every effort for the crop, the audience was touched and shared the couple's feelings. Finally he became a large scale farmer from starting out as just a peasant, lived in a western style house with a slab roof, and raised their children without much concern.

After Mr. Ha's presentation, President Park appreciated him and his family's efforts. President Park made an instant speech, "When it comes to a successful case of agricultural development, we used to exemplify a case

from a foreign country. Now we no longer need to do that as more and more Korean farmers realize success. Mr. Ha Sa Yong is a great teacher of the Korean people as well as for the Korean farmers”. President Park seemed to use the successful farmer’s case as materials to mentally educate high-level officials. One day in early 1971, Mr. Park made a direction that at the end of a meeting for the monthly economic trend report, whereby approximately 50 top officials including ministers, chairmen of subcommittees from the National Assembly were seated, two cases of successful farmers should be announced. After finishing the successful cases of the farmers, President Park had lunch with the farmer’s couple, the heads of the myeon and gun, listening to the realities of the agricultural areas, and encouraging them. The presentation of the successful farmer’s case continued until the assassination of President Park in October 1979. Over the course of nine years, around 150 successful cases were presented. Most of the successful cases presented during the monthly economic trend report meeting were utilized as educational materials for the Saemaeul Leaders’ Training Institute located in Suwon. Therefore, President Park picked the ministers first for the Saemaeul Education.

As the top officials had an opportunity to listen to the successful cases’ farmers once a month, they realized that it was difficult to bring about an end to the poverty in agricultural villages. I consider these meetings were an educational time for the ministers and chairmen of the National Assembly Standing Committee so that they learnt how and what the government can do to assist the farmers. During 1974 - 1979, President Park directed almost all the high level officials to attend the Saemaeul Leaders Training Institute in Suwon and take classes while living with male and female Saemaeul leaders for one week. As such, President Park

allowed the top officials listen to the successful cases of farmers in order to for them to gain exposure to the Saemaeul Movement. It is assessed that President Park practiced the ordinary truth of ‘The fish always stinks from the head downwards’ through such an education.

(5) First Year of Saemaeul Project (Winter of 1970)

The decision for The Saemaeul Movement by President Park was made at the regional ministers meeting for the annual report held on 22 April 1970. The following is a part of his speech taken from the meeting. He said, “If there is not free will from the villagers, our rural villages could not be reconstructed even though thousands of years have passed. It will take only 2 - 3 years when the government’s help is added on top of the villagers’ voluntary actions. Administrative officials on the front line have to take initiative in organizing the environment. Namely, the officials and the village leaders need to gather with each other to come up with ideas to enlighten the leaders. Then, the two parties can determine where their own duties lay in regards to the Saemaeul Movement. That is what an official’s duty is all about. If rural people must carry items with an A-frame to their own village, simply as no road exists through to the village, who would say that the village is developed? I would say to you this year to allow the villagers build the ways and bridges on their own. The villagers will do what they can do; and if there is something they cannot do, they can ask for the support from the county (gun) or province (do). Like this, the villagers can accomplish for themselves if there is something in need. You name this

effort as the “Saemaeul arrangement” (A new village arrangement) or a small village building project...”

In accordance with President Park’s decision, the Korean government had delivered 300 bags of cement on average to around 33,000 villages nationwide from November, 1970 through to the next March, which is the off-farming season. This was the First Year of The Saemaeul Movement. This first project was a pilot project in order to identify how the farmers responded to self-help projects. The government did not allow the farmers to individually use the cement allotted per village, set the example that the cement could be used for the village’s co-works: entrance to the village, inside roads of the village, bridge construction, roof improvements, temporary water supply, sewage treatment, washing place, etc. The criteria for prioritizing the co-works were made through a village residents general meeting. A Saemaeul leader (man and woman) was elected to lead the Saemaeul Movement of each village, and did not receive compensation for such work. As the existing leader of the village received a small amount of pay, President Park suggested that to induce voluntary participation from the villagers, the existing paid leader of the village should be excluded and other villagers were thus qualified to apply as the Saemaeul leader.

Saemaeul Project and PulPpoori Democracy (Grass Roots Democracy)

The most difficult thing amidst the various Saemaeul Projects by village residents was to broaden the path inside the village. If a power cultivator could drive in and out up to the courtyard of the village, even the fences on both sides of the path and parts of buildings were occasionally broken.

Most Saemaeul projects were launched in the early spring when the frozen soil had thawed. During off-farming season, the villagers spent time discussing and preparing the Saemaeul project. Most villages did not have a place where many residents could gather. At that time, with the help of the government supplied cement and steel frames, many Maeul Centers were being constructed. Sooner or later almost all villages could have a Maeul Center. To make this work happen, even former villagers that were working at high positions in the city helped out. At the village residents general meeting, one person from one family took part, regardless if they were a man or a woman. Traditionally, only men conducted village affairs. However, as there were many works, which required a decision through majority; for a Saemaeul project, the women looked more passionate than the men. I believe the women were more interested to modernize traditional life in rural areas. Accordingly, the male dominated society that has a saying 'It goes ill with the house where the hen sings and the cock is silent' had by some degree changed as more women participated positively at the general meetings.

The villagers needed to spend more efforts for harmonizing their different opinions and tuning their different tones at the Maeul Center than the actual input of time for the Saemaeul Project itself. This phenomenon, a decision by majority, had never been experienced historically. The rural people were practicing actually democracy as much as possible during that time. Korean farmers learnt what democracy was all about amid implementing a Saemaeul Project that would make the village a better place to live. The Maeul Center was furnished with some basic statistics including the villager's incomes and a public kitchen to relieve housewives' efforts and burdens during the farming season. Women's associations

started operating a joint market in the Maeul Center to eliminate the need to travel to a market away from the village. Some women's associations could thus save both time and costs through the operations of a joint market.

Saemaeul Projects accomplished by giving in little by little

As expected, there were few applicants who wished to be a Saemaeul leader, as the leader had to be an unpaid volunteer and was required to spend a lot of time on projects. Accordingly, a leader was thrust into the position not by his own will, but through the recommendation of the villagers. Nationally, 33,000 villages had produced some 66,000 Saemaeul leaders (man and woman). Briefly, the rural villages came to have thousands of leaders amidst the Saemaeul Movement. Some enthusiastic Saemaeul leaders came from poor farming families owning smaller parcel areas in the village. In the 1980s, as more young people left agricultural areas for the city, the numbers of Saemaeul leaders leaving villages also increased. Considering such a situation, I thought that once a Saemaeul leader; they would always be good citizens, even in the city where he or she went to seek a new life.

In the meantime, the government made a decision not to recompense owners of land that was appropriated for a site for a road when the path inside the village was widened. If they did recompense for such, problems related to conflict of interest may occur. The Saemaeul project could be threatened or even discontinued. Therefore the owners of land on both sides of the path inside the village thus contributed their property to the village. In particular, to fix and widen a path inside the village, the walls of houses on the street were removed and part of the land was granted for

village development. In addition, the owner provided the land at no cost to build a Maeul Center in most villages. Throughout the nation, an average of around 2,000 pyeong of land in each village was granted during the 1970s. As the owners granted land for Saemaeul projects, many villagers were willing to provide labor for free for the projects as well. As the Saemaeul projects were expanding to every village nationwide, city dwellers started hearing that their hometown had changed into a new one. Some supplied materials or funds for projects in their hometowns; others went down to the village to help out on a project with their skills. As such, the Saemaeul projects of the 1970s were of the self-help movement: the Saemaeul leaders spent their time of their own free will, the land owners granted land, villagers provided labor, city dwellers supported through donations of materials and money for their hometown.

In the 1970s, a lot of the labor force was without work in agricultural areas, and land prices stayed at low levels. That is one of the reasons why land and labor were spent for the village's development. If the Saemaeul project had launched in the 1980s rather than the 1970s, that type of situation could not occur as there was a lack of labor in the countryside and the price of the land in rural areas was high. Besides, if the project were implemented in the 1980s, the government would have had many burdens on the improvement of life in agricultural areas. Thus, the modernization of agricultural areas could be delayed to that extent. Given the situation, I would stress that the Saemaeul project was initiated at the right time.

In the first year of the Saemaeul project, participation of the villagers was as follows. Around 16,000 villages, half of the 33,000 villages nationally, saw much higher participation than the government had expected. Some villages made a difference for a village's long cherished

project by the input of self-funded capital and much labor force on top of the supply of materials, including cement provided by the government. One result indicated from the experience is that to effectively realize a Saemaeul project both cement and steel frames had to be simultaneously provided. As having fulfilled the first project, President Park stated that the government would prioritize support for villages that participated actively and positively for the project. Shortly, the policy was to preferentially back up villages that displayed strong self-help and mutual cooperation methods. In accordance with this policy, villages throughout the nation were divided into three categories: an independent village showing the most participation by the residents, a self-help village showing middle degree participation, and a basic village producing the lowest participation rate. In particular, independent villages were marked with a sign at the entrance. This provided a differentiated level to the village, as the participation rate of villagers who belonged to a basic village rose quickly to climb up from the lowest level. Like this, national Saemaeul projects were activated until 1974.

According to the assessment of a village's efforts for the project, it had shown that most villages rated at a higher level had diligent residents, high independence, mutual cooperative spirit, and a good leader. On the basis of the empirical outcomes of the first year, the Saemaeul Spirit was defined as 'Diligent, Self-Help, and Cooperation'. Then President Park directed the then Minister of Agriculture and Forestry Kim Bo Hyun to form a plan for the education of Saemaeul leaders and to submit such to the Cheong Wa Dae (Blue House).

3. Saemaeul Education and the Canaan Farmers' School

(1) Saemaeul Education Concept by President Park Chung Hee

One day in the late fall of 1971, I was called for along with the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry Kim Bo Hyun to the Presidential office. The purpose of the call was that President Park would deliver his opinion in regards to the educational plan for Saemaeul leaders as submitted by Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. What President Park stated in terms for the education of Saemaeul leaders is as follows.

He said, “Korean rural villages are eagerly demanding for a devoted leader for agricultural development. However, I know that to train such a leader who can be committed to agricultural development is quite challenging. I think the proposal to train 33,000 leaders annually (one leader for one village) by the Ministry is too ambitious and the outcome of the plan would be inefficient.

Instead of this awkward drill, come up with an innovative alternative. For example, pick up the people who have thoughts of devoting themselves for the development of their village. Focus on training them over the course of 2 or 3 weeks. It should be okay with 20 to 30 people at a time. I would say that the training should resemble meditation...”

While listening to the Saemaeul leader education concept from President Park, I, who majored in economics, was stricken about how to deliver a mental education to a person. Thus, I asked to my acquaintances that if Korea had any such place to mentally educate the farmers. To this I was replied that there was only one place that performs such a duty, the Canaan Farmers' School. That was news to me. Sooner or later, I visited there by myself, which was then located at the eastern outskirts of Seoul. I met

Principal Kim Yong-Ki and he said that the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry Kim Bo Hyun had visited the day before. In his office, Principal Kim explained in detail what the Canaan Farmers' School was doing for an hour and a half. Following our meeting, I summarized about the school as follows: ① It would be never easier to mentally train farmers ② I was touched in that the Canaan Farmers' School was operated by Ilga Kim Yong-Ki and his family's commitment. I thought this school would be the best in regards to this spiritual education. ③ If the government was to order a Saemaeul leader's education to this school, it would overflow and thus become a challenge for this school to achieve its own purpose. ④ Thus, the government needed to establish a special institute and imitate the school's educational method. I also thought the most challenging item was how to acquire an instructor to teach the farmers.

For the time being, the working levels of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry had compiled a list of religious leaders and prominent figures as candidates for instructors in charge of spiritual development and submitted the list for official approval by President Park. Instead of approving the list, President Park wrote down a few people's names. They included the Principal of the Canaan Farmers' School, Kim Yong-Ki, a successful farmer, Mr. Ha Sa Yong who presented his successful case at the farmers and fishermen's income augmentation project. President Park also suggested the key educational element to seek, present, and discuss a successful farmer's case in a rural area. At this point I had second thoughts about President Park's order in that Saemaeul education should be a mental-based one and for this why should the farmer's successful case be presented and be discussed in a group. I realized that his order to influence other farmers through a successful farmer's presentation and simply to

inform the farmers of related knowledge was not his intention. Besides, I had thought about his direction from the summer of 1971 that two successful cases of farmers should be presented at the end of the monthly economic trend report meeting having around fifty cabinet members participating.

His direction had a purpose for the cabinet members to determine the actual realities of agricultural villages and for the creation of a change in attitude of the members and through active participation in the advancement of modernization of the agricultural society. President Park once pointed out that what Korean farmers needed in the early 1970s was a change in attitude to rise above poverty rather than a will to gain new knowledge. That is why President Park placed emphasis on a change in attitude towards Saemaeul education. President Park knew that the renowned figures or religious leaders could teach new knowledge but have limitations to reach the farmer's desire to rise out of poverty. Later on, I did come to know that listening to successful farmer's case and having a discussion in a group became a mutual education. This mutual education was an effective method to bring about a change in attitude in adult education. As only delivering new knowledge to university students, I did not know that the mutual education method would actually produce a change in attitude in adult education.

(2) Prologue of Saemaeul Education (1972)

The Minister of Agriculture and Forestry named an institute to educate Saemaeul leaders as the Farmer Training Institute. The ministry leased a

facility in the College of Agriculture in the city of Goyang, Gyeonggi-do during the winter vacation and the first training session was held there. Later, the Farmer Training Institute was relocated to an agricultural center located in Suwon, and changed its name to the Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute. The Minister of Agriculture and Forestry recommended Professor Kim Jun who was employed at the College of Agriculture as a director of the Farmer Training Institute to President Park. I would say that through the selection of Professor Kim Jun as a director of the institute played a critical factor in enhancing the outcome of Saemaeul education. During his tenure at the institute from 1971 - 1984 Director Kim was quite passionate when teaching about agricultural mind development and shared this passion with the trainees. He was the person who would always take initiatives for practicing the Saemaeul spirit. All the trainees that completed the course agreed he was a born Saemaeul instructor. The subjects in the training course were about spiritual development, how to increase rice and crop production, and civil engineering techniques to improve rural life. Even though President Park directed to focus on the spiritual aspect of Saemaeul education, the working level at the ministry held some subjects in regards to agricultural skills.

Major instructors included the Principal of the Canaan Farmers' School Kim Yong-Ki, the successful farmer Mr. Ha Sa Yong, Professor Yoo Dal Young, and Director Kim Jun and they gave lectures on agricultural mind development. By President Park's direct order, I myself gave a lecture as well at the start of the Saemaeul education, and stressed that it would be important to make the Saemaeul spirit as a daily belief for the accomplishment of modernization of Korean agriculture, as well as the modernization of the Korean economy. As President Park's intuition, the

trainees showed an overwhelming response to the successful cases of farmers and a group discussion in regards to it at night, rather than on the practical skills needed to increase agricultural production or civil engineering techniques. Accordingly, the practical skills classes were gradually decreased while the presentation of successful farmer cases and group discussion were increased. This explained that in regards to Saemaeul leader education in the early 1970s, education to initiate a change in the daily belief was in much more demand than the practical skills training to increase agricultural production. While listening to the successful farmer's case during the day and joining a group discussion on it at the night class, the farmers felt that they needed rid themselves of old thoughts. The Korean farmers' wish in the early 1970s was 'Let's make a better life'. Accordingly, the farmers were influenced through participating in the Saemaeul education and their desires to make a better life were inspired: they made a firm commitment to work harder to help make a better village.

To cope with this situation, the major contents of Saemaeul education were altered into spiritual inspirational education, and the agricultural skill program was removed. For the moment, the Canaan Farmers' School had practiced spiritual education for agricultural leaders since the late 1950s and its outcomes were acknowledged. Naturally, the Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute imitated the educational methods. The main difference was who took the training: for the school it was Principal Kim Yong-Ki and his family, and for the training institute instructors who worked at National Agricultural Cooperative Federation (Nonghyup) and those being directed to do so from the government. Therefore the training institute attempted every effort in order to keep up with the Canaan Farmers' School.

In this way, the Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute backed up Saemaeul education.

The first training session at the Farmer Training Institute began at the end of January 1972 and was held for two weeks. Later on, the session was changed into a one-week course as farmers could not be away from their work for two weeks at a time. One day when the second training began, President Park dropped by the training institute without any prior notice. President Park had taken a close look at the notes which the first trainees left, observed the class for checking, and took care of the bed sheets in the dormitory room by himself. President Park kept making these unexpected visits to the Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute located in Suwon, having a casual meeting or lunch with the trainees or complimenting the instructors for their contributions and efforts for the education. As soon as the training started, Director Kim and a couple of instructors created an emblem for the institute to display the meaning the value of Saemaeul (A new & innovative village). The emblem was as greenish grass with a basic yellow color on the background and was engraved onto many items related to Saemaeul, including caps, badges, and flags which would displayed across the nation's villages.

Table 1 describes the subjects offered by the institute. It is seen that most of them were about the Saemaeul project and agricultural skill as compared to liberal arts or spiritual based subjects. However after the implementation of the first training, most of the trainees said at the close of class that they were inspired on how they could become an agricultural leader rather than focusing on learning agricultural knowledge. Table 2 shows how the trainees at the institute responded to Saemaeul education. The majority of

trainees replied that the spiritual aspect stimulated them, while a few trainees replied they did not feel the skill learning was effective.

Table 1. Classification of Curriculum of the Farmer Training Institute, 1972

<p>(1) Agricultural knowledge</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Agricultural policy direction - Specialized farming projects - Tongil rice cultivation method - mushroom cultivation method - Silkworm raising - Beef cattle - Additional business in farm households 	<p>(4) Liberal arts, spiritual education</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Troubles and solutions in agricultural areas - Independent spirit and economical independency - Establishment of patriotism and community spirit - National ethics, Dairy farming, Spiritual base of agricultural modernization - Creation of a new history - Time for change
<p>(2) Nonghyup movement</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cooperative association of farmers - Expansion of cooperative projects - Cooperative spirit promotion - Construction of a Saemaeul agricultural village - Cooperative agricultural leader - Guidance for training farmers 	<p>(5) Successful case</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Collective rice farming - Vegetable farming - Silkworm raising complex - Korean beef raising complex - Tangerine cultivation - Moonseong Village - New people

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Thoughtful agricultural leader - Collective cooperation 	
(3) Saemaeul project <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Saemaeul (new village) arrangement - Saemaeul (new village) arrangement project 	(6) Nightly group discussion <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Policy direction - Rural development - Improvement of daily life

Source: Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute

At the closing talk of the training, the trainees said that they were inspired through the spiritual aspect of living together at the institute for a week, as well as the passionate lecture. Living at the institute featured the following points:

- ① The minute the trainees entered the institute, they changed their clothes for a uniform. They lived in a group and followed disciplines from waking at 6.00 am through a curfew by 10.00 pm.
- ② Trainees were not allowed to read newspapers, place phone calls, or be exposed to radio, TV, etc. during the training period. In addition, external visits were not permitted. Thus they received training in an isolated situation.
- ③ Director and instructors lived with the trainees, making every effort for effective training.
- ④ A time was designated each day to share a success story of a farmer
- ⑤ Trainees were divided into groups, thus having time for a group discussion after dinner.

(3) Lyrics and composition of the Saemaeul Song

In the spring of 1973, we saw that the thatched roofs and oil lamps; symbols of poverty and economic stagnation, in 33,000 rural villages rapidly disappear. The narrow paths of villages were being widened; stepping-stones across streams were replaced with a bridge. In the early spring of 1973, Special Assistant Jang Dong Hwan and I were called to President Park's office. President Park showed us the "Saemaeul theme song" which he had written and composed by himself, saying that "this is the Saemaeul song I made", and was taken to the Poet No San (Lee Eung Sang). According to No San, all parts seemed fine, but he took exception to the third line, "Let's put all our strength to wealth, Let's make a rich village". So, President Park asked our opinion on the third line of the song. The following contains the entire three lines of the song.

1. Saemaeul bell is ringing.

It is a new day.

Wake up one after another,

to make a new village.

[Chorus]

A village worth living in,

let's build it on our own

2. Make the old house a new,

Broaden the village inroads

*Vision a grass field,
to make it come true together*

*3. Give and take help,
work harder with sweat
Let's put all our strength to wealth,
Let's make a rich village
(Note: translation by a translator)*

On the spot, I advised that the words, to wealth and rich village of the third line seemed perfect as the purpose of the Saemaeul Movement was to make a better life and a rich village. Thanks to these words, the farmers would be more touched as they sang.

In the last ten days of November 1973, the nationwide Saemaeul Leaders Competition was held in Gwangju, Jeollanam. President Park stated in his instant speech at this competition that “Let's leave an expectation for the next generation. When asked ‘who is your ancestor, the next generation could answer and claim that ‘My ancestors are the villagers who shaped the Saemaeul Movement in 1970, and who tried their best for making a new world in rural areas’” In this way, Saemaeul leaders and President Park became one comrade. On his way to Seoul, President Park stopped by a place to sleep at Mt Naejang, adding the fourth line to the “Saemaeul Song”

*4. Let's unite to be strong,
To strive for and work hard,
to work hard and to strive for
For a new country we all make a wish*

(Note: translation by a translator)

The Saemaeul movement was initiated to enlighten the self-help spirit of rural villages, but the movement prevailed throughout the nation. As one could expect from the fourth line, it seemed that President Park had sensed the expansion of the movement in that the movement was no longer enlightenment only for making a better life in rural villages but could also be the momentum for a national spiritual movement, thus adding the fourth line later.

(4) Relocation of Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute into Suwon

In the 1970s, the sport of golf made the farmers feel uncomfortable as it was deemed as a luxury. President Park thought that the College of Agriculture was inappropriate to train Saemaeul leaders due to its close proximity to a golf course. President Park had an idea that the farmers' education would be implemented within the Rural Development Administration in Suwon to increase the educational effect. Luckily there was an agricultural hall under construction at a vacant site along the Seoho (western lake) next to the administration office in Suwon. From 1973, when this building was completed, the Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute leased the building and was conducting Saemaeul education until the assassination of President Park in October 1979. The current Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute was newly built in Seongnam, Gyeonggi-do after his death. Each semester, around 150 trainees (Saemaeul leaders)

entered; and each group contains 15 trainees for group discussion. For the group discussion, one instructor is assigned to one group in order to further effective progress of the training. Therefore, at least ten instructors are required. Kim Jun, the Director of the Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute selected all the instructors from employees of the head office of Nonghyup. In general, the number of instructors is slightly more than 30, while other staff posts at around 50. Their remuneration is made through the head office of Nonghyup.

As mentioned above, Saemaeul education in the 1970s was concocted by President Park himself; he did not make a constitution or construct a new building just for Saemaeul education. He adopted the idea of leasing an existing building, and selecting instructors from existing Nonghyup employees. Any new people were not employed for the education. The only secretary to Saemaeul affairs within the Blue House was newly employed. It seemed that President Park did think much of about the construction of a new building in terms of Saemaeul education effectiveness. The most important factor he regarded was the question of who would be in charge of education. I sensed that President Park was satisfied with the fact that the selected instructors from Nonghyup, including Director Kim Jun took charge of training and made a huge success of it. As many people insisted that the female Saemaeul leaders also received education just as the male leaders in order to promote a high participation rate by the villagers, a class for female leaders was added later. Accordingly, each semester some 300 leaders entered and 20 groups for group discussion were formed, thus around 20 instructors were required.

(5) Hindered Village's farmers seek to learn from advanced villages

President Park expressed his thoughts that governmental support would preferentially extend to villages making positive progress with Saemaeul projects from the first year of a Saemaeul project. Then President Park directed the training institute to form an educational plan wherein a leader in a Basic village would learn from a leader from an Independent village. For that reason, around 10 villages were selected as they showed a high participation rate of villagers amongst independent villages in Gyeonggi-do and Chungcheongnambuk-do. In these advanced villages, the leaders of basic villages were taught. Shortly thereafter, the Saemaeul leaders from the basic villages were trained at the institute with other leaders for one week, then they proceeded to an advanced village for further training for one week, to realize what differences exist between their village and these advanced villages and what is required to be done back in their own villages. Upon completion of this field training, the Saemaeul leaders from the basic villages returned to the institute to create a vision in regards to their own Saemaeul project. Onward, the interested administrative institute came to support what was necessary in the basic village. In consideration of President Park's intention on the idea, he already knew that the impeded farmers would learn and thus change through interaction with the advanced farmers. I myself have wondered how President Park knew that mutual education would be effective as to actually make an adult change when provided with adult education.

4. Successful cases of farmers and Group discussion

(1) Successful cases getting out of poverty

Mostly, trainees listened to 10 - 15 successful cases during the one-week session and that amounted to 2 - 3 cases per day. During 1972 - 1979, the number of presenters reached 80 in all (refer to Table 3 and 4). Most cases were touching as victorious human stories, where successful farmers struggled to rise above hopeless poverty to prosper and volunteer themselves for the sake of the village and community. Amongst 80 successful cases, some were presented to cabinet members at the monthly economic trend report meeting; others were found during training at the Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute. Male leaders accounted for 60 out of the total 80 cases while two were female leaders. Less female leaders cases were more touching as a female position at that time was considered lower than a male. At this point one wonders why so many success stories of the farmers were constantly emerging in the 1970s. Most Korean farmers relied on self-production for a long time. From the late 1960s, Korean agriculture had evolved to commercial agriculture as some farmers started to sell their produce on the open market to earn money. With regard to this, farmers turned to make money from their farming activities, which a vastly different methodology as compared to the old times. They could enjoy satisfaction from the confidence of that 'we can do, we can make a better life'. It was in the 1970s when the Korean produce market was still not open; when the domestic demand for rice, vegetables, fruits, chicken, pork, eggs, milk, etc. was rapidly outpacing supply in Korea. Moreover the government regulated the purchase price of rice slightly higher than the increased rates of commodity pricing. Thus, farm household income in 1970s actually posted higher than city workers household income.

Farmers entered at the institute participated in their own Saemaeul projects, they could absorb other region's success stories, learn how they were different from other regions in terms of details and troubles with projects, and what was the role of a Saemaeul leader. The success cases of farmers were a great textbook in that urban dwellers could understand the Saemaeul movement well as farmers did in rural areas.

(2) Night long group discussion and changed attitude

During the training, after dinner, a group discussion was conducted every evening until bedtime. On the first night, 15 members were divided into groups; each group could select a theme they wish to discuss. Then a report on the theme was written by group and would be presented at the end of the training period in the hall. On his or her way home, each trainee could take one copy of the report about the group discussion. At that time, the group discussion that induced the trainee's participation actively was quite unusual to the farmers. To us, an education seemed that a teacher would unilaterally give a lecture to the students. Perhaps the farmers thought that they would listen to a lecture from great figures or teachers during the class when they entered the institute. After all, it had turned out to be very different. The farmers listened to successful cases of farmers who came from a similar background during the day. In the evening they held a group discussion, the group required a theme and they all participated in a discussion based on such theme. They were actually performing participatory education. Luckily, the Saemaeul leaders had entered the institute without sufficient preparation for the class, as they had

been busy carrying out Saemaeul projects. Accordingly, they had many possible themes to question about from other villages. The trainees actively placed themselves into the group discussion in the end.

Before the discussion, some leaders thought that their village would be the best as they conducted the most Saemaeul projects throughout the nation. However they knew there were better villages that had performed Saemaeul projects far more than they did. It was told that they swore they would perform more works after the training. Through group discussion, the leaders could have an opportunity to determine how the problems that occurred in their villages actually worked out in other villages. In the trainee's notes after-class, it showed that the group discussion was besieged by the trainees' active responses. This implied that the educational outcomes of the trainees actually caused a change in attitude. I, as a professor at the university, did not know that the group discussion method became an effective way to induce an attitude change of the students. I once wondered how President Park made the plan of group discussion for Saemaeul education.

Table 2 illustrates the distribution of the group discussion themes as selected by the trainees at the Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute during 1972 - 1973, which was the beginning of the Saemaeul Movement. We could recognize that at the commencement era the most frequent theme was how Saemaeul leaders could make the villagers participate actively in a Saemaeul project.

Table 2. Frequencies of the group discussion themes as selected by Saemaeul Leaders, 1972~1973

The discussion theme	No. of the theme
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	selected
Matters on villagers participation	125
Creation of agricultural village income	79
About the Saemaeul leader itself	76
Selection of a Saemaeul project	70
About village funding	70
Mobilization of villager labor force	27
About the officials in the local administrative institutes	34

In the discussion, the trainees shared many opinions about the low villager participation rate in a Saemaeul project. The rich or the extremely poor or the educated people in the village on the whole lent no tendency to participate in projects. It was considered that the villagers required to provide gratis labor for the Saemaeul project, and then generations with a low labor force showed a low participation rate. In consideration of the aspect of age, the elderly or youth amongst the villagers participated less in the project. In the case of the elderly, as they were accustomed to living a traditional lifestyle, they would not support the fact that villagers should put in their labor force for the modernization of the standard of living. On the other hand, the young would leave the village if the opportunity arose, thus they resisted devoting themselves to the project. The most active participants in the village were the middle-aged villagers who were life-long dwellers of the village. Most of them graduated from elementary school or did not even attend school and they were now too old to leave the

village for city life. As they had to live in the village for the remainder of their lives in the place where they were born, they seemed to feel desperate that they could not live in this pre-modern environment. This culminated in the active participation by middle-aged villagers who became excited about the Saemaeul project.

The group discussion themes chosen by female leaders comprised of the female role in the Saemaeul movement, factors which would hinder female participation in the movement in a traditional rural village, measures to simplify the ceremonies of coming-of-age, marriage, funeral, and ancestor worship, measures on funding by rural women's associations. It was told that a lot of the consented matters through group discussion by a female leader were later practiced in the projects. For example, they collected Korean playing cards and then burnt them in each village in order to root out gambling that prevailed in rural villages during the off-farming period. For the funding, a Jeolmi-tong (a basket for rainy day) was placed in the kitchen so that the housewives saved one spoon at each meal for association funding or for travelling to their elderly parents (part of filial piety). In this way, female villagers actively responded to the Saemaeul movement.

5. Spiritual education requiring physical training

The Saemaeul education was a spiritual one created to revive a farmer's mind and make a better rural village in which to live. Therefore, all people working in spiritual education should take the initiative for learning the Saemaeul spirit to have a positive effect for the education. On this aspect,

spiritual education differed from general education, which hands down knowledge or skills or techniques. At the Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute, all the instructors and staff lived with the trainees day and night, and were required to care for them from waking in the early morning through to bedtime following the nightly group discussion. Instructors and staff at the institute lived there continuously during the two-week training sessions. In addition, during the off-training periods, they visited former trainees' homes by region or gave special one-day training in the applicable field after collecting the trainees by county (gun). During the farming season when the training was temporarily halted, the instructors went deep into the mountains to rejuvenate themselves while also doing physical training.

(1) Resolution good for three days and re-training

During the training period, the trainees made a firm decision that when they returned to their own villages, they would work much harder for the Saemaeul project. The institute got an appeal letter occasionally from trainees where the trainees asked for re-training because the resolutions made during the training period did not last long. During the off-training period, the instructors were to provide special one-day training at the institute for further guidance after collecting the trainees by county (gun). One day I rode in Director Kim's vehicle, and took part in the collective education during the one-day training and encouraged Saemaeul leaders. For the one-day training, almost all trainees within the applicable county were gathered in the meeting room at Nonghyup located in the county

office. They sang the Saemaeul song, then spent the most time on a presentation of what kind of Saemaeul project they would implement after completion of the training course. During the meeting, the trainees could ask for provision of this type of collective education more often as their resolutions tended to last for only a few days.

Whilst joining the one-day training, I realized that the number of participants was over 30, and thus it would not be appropriate for spiritual education and places a tendency to become a casual gathering. In late 1970 the number of Saemaeul leaders that completed the training course at the Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute in Suwon exceeded 50 from within one county. As the number of trainees grew, it became necessary to form an organization. They would then vote for a chairman of the organization so that the mood felt political. I thought that this pointed away from the pursuit of what spiritual education should be towards. At this point I talked to Director Kim Jun about it and suggested that the trainee list by region should not be disclosed to external people. The reasoning for this was because a person with political ambitions could take advantage of the Saemaeul leaders for his or her own interest. The Saemaeul education was to be an inspirational education to change attitudes for the making of a better family, village and country. As I well know, once the political factor intervenes with this educational system, the Saemaeul training would end up being ineffective, and essentially useless.

During the 1970s a meeting for trade expansion was held at the meeting room in the old Korean Government General Office each month. Around 100 people participated in this meeting including the President, Ministers of the economic departments, heads of exporters and economic groups, etc. After this meeting ended, a luncheon for all participants was scheduled at

the cabinet member's restaurant. One day in the late 1970s, a minister of an economic department told President Park that in the upcoming election for lawmakers, it would be necessary for the Saemaeul leaders to hold a vote for the ruling party candidate. As soon as I listened, President Park spoke with a serious look that nobody could politically utilize the Saemaeul movement; it seemed that politicians should stay away from the movement. As far as I was concerned, President Park had never organized the Saemaeul leaders for any group until after his passing. The present national organization of Saemaeul leaders was established after his assassination.

(2) Physical training and spiritual education

Kim Jun, the Director of the Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute, used to repeat the following, "Let's think of the Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute as a hotel, whereas the trainees here are just as a precious customer visiting the hotel. All instructors and staff that work at the restaurant and store, drivers, and janitors should take care of the guests with all their heart". Having no idea of what the spiritual education was about, I was surprised to learn that all instructors and staff received personal physical training to take in the trainees, and did not think that just anyone could take up spiritual education. Whenever I felt like that, I reminded myself that Kim Yong-Ki, principal of the Canaan Farmers' School and his family were making every effort for the trainees. It was a spiritual education that was demanding work apart from general education that transmits new knowledge or skills. In the late 1970s, President Park directed through his secretarial office that based on the instructors and

staff's efforts made for spiritual education at the institute, they would receive a special guarantee of a social position, of accommodation to live with their family, and soon 'prepare a retirement plan for them'. However, I said to a person in charge of his order at the secretarial office that the current reward system for the instructors and staff were sufficient so it would be better as not to make a constitution for a guarantee of a social position or a retirement plan. The reason why I did this was as follows: the spiritual education could not be implemented by anyone. If the instructors or staff at the institute were systemized as in general schools or a research institutes, the institute would become a bureaucracy, thus leading to the degeneration of the spiritual education. Most of all, I thought that a few employees taken from Nonghyup would place their efforts for spiritual education for good. It did make sense that most of them would like to return as Nonghyup employees even though they made key physical efforts for several years at this institute.

The number of the instructors who later returned to Nonghyup after working at the institute was about 10 each year. Accordingly, new Nyunghup workers of the same number were distributed to the institute and became instructors performing the same physical efforts. It was like a cycle. As a result, the institute's education did not become habitual and was continued full of new energy. The constitution of the Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute was made after President Park had passed away, and it appeared that the side effects occasionally kept occurring.

6. Widespread of Saemaeul Education and the Nationwide Innovative Spiritual Movement

In the 1970s most residents of larger cities were born and raised into farming families in rural communities, and their parents and relatives were still living in these rural areas. They were well acquainted with pre-modern daily life and the difficulties of life in rural areas. The news from agricultural areas where the Saemaeul movement occurred, where thatch roofs were replaced with tile ones, oil lamps (candle) into electric lighting and village inroads were widened through pavement works, etc. were delivered to city residents. Thus many city residents donated goods or money to assist the Saemaeul movement efforts in their hometown or travelled to the hometown to provide labor services. As watching a rural villager have a change in their mindset or attitude for daily life, even some came to think that it was time to do the Saemaeul movement in the city. Since the early 1970s, as the successful cases of farmers presented at the monthly economic trend report meeting were nationally broadcasted on TV in the evenings, city dwellers also started to come to know the rural areas and that farmers were changing. Thatch roofs were replaced into garnish slab or tile roofs in the agricultural areas. When looking at an improved roof in a village from a distance, the city residents recognized that the village's Saemaeul project being carried out successfully. Like this, the city residents' interests in the Saemaeul movement that were happening in the rural areas were growing.

(1) Saemaeul Education regarding Urban Residents

For the spread of the Saemaeul movement to a city, or to a factory from rural areas, the role of Saemaeul education was huge. In fact, the beginning of the Saemaeul leaders' training was aimed at producing Saemaeul leaders for rural villages. However, only one Saemaeul leader by gender from one gun (county) entered the institute, receiving the training over the course of one week. During the training period, one idea came out from the group discussion: the Saemaeul project could be better implemented and communicated if the head of myeon, the chairman of the local agricultural cooperative, and the local police chief also received Saemaeul education as well. The farmers' idea was accepted so that the heads of an eup and myeon, the local police chief, the chairman of the local agricultural cooperative, officials in charge of Saemaeul in the county, and the mayor and deputy mayor of the county throughout the nation came to receive Saemaeul education. Usually, got Saemaeul education was provided in the regional officials training institute under the Ministry of Home Affairs, listening to successful cases of farmers and participating in a group discussion in the evenings. From 1973, it was widely considered by the city dwellers that the Saemaeul project must be spread to the city. However, city life environment was a different from that of a rural village, so Saemaeul projects appropriate for the city should be suggested. Thus, first of all, male and female Saemaeul leaders were selected in order to lead Saemaeul projects in the city. Urban Saemaeul leaders entered the Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute in Suwon as well to receive Saemaeul education for one week.

(2) Saemaeul Education regarding Social leaders

Regional officials taking the education alongside with the farmers insisted through group discussion that the education needed to flow up to manager level officials in the central government to enable the government to establish a policy suitable for rural villages and effectively support the villages. Accordingly, from the spring of 1974, the general manager level officials from the central government received Saemaeul education along with the farmers at the Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute. This marked the Saemaeul movement as at that time no one expected that high-level officials of the government would mingle with farmers in one place to receive the same education. There were pros and cons for the preparation of a special curriculum for high-level officials for when they receive Saemaeul education. Shortly thereafter, a decision was made that the high level officials should have the same curriculum as the farmers as they could correctly support the projects if they clearly understood the realities of rural villages.

More interestingly, the general manager level officials that received the education also wrote on the trainees' notes that to make the Saemaeul movement actually work, ministers and deputy ministers, and further, company owners of the export industry should also required to take the education. President Park had a look at such notes made by the general manager level officials and recommended that cabinet members enter the institute to take the Saemaeul education alongside the farmers during the mid-summer of 1974. A few days prior to the member's entrance, President Park visited the institute in Suwon and checked the bedrooms, kitchen, and the menu. He ordered to implement all training for the cabinet members just as it was performed previously. Following the cabinet member's

training, university professors, journalists, businessmen, artists, religious leaders, etc. also entered the institute to receive training. In this way, Saemaeul education became a momentum to be spread throughout the national spiritual education process.

(3) National Training Institutes' Participation in Saemaeul Education

After taking the Saemaeul education, high-level officials from the central government and chairmen of the conglomerates allowed the affiliate training institute they belonged to temporarily halt the skills training for employees and provide Saemaeul education to all employees. For this, instructors at all the institutes entered the Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute to receive training for one week and then implemented the same training at their own institutes. Successful farmers that had presented their cases at the Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute were invited to governmental institutes throughout the nation as well as to company training institutes to deliver the same presentation of their acknowledged stories. Among them, the female and male Saemaeul leaders with a high response rate continued to be invited to national institutes almost every day. It was well known that the most popular presenter was the farmer Ha Sa Yong who cultivated vegetables while living in his dugout closely located to Jochiwon and then finally achieved success on his own.

(4) The Mind of Farmers is the Mind of Heaven

Most of the successful farmers did not receive a proper education nor have scientific or theoretical knowledge in order to teach others. Questions then arise: what caused the demand for high education to listen to the success stories and why did the people involved not request to hear success stories from people from fields other than agriculture? Many successful cases, of course, exist in other areas of expertise aside from agriculture. I could not help to hold a keen interest in the reason why, in spite of such, government officials and working people in industry wanted to listen to the achievements of farmers. The reason may be due to their principles of a life of diligence, savings, independence, and collaboration as shown from their stories made people from non-agricultural fields reflect on their own attitudes. The purpose of the Saemaeul Movement was to implant Saemaeul spirits, which were diligence, self-help, and collaboration, into daily life. It may be said that to achieving such a goal, the successful cases of farmers had an effect to actually refresh the state of mind of both government officials and businessmen. It can thus be said that Saemaeul Education was therefore effective for spiritual education of the people.

Up until that point, training centers of major companies focused mainly on technical training for quality control. New technologies for quality control can be taught through the import of knowledge from advanced industrial countries, but patriotism or loyalty to the company cannot be imported, thus companies need to cultivate such on their own. As Korea has a quite short business history, one can imagine that it would be difficult for employees to hold loyalty to their company. According to the trainers at the company training centers, in order to develop patriotism and loyalty to the company and education for harmonious labor-management relations,

the educational content should be similar to Saemaeul Education. This may be due to the mind of the farmers reflects our true mind. Only true facts can exist in farming as it deals with nature. An onion cannot produce a rose. In agriculture, the yields are proportional to one's effort and it is known that heaven helps those who help themselves. Therefore, there is a saying that the mind of farmers is the mind of heaven. The farmers' success stories presented during Saemaeul Education were cases that overcame all kinds of hardships with a belief that 'the mind of farmers is the mind of heaven,' and therefore, whoever listens to these stories can see the true human mind. Korea has been an agrarian country where people mostly cultivated rice and barley for thousands of years. Therefore, until the 1960s, the majority of Korean people were born and raised in rural areas. With the rapid economic development after the 1960s came more jobs in non-agricultural sectors and people could become civil servants or factory or company employees. As people no longer worked in farming, their life drifted far from the mind of farmers for a while. Then in the 1970s, as the Saemaeul Movement started in rural areas and the successful cases of farmers were discovered, and were included the Saemaeul Movement textbook, people who had jobs outside of farming returned to the farmers' mind. With these successful cases of farmers, Saemaeul Education would continue for over 10 years.

(5) Saemaeul Movement in Factories

Since 1974, owners of the largest companies in Korea that started to receive Saemaeul Education with farmers amounted to about 1,250. Thus,

most of these owners came to receive Saemaeul Education. Even in the mid-1970s, export was rapidly growing. One can imagine that the enterprisers who received notices from the government saying that they “must take Saemaeul Education for a week” were reluctant to receive such a difficult education for a week and, what is worse, with farmers, during a time when even one hour could not be wasted in terms of the export business. However, they entered the Saemaeul Leadership Training Institute and learned many things through successful examples of the Saemaeul Movement, group discussion, well-structured training courses, carefully prepared dormitory life, and enthusiastic trainers. The majority of them expressed their gratitude for the opportunity to take Saemaeul Education, and expressed this in the section for opinion on completion and wrote, in particular, they came to understand many things to ensure smooth cooperation between labor and management in their respective companies and factories.

During the nightly group discussions the businessmen discussed intensively about harmonious collaboration between labor and management. Korea was traditionally an agrarian society throughout her long history, but not yet advanced to an industrial country. Therefore, Korea had much agricultural heritage, but the cultures of factory and industry were required to be created. In this sense, the Saemaeul Movement in factories was important in the promotion of industrial culture that was suitable to Korean people. It is often said that the Japanese have strong loyalty and Koreans have strong affection. This suggests that although money is important, loyalty and affection are as important as money when it comes to human relationships. Therefore, as labor-management collaborations cannot be created by only money, such as wages or salaries, the Factory Saemaeul

Movement aimed to create a Korean style tradition of labor-management relations through the sharing of affection that is so inherent in the Korean people. President Park Chung-hee debuted a slogan for the Factory Saemaeul Movement, ‘Consider the factory as my home, and employees as my family.’ This was because Korea has cultural heritage of preferring a harmonious family, not a conflicting one.

During the group discussions, the businessmen held discussion that focused on actions to be practiced as a detailed project of the Factory Saemaeul Movement.

- Expand the cafeteria and dormitory for employees and make dormitory life more healthy and pleasant.
- Set up a system for the factory to handle the employees’ daily life items, such as going to the post office, the district office, or bank, etc.
- Create numerous opportunities for employees to attend night schools and support these efforts.
- Perform a flag raising ceremony, singing of the national anthem, and morning exercise everyday at the company.
- Promote the singing of wholesome songs in the company.
- Build sports facilities on unused land in the company to increase employees’ physical strength, and unity and harmony.
- Build an employee training institute in each company. Implement Saemaeul Education into the training institute courses and secure outstanding instructors.
- Provide a means of transportation for Chuseok and New Years Day for employees to enable them visit their hometown safely and joyfully.

- Agree to use the slogan of the Factory Saemaeul Movement, ‘Consider the factory as my home, and employees as my family’.

Within time, most companies implemented and practiced the above actions. Flagpoles were placed at factories. The middle flagpole was for the national flag and the other two placed at each side were for the Saemaeul flag and the company flag, and these flags were hoisted each morning. The main buildings of companies hung boards with the slogan ‘Consider the factory as my home, and employees as my family’ written on it. As companies made cafeterias for their employees, employees carrying lunch boxes and those suffering from malnutrition gradually dropped from view. Playgrounds were built for employees to enjoy various sports even for short periods during lunchtime. The number of company training centers increased and these centers aimed to teach new technologies and develop the employees’ loyalty to their companies.

In the 1970s, the textile industry was a leading export industry for Korea. It was a time when many female technicians that were born and educated in rural areas worked in the textile industry. Among them, some could not enter junior high schools as their families were very poor and some moved to the cities after graduation from junior high schools and stayed at home because there were no high schools in their villages. Therefore, most bore regrets that they could not learn more. President Park showed a special interest in resolving these regrets and the following is one example. President Park often inspected factories. When he visited a textile factory one day, he watched thousands of female workers making sweaters for export and asked a female worker about her wishes while stroking her head. She said, “I wish I had studied more. I can’t understand when the

supervisor talks because I don't know English.” Her eyes were full of tears as she looked at the President, and the President's eyes were also wet. Suddenly, his entourage went solemn. The President's eye met with those of the president of the company who was guiding him. The company's president, sensing what the President's was thinking, said that he would open a night school immediately to teach lessons from junior high school level courses. President Park said that her regret was that she could not have studied more because she did not have money. Ensure to have good facilities so that she could feel pride in her efforts.

This was the start for female workers learning in evening courses. No one forced them to attend, but even older female workers took the course. They worked during the daytime and studied hard at night. School buildings and new facilities were as good as any other school. They had no need to worry about teachers as many employees volunteered their time. The company provided free school uniforms and bore all expenses. The female workers always wore the school uniforms when they visited their hometown for vacation, as such a uniform was what they had longed to wear for such a long time, and filled with the pride of wearing the uniform, this is why they wanted to wear it in their hometown. When they returned to the factory after a short vacation, they brought a patch of grass from their hometown. They laid them in the school garden and named it 'Paldo lawn' - Paldo meant the whole country. However, as graduation drew near, a problem occurred. The Ministry of Education insisted that they could only grant a certificate, not a diploma, as the curriculum did not meet the standards. Upon hearing such incidents, President Park immediately summoned the Minister of Education. He scolded the minister, “It was the female workers' dream as they could not continue their studies due to

insufficient money. Young girls worked during daytime and studied hard at night. And you are saying that you cannot grant their wishes? Such regulation should be immediately revised.”

Each student at the graduation ceremony embraced each other and cried. Once they started crying, they felt their hearts swell and wailed loudly. The junior students and teachers also started to cry. The president of the company and guests cried as well. The ceremony sometimes had to be stopped because of the overwhelming emotional mood. On this special day, their wishes came true, and what a touching moment it was! Some finished the junior high school course and advanced onwards to the high school course and some high school graduates even went on to enter universities. To those who entered university, the company granted scholarships. This company night school system was expanded to encompass the entire country. This affection towards the female workers from the government and companies was so pure that the workers accepted it with love and gratitude. The workers became classmates and friends and this led to the building of the spirit of cooperation and unity. Work efficiency increased while the employee turnover rate decreased. At that time, every factory had monthly export targets for each item, and the female workers willingly worked hard to meet these targets. They cheered whenever the goal was reached and the businessmen rewarded them for their diligent efforts. They all were pioneers who led in the building of the Korean economy and their sense of purpose was vivid. Therefore, they worked with joy. If we intend to interpret this within the viewpoint of exploits of a political or labor nature, it is actually a distortion of the real situation during those days and, and frankly, an insult to Koreans’ lovely mind of affection. When considering the current situation that Korea now finds itself involved in,

labor and management issues should be resolved through collaboration, not confrontation. The Factory Saemaeul Movement largely disentangled the conflict between labor and management, and the atmosphere for collaboration between them backed the rapid growth of the Korean economy during the 1970s. Along with this, as the Saemaeul Movement that started from rural areas and then spread to each sector in Korean society, most Korean people began to think that the movement was a national movement to think good and act right for the sake of the country's development. Moreover, Korean people agreed with the point that the spirit of the Saemaeul Movement of diligence, self-help, and cooperation was a philosophy of life that had to be maintained in order to make Korea, a country of limited natural resources, into a wealthy country.

7. Evaluation of Saemaeul Movement

(1) Advancing Modernization of Rural Areas

In the 1970s, the main characteristic of the Saemaeul Movement was that it removed various detrimental elements that restricted the modernization of rural areas simultaneously. In general, in rural areas in non-achieving countries, even though one element is modernized, the outcome is often minimal due to other restricting elements as many pre-modern elements relate to each other. There were some discussions for measures for the removal of such restricting elements simultaneously is desirable, however, it is difficult to find actual cases of successful practice. For example, in order to increase the yield of rice in underdeveloped countries, elements for increasing production, such as irrigation, seed, fertilizer, and pesticides

must be improved simultaneously to obtain successful outcomes, thus a “package program” is recommended. In addition to this, to attain modernization of rural areas in traditional society, Integrated Rural Development is desirable, which removes restricting elements for modernization directly. However, due to limited government funding, underdeveloped countries tend to have more difficulties in gaining collaboration amongst government departments when attempting to simultaneously eliminate pre-modern elements in rural areas. Moreover, the terminal administration in the rural areas is not sufficiently developed to recommend such Integrated Rural Development and the farmers’ enthusiasm itself is not strong enough to initiate a self-help project. However, in Korea, as the Saemaeul Movement removed all pre-modern restricting elements at once, modernization was rapidly achieved. Villagers started the Saemaeul Movement to change their pre-modern living environment into a modernized environment, and all government departments participated in the advancement of modernization projects through the allocation of further budgets for rural modernization.

(2) Amount of Goods Supplied for Saemaeul Movement

Table 3 shows the amount of cement and steel frames that the government provided for the Saemaeul Movement performed by each village in the country during 1971 to 1978. For 9 years, a total of 2,100 bags of cement, which amounted to 84 tons, and 2.6 tons of steel frames were supplied to each village. When this amount is calculated in terms of a

supply price of 1974, about 1 million Won worth of cement and steel frames per village was provided.

When converting 1 million won into US Dollars (1\$ = 500 Won) at the exchange rate from that time, about 2000.00 US Dollars (about 1.8 million Won now) per village, was provided by the government. Considering that each village had an average of 60 households, the support amount per household was 33 US Dollars (about 40,000 won). Therefore, the support amount per family was not, in fact that large.

Table 3. The amount of cement and steel frames provided per village for the Saemaeul Movement, 1971 – 1978

Year	Cement (bag)	Steel Frame (kg)
1971	338	0
1972	264	503
1973	280	561
1974	257	296
1975	280	365
1976	227	309
1977	227	291
1978	227	284
Total	2,100 ¹⁾	2,609 ²⁾
Amount (1,000won)	735 ³⁾	234 ³⁾

Source: The Ministry of Home Affairs, the Saemaeul Movement, 1978.

1) In 1974, supply price per bag was 350 Won and 2,100 bags = 84 tons

- 2) In 1974, supply price per ton of steel frame was 90,000 Won and $90,000 \times 2.6 \text{ tons} = 234,000 \text{ Won}$
- 3) About a million US Dollars was supplied and based on the exchange rate at that time, a million Won amounted to 2000.00 US Dollars.

With 84 tons of cement and 2.6 tons of steel frames provided by the government, villagers worked on the improvement of a pre-modern style of living environment around the villages for 10 years. Among the many outcomes of the Saemaeul Movement obtained by villagers, some may be presented in figures but more cannot be presented as such. When the Saemaeul Movement was developed in each village in the country, the features of rural areas changed dramatically in just a few years. The village roads became wider to enable the passage of cars, the Korean self-sufficient agriculture society turned into a commercial agriculture industry through the supply of produce to markets, the income gap between the cities and rural areas narrowed, and farmers gained confidence in that they could do anything and could live a good life. Furthermore, many male and female Saemaeul leaders were trained at each village in the country and PulPPoori democracy was developed throughout Korean society in the course of performing the Saemaeul project. Most of all, as the Saemaeul Movement that started from rural villages expanded to cities and factories, the movement became a spiritual motivation for the Korean economy to achieve rapid growth. Korean exports, which were at 1 billion dollars in 1970 increased to 17.5 billion dollars by 1980. The per capita income was 242 US Dollars in 1970 and had increased to 1,500 US Dollars by 1980. Along with these facts, Korea, once one of the poorest countries in the

world, leapt out of the group of developing countries and had now joined the group of Newly Industrialized Countries in just 10 short years.

(3) Pan-Governmental Participation

The Ministers of each department who were inspired by President Park's firm commitment to advance the modernization of rural areas and the farmers' struggle to raise their living standard became more interested in advancing the modernization of the rural areas. A mood was formed to allocate more budgets for the development of rural areas. For instance, the Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry ordered the Korea Electric Power Corporation to supply electricity, which was not even sufficient to properly supply city areas and factories, to rural areas. Therefore, the rate of villages with electricity increased from just 20% in 1970 to 98% in 1977, and the outdated oil lamps rapidly vanished. Each farm household's share of costs for rural electrification was 58,000 Won (1975) and 80% of the shares were made possible through long-term loans of 30 years with low interest rates. Each farm household could install electricity when they paid just 6,500 Won in cash. In 1970, the participation of the Ministry of Communication for the advancement of modernization of rural areas made it possible for each village to have one telephone so that villagers could use it in case of emergency. Later on, in 1976, three telephones were allocated per 100 households. In the 1980s, the supply rate increased and by 1989, 95% of farm households had telephone service. .

The Ministry of Health and Social Affairs set up a small-scale medical office in each eup (town) and myeon (township), assigned one doctor and

one nurse, and they provided advice on primary health care and disease prevention and information on family planning to the farmers. The Ministry of Education tried to seek a way to boost the remote rural area teachers' morale, the Ministry of Information focused on the promotion of the Saemaeul Movement, and the Ministry of Transportation, through naming the express train the 'Saemaeul Train,' contributed to spread the importance of the Saemaeul Movement throughout the country. The Ministry of Defense also added a curriculum that enhanced mental power. In order to advance modernization of rural areas, the Ministry of Home Affairs led various Saemaeul projects in each village. They helped distribute cement and steel frames to each village in the country and took charge of the administrative guidance to ensure that the cement and steel frames were actually used for improvement projects for the living environment. In 1970, the average number of employees in each township office was about 20 people. Townships consisted of about 20 small units, and are called a Ri or Dong. Therefore, each employee working for a township was in charge of one village and guided the progress of a Saemaeul project. In the meantime, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry spread Tongil rice (Unification rice), a newly developed rice having a high yield, and enhanced the farmers' will to increase productivity with a policy of a high rice price. Furthermore, a project for the designation of main production setup item by item started in the late 1960s and began to emerge in the 1970s. Then farmers were able to increase their cash income from crops other than rice. This increase in income of farmers could cover the extra expenditures of farm households arising from the Saemaeul project. Almost all organizations of the government were united in their efforts and participated in the modernization of rural areas during

1970. Due to this, the entire details of the Saemaeul Movement in 1970s were recorded so poorly that foreigners or the next generation could have difficulties to take in the actual occurrences and information. For instance, when foreigners visited the Ministry of Home Affairs to learn about the movement, data regarding the improvement of village roads and thatched roofs were available. Other data about the green revolution that brought about the increase in rice production and then-farm households' income were not, however, available.

(4) The Confidence of Korean People

Korea has a long history and, throughout this history, the Korean people are civilized people who kept abreast of other nations. While a vicious circle of poverty continued for a long time, farmers became to accept such poverty as their fate and tended to give up efforts towards having a better life. Economically advanced countries looked down on the Korean people and the Koreans themselves tended to think that no hope laid ahead. Due to the Saemaeul Movement, farmers regained their confidence, meaning 'we can do it' or 'we can live a better life,' and soon, it spread to become a nationwide confidence. While examining this process, I realized that agriculture and farmers not only provided food to the city people but also played a critical role in the creation of the new national spirit.

(5) Rapid Growth of the Korean Economy and Its Driving Force

Figure 1 shows the trend of per capita income in South and North Korea over the last 50 years. In South Korea, it was in 1953 when the statistics for national income was announced for the first time. In that year, the per capita income was 67 US Dollars. About 10 years later in 1962, it became 87 US Dollars. This means that as the growth rate of South Korean economy was quite similar to that of the population, the per capita income did not increase. In other words, this means that the South Korean economy could not break free from the vicious cycle of poverty. It can be said that the plane (South Korea) just taxied on the runway but failed to take off up to the sky. However, from the late 1960s, the per capita income started to soar each year. At this point, we need to closely observe the growth trends as shown in Figure 1. According to the slope of increase in income in South Korea, the plane soared up to the sky making a sharp curve directly after the take-off. After seeing Figure 1, high-level persons from developing countries now take a keen interest in how Korea could achieve such rapid economic growth in such a short period. This is probably because they wish their countries to prosper as Korea now does.

This indicates that in the 1960s and 1970s all Korean people made every effort to break free from the vicious cycle of poverty. The high-level people in developing countries may wonder how each Korean put all their collective energies together to overcome poverty. They may wonder because it is difficult for other developing countries to unite the people and leave poverty behind in order to build a wealthy country. They may think that this was possible in Korea because of former President Park Chung Hee and the Saemaeul Movement. As Ilga and the

Canaan Farmer's School played pivotal roles for the Saemaeul Movement to flourish, we can find traces of their roles in Figure 1. It was written with this in mind.

The second important point is that, even though it is not shown clearly in the Figure, the per capita income in North Korea was two to four times higher than that of South Korea from 1945 to 1975. However, due to the continuous and rapid economic growth in South Korea during the 1970s, the economical gap between South and North Korea became too large to even compare. Now, based on the superior strength of the South Korean economy, there exists a physical foothold to achieve peaceful unification of the Korean peninsula. Therefore, it can be said that Ilga and the Canaan Farmers' School developed a national spirit that our divided country may achieve peaceful unification based on liberal democracy and market economy.

The third important point is that the South Korean economy showed rapid growth until the per capita income reached 10,000 US Dollars, but due to the Asian financial crisis in 1997, the per capita income decreased and the economy was unable to overcome a state of depression. The Korean people have a great desire for the Korean economy to advance to such a high level again. Now, less employment opportunity for the younger generations is a newly emerging problem.

8. Spirit of Overcoming National Crisis of Ilga Kim Yong-Ki

Even in countries that are much wealthier than Korea, when such countries find themselves in difficult situations, they demand principles in

life, such as patience, self-control, discipline, patriotism, diligence, independence, and duty from their people to overcome a national crisis. Ilga's principles in life may be deemed as the living principles for overcoming such national crisis. However, Korea is geopolitically different from the United Kingdom, an island country, or the U.S.A., one of the largest countries in the world. Due to Korea's geopolitical situation, Korea has a history of suffering national crises arising from the incessant invasions of neighboring countries. Therefore, it may be said that Koreans must take more effort to live by life principles to overcome national crisis than that of other countries. In the 1970s, Korea broke through the vicious cycle of poverty, but now a national crisis is approaching. Since 2000, expensive products branded as 'made in Korea' are now crowded out from the international market by cheap 'made in China' products. Moreover, Korea may have to bear a heavy burden for peaceful reunification as North Korea has been in a financial slump for a long time.

To overcome these national crises trending towards Korea, Koreans have no choice but make patience, discipline, patriotism, independence, duty and cooperation the living principles in order to win this national fight.

'Made in Korea' is giving way to 'Made in China'

After China altered their economy into a market economy, a continuous rapid growth occurred over the last 20 years and succeeded in export-oriented industrialization. Their population of 1.3 billion people became a human resource to develop into an economic powerhouse rather than be an obstacle for the country's development as in the past. When the Chinese income level rose at a rapid pace, the people became full of confidence that

‘we can have better life,’ and ‘we can do it.’ Excitement that had rarely been seen throughout 5,000 years of Chinese history is now rising in China. This is similar to the excitement seen in Korea during the 1970s. The main reasons for the rapid take-off of the Chinese economy are nearly unlimited cheap labor, enormous capital from the outside, and through the injection of high-technologies from advanced countries. It is forecasted that, even under the WTO system, the Chinese economy will maintain growth for 10 or 20 years at an average rate of 7 to 8%. Therefore, there are people who think that cheap but good quality ‘Made in China’ products will bring about a new financial crisis in Asian countries, and some even say that the 21st century will be the century of China.

Korea is geographically the closest country to China and has export-dependent economy. For this reason, the mutual competition between ‘Made in Korea’ and ‘Made in China’ is becoming fiercer in the expansion of their respective export markets. We see that in order to survive the competition of Chinese products in the international market, the international competitiveness of Korea must be superior to China. In terms of knowledge, technology, and the principles in life of Korean people, such demands that international competitiveness must be enhanced. As you can see, Ilga’s living principles are required also in the 21st century.

9. Who should take Charge of Spiritual Education?

Due to the geopolitical peculiarity of Korea, it is predicted that an encounter with various types of national crises will occur in the future. Therefore, I believe that Koreans live in a country that there is no other

way but practicing living principles in their daily life to overcome such national crises. Then, a thought arises as to whether Korean people will actually practice living principles for overcoming such national crises in their life without spiritual education. Moreover, if the Korean people need spiritual education, the task is who will to teach it and how.

While spending a great amount of time on Saemaeul Education to assist fruitful outcomes from the Saemaeul Movement, I realized that not everyone could become an instructor for spiritual education. Spiritual education is difficult, and as such it needs to be divided into family education, school education, religious life, etc. and thus the burden can be shared and divided. Moreover, it is an eternal truth that when leaders in society take the initiative and set an example, then others will follow. I cited previously that the key element that made the situation in the U.S.A. in the late 1970s difficult is a slackness of patience and discipline, which was led by a lack of patriotism in the higher-level figures of American society. I believe that in order to break through national crisis in Korea, patriotism and initiative taking by the higher-level figures must be preceded so that people can practice proper living principles for overcoming national crises in their daily life.

In the meantime, in terms of school education, Professor Kim Gi Seok pointed out that there is a limitation to educate living principles for people that can be usefully practiced in their ordinary lives. He said, “When Korean industrialization was realized through the creation of something from nothing, school education constantly provided good quality labor in terms of the intellectual level. However, it was both passive and negative in as far as the establishment of work ethics or labor discipline was concerned. One alternative available was the Canaan Farmers’ School. The school

complemented what school education could not offer and, sometimes, showed outstanding results in character education and discipline training that public education could not achieve.” This explains that as school education has limitations to educate character and train for discipline necessary to overcome national crises, social education that can supplement school education is required. However, as of 2000, various types of social education institutes have been rapidly on the increase but I believe that the Canaan Farmers’ School is the only school that offers social education, such as the character education and discipline training as mentioned above. Korea is now a member of the OECD as an advanced emerging economy. However, in other advanced industrialist countries, they not only have high-level science and technology but also deeply rooted sound capitalism. It is often said that the spirit of advanced industrialized countries in the West are related to Puritanism. According to the books I have read, Puritans achieve salvation through living a patient and sacrificial life. Economists interpret this patience as diligence and the sacrifice as frugality and saving in daily life. Therefore, I believe that the Saemaeul spirit of diligence, self-help and cooperation, and Ilga’s living principles of diligence and saving coincide with the Puritan spirit, and are the Korean style of capitalistic spirit. When each of the country becomes Puritan, such efforts may serve as a spiritual driving force for economic development. Such a country no longer needs the Saemaeul Movement. It is my belief that the role of religion is important for people to practice living principles to overcome national crises in their lives.

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2. My Lifelong Fight against Extreme Poverty in Korea

Dr. Yong-Ki KIM

Prologue: The Korean Way

Denis Salvatierra¹³

In the 1970's, a certain Korean visited the Philippines. He was amazed and envious on what he saw. He prayed, "Lord, please make Korea as green as the Philippines." A couple of decades passed and a certain Filipino was invited to Korea for a visit at a prayer mountain there. On their way to the site, they passed through the green fields and forests. He was astounded

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and cannot help it but to compare. He then prayed, "Lord, please make the Philippines as green as Korea."

Funny but it is a painful reality. But would you believe that Korea was not that progressive then as they are right now? They actually passed through a long learning process. And the people behind were not the prominent figures of society, but the ordinary ones. These people had asked what they could do for their country, not what their country could do for them.

In World War II, Japanese Imperial Army ransacked both their natural resources and national treasures. Their food crops and forest products were seized by Japanese soldiers. Years passed after the devastating effects of World War II, civil war erupted. Korea wage war with itself. Later on, it was divided into North and South.

As South Korea was recovering from the ravages of war, an ordinary citizen made an extra ordinary contribution to its struggling economy via innovative farming. His style is unbounded from traditional to one of the most effective at that era. With the support of his family and workers, harvests multiplied. In just a matter of years, his success and method were being followed. He became an inspiration and later on inspired the head of state. He was even recognized by political figures. Later on, a law was passed urging other Korean farmers to follow his footsteps. Other Korean leaders then were inspired and saw the potentials in turning agriculture as a backbone of their struggling economy. They have developed it as their stepping stone to what they are right now, and they succeeded. The farming style was named, "Canaan farming." And a farming school was even established out of it. The man behind was an ordinary farmer-entrepreneur who started from scratch. His name is Kim Yong-Ki. This serves as proof

that even sweet potato could change the course of history, if we are determined.

This ordinary man's achievement later on inspired Japan and other countries. In 1966, one of Philippines most prolific and prestigious award giving bodies has recognized his contributions. He was a "Ramon Magsaysay Awardee for Public Service." The Board of Trustees recognized his example of Christian principles practically applied to improve agriculture and imbued rural life with new joy and dignity.

KIM YONG-KI is a son of ordinary farmer parents, Kim Choon Kyo and Kim Kong Yoon. He was born on September 5, 1908 at Nungnai-ri, Wabu-myun, a rural community of Yangjoo County, Kyoungi Province, in the central area of the Korean Peninsula. His father had attended a Presbyterian school and his mother was a devout, practical Christian. Kim was the fourth among 5 sons. Kim's childhood was very normal yet well read and was tasked to help his parents in the field. The vision of rejuvenating Korean rural life led Kim to establish Canaan. It started on his youth days.

He was 23 when he inherited from his father a small farm in Bongan, Kyoungi, not far from his parental home. His faith, good example and hard work had influenced for a better change the plight of the common man in farming. The farm was a wasteland so he elected to plant sweet potatoes because they would grow in poor soil and under any climatic conditions in Korea. His determination and practical approach had produced perhaps the best sweet potato and an outstanding farmer in Korea.

In the previous year KIM had married Kim Bong Hi, who became his partner in the enterprise. First, the idealistic young husband sent his bride, who had received only a primary education, to Seoul for further schooling.

Living was never easy but there was satisfaction for the family in the produce of their labor. The KIMs' three sons and two daughters, like their father, began as small children to share in the family work.

After seven years of experimentation, KIM developed a method for storing sweet potatoes for 12 months which highly trained Japanese farmers had failed to do. The achievement called him to the attention of Japanese officials and the secretary to the Japanese Governor of Korea paid a visit to his farm. This success confirmed his decision to be a "studying farmer." Since then he has continuously experimented to increase production and up-grade field crops, vegetables, fruits, and livestock, and better preserve and store produce. The Bongan farm flourished in the 15 years from 1930 to 1945. With his desire for an expansion, Kim sold the Bongan farm in 1945 and reinvent everything. He bought in Koyang County of Kyoungi Province another piece of wasteland where he established an entirely new settlement. In it he established not just a farm but a community with school was for farmers.

KIM and his family are the core faculty of the Canaan Farmer's School, working from four in the morning until 10 in the evening. But they also invited well experienced and specialist lecturers. And in just a matter of four years, less than 2,000 men and women have trained. The school has revolutionized farming then on their area and made new breed of farmers with openness to new ideas. Of course, they learned the basic planting and raising of field crops, vegetables, fruit trees, strawberries, bees, rabbits, goats, cattle and much else. Self esteem and contentment was also uplifted among farmers. The sense of nearness to God and nature that this allows; these they have carried with them to other villages.

It was in the 1950s that KIM moved to Yongin County where he led in creation of the Farmer's Evangelical Folk High School. After five years he could leave this institution to the management of associates and move on to found the Canaan farm and school. Kim has literally influenced the spiritual awakening of farmers in Korea on that era. In just a span of five years, KIM sold the Koyang farm and again "ventured for victory" on a piece of mountain land in Yong-in County of Kyounggi. It became the core of a third "model" village. There KIM organized an Evangelical Farming Institute and a Farmers' Evangelical Junior School. But this farm was again sold after three years to intimate friends in the community who are not farmers but have continued the Evangelical Junior School using KIM's principles.

Later Kim purchased in 1954 the 10,000 pyung plot known as "Whangsan," or "Wasted Hill." (roughly three and one-half hectares). KIM wanted now to be near the capital so that more people would see what could be done with unproductive land. It was located only some 40 minutes by local bus from Seoul, near the southeast boundary of the city in the administrative district of Pungsan Ri. He was finally recognized by the Korean government in 1960. He received the Cultural Award from the Minister of Public Information and the following year a citation from the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry.

In 1962 he received three letters of appreciation from the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, from the National Reconstruction Movement Kyounggi Branch, and from the Minister of Public Information, as well as a citation from the Governor of Kyounggi Province. The Chief of Staff of the Korean Air Force addressed a citation to KIM on June 26, 1964 and earlier invited him to lecture before a group of officers and enlisted men. His

audience was so enthusiastic that similar lectures were arranged at every airbase and the Air Force sent enlisted men to Canaan Farm for training. In 1965 KIM received a third commendation from the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry. Government officials have asked KIM what they could do to help but he refuses assistance: "Please do not make any disturbance," he requests, "that is the best way to help me." KIM's success symbolizes the hope of all Korean farmers, and perhaps even in other nation. He has proven to himself that even a waste land can turn out to be your dream land. But what amazes me is that in spite of his attained status, he never forgotten where he came. His success is also the uplifting of other farmers below him. His motivation is to serve his fellow farmers. "His Christian devotion and patriotic zeal are the source of abundant inspiration to all Koreans," as the title of his book suggests, he has shown to Korean farmers 'the way to a true living'."

Part 1.

: Personal Narratives

1) Early learning from father

I was born and raised in a little village called Nong Nae Ri, Wa Boo Myeon, Yang Joo Kun, in Kyoungi Province. Behind the village, towers Mt. Yebong, the biggest mountain in Kyoungi Province, and a chain of other beautiful mountain peaks. In front of the village flows the ever-blue Han River. As a result of the gracefulness of this village, I developed a strong love for beauty and nature.

A long time has passed since I left that village, but I cannot forget it even in a dream. It is not only my cradle where my bones have become thick, but it is also the place which has enabled me to establish this foundation of ours. And more than anything else, it is the place where my parents, who particularly loved me and whom I respect are buried. I don't mean to speak boastfully, but my parents were really good people. Even today, I sometimes think that if I had performed one tenth of what my father has done, I would have become a better worker for the country than I have been.

My father was a scholar of Confucian classics. It was extremely difficult to be a scholar and engage in farming at that time especially in the Orient. Today, a man who has a little learning does not usually feel inclined to do farming. This is an evil custom handed down by our ancestors, but this thought was much stronger at that time than it is now. It was a time when it was an unwritten law that scholarship was to be pursued by

aristocratic people, and the aristocratic people of learning do not work. Furthermore, we are the descendents of the Andong Kim clan who wielded power around the end of the Yi Dynasty, so that our family was the very one which could be more interested in observing this custom if they had so wished. Nevertheless, my father was a farmer, and was always proud of the status of his being a farmer. He was a man who was ashamed of the fact that he was the offspring of the ancestors who have not eaten that which was raised by the sweat of their brow.

By the time I became self aware, my father always used to say to me: "The most shameful thing in the world is to eat without working; and eating that made by the sweat of one's brow is the most honorable thing in the world." It was my father who has made me a farmer who does not regret being a farmer, and I thank my father for that. This is not the only reason I have a respect for my father. I could find my father's amiable character everywhere. Even when he went out to work in the paddy-field, he took care of the sluices (or rills) of many paddy-fields of his neighbors which stretched between our house and our paddy-field. Therefore, whenever mealtime arrived, she went around, trying to find anyone who might be going hungry. Since we were young at that time, we felt anxious, thinking that we might skip a meal whenever my mother went around the village like this. I still vividly remember that anxiety. We brothers paid a visit to the household which was going hungry before my mother did, and learning that we would certainly go hungry on that evening, we became very depressed.

There is another thing for which I respect and thank my parents. At that time, my parents were pioneers of true faith who were the first to believe in God in the village. They were forerunners who had discovered the true God. As everybody working for religious orders comes to experience, it goes without saying that it is very difficult to convert a non-believer into a believer in Christ. Converting a non-believer into a believer is so difficult because of the non-believer's attempts not to see God. Therefore, it is really a rare thing that a scholar of Chinese classics, a descendent of the people who was deeply immersed in Confucianism, decided to become a Christian through the guidance of others. Only when I grew up did I become aware of the motivation by which my parents accepted the precious gospel and made our family a glorious one. I was three years old at the time. I fell ill by chance once and it became very serious as time passed. During that time I took every medicine that was prescribed by all the most eminent doctors. However, all these remedies were ineffective. Finally a Shaman was invited to exorcise the evil spirits and a blind man was called in to make an incantation. However, the chances for my survival were not great at all. It seemed that every means possible was used up. In the end, all the members of the family had no alternative but to wait for the day when I would die.

Then, as good luck would have it, an evangelist came into the village and visited from door to door, giving out tracts from the Gospel. At first, my father read these without giving serious thought to it. On that sheet of paper was written the words of (John3:16), "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten son, that whosoever believes on him should not perish but have eternal life." My father, who was thoughtful about ordinary

things, found something unusual in this. It was the words "perish" and "eternal life" that caught his attention. Incidentally, these words have resemblance to "Those who conform to Heaven's will will prosper, and those who disobey Heaven's will will be ruined." which appear in Chinese classics. However, my father saw that those who conform to Heaven's will prosper, but this paper said that those who believe in God will receive eternal life. And the word, "ruin" appearing in the Chinese text, "Those who disobey Heaven's will will be ruined," was replaced with the word "perish" in John 3:16. There was a difference between these words of the Chinese classics and those of the Bible. "Prosper" means that that which was failing becomes less prosperous than before, or in other words, failing. However, the Bible does not say, "more prosperous," but "eternal life." In other words, the Bible says that we will live an eternal life; it also adds that we do not risk being ruined in the ordinary sense of the word, but completely perish; we disappear without a trace of ever having existing. In other words, it says that we are extinguished. So something occurred to my father. If my dying son doesn't believe in God now, can he not receive eternal life? If he does believe, how can he receive eternal life? It is said that he explained this to my mother and started to believe in God from this point in time. It also goes without saying that my parent's belief in God was further strengthened because they believed that this caused me to get well thanks to the grace of God.

However, the religious life of my father who first accepted the gospel in the rural area was not easy. He was greatly tormented by the elders of the other families, large or small, who said that it was absurd for him who was

a son in charge of performing sacrificial rites for ancestors, to abolish it. However, my father was steadily persuaded in the faith. More than anything else, he spoke about the impracticality of the sacrificial rites, and about the ethics the Bible is based on in terms of its focus on practical living. Is it a valuable example of filial piety to perform a sacrificial rite well for one who is dead? Or is it a more valuable form of piety to serve living people, with food as delicious as those to be offered to a dead person? The foods served for the living parents are eaten by the parents themselves, but the food offered at these sacrificial rites after one is dead is eventually eaten by the living children."

His neighbors turned deaf ears to my father's attempts at persuasion. He rather incurred their resentment. Finally, they intimidated my father. They told him either to forsake Jesus Christ or to leave the village. At this point, my father lost interest in talking to them any further. My father, if asked to choose one of the two alternatives, could do nothing but to leave the village, so he began to pack our household goods to be moved. When the situation reached this point, it was rather the elders of the families who were embarrassed. They were the descendants of the Andong Kim Clan. They set their value in public consciousness, or sentiment; what did the community say or think? Public image was of utmost importance and the face of the families more important than anything else. They exhorted my father to accept their advice once again; but my father was firmly on the side of Jesus Christ. Finally, they implored my father to unpack his goods, and remain in the community and he did. My father's faith did not falter at all, even in the face of frequent torment and derision. Furthermore, he

showed his most unnatural filial piety for his living grandmother and by helping the neighbors of the village. The elders of the villages were finally inspired by him and began to gather in the church he attended.

2) Early learning from mother

In the spring when I became 14 years old, I entered a small private middle school called Kwangdong School, located in Yang Joo, for the first time. This was the school which students could enter without finishing primary school, therefore I could guess the nature of this school. However, the reason I could enter this school was due to the Chinese classics I had learned earlier. Most of the students attending this school were either poor or those who had lost the opportunity to study by sickness etc. and were learning Chinese characters like me. So they were students for a school for this level. There were even married students, wearing Korean hats made of bamboo in these classes. Therefore, I could apparently guess the academic level of these students. I was doing well in school and finally was at the top of the class. As a result, I became a monitor.

However, the position of monitor was very difficult for me. My academic record was better than those of the other older students, but I belonged to a younger age group. Needless to say, it was not easy to control the students. My younger age and superior academic record were two points which worked against me and made it almost impossible to control them. Therefore, I couldn't help resorting to more unorthodox methods in controlling them. When I couldn't control the students with the

authority of my position of monitor, I controlled them with physical strength. The people who know how I have developed today would laugh if they read this. It is funny to me, too. They will laugh when they are reminded that I, who was barely over five feet tall when I was young, wielded power. More than that, they will laugh when they are reminded that a Christian, who boasted that he would devote his life to guiding people righteously, took advantage of his power temporarily given to him, and exercised control through physical strength even though he was young.

However, my mother atoned for my sins and paved the way to solve the situation. Perhaps it was my use of physical violence caused the parents of the students to first visit us. The reason they came to my house was that, since they couldn't send their children to school because of me, they wanted to ask my mother to take some measures to resolve the situation. Because of this, I was advised by my mother not to beat the students anymore. Nevertheless, my wicked habit of using physical punishments was not rapidly redressed. One day my mother called me for the second time. "Be seated there." My mother's voice, which was always affectionate, was not so high-pitched on that day. However, I could discern from her voice that she was very angry. Greatly terrified, I came from the back yard, and gave her a deep bow, and knelt on the floor before her. As I had expected, there was a bunch of mulberry branches beside her. "You don't even obey your parent's words now." Her voice continued to tremble. "Perhaps I have educated you in the wrong way." Finally, she seemed to have made up her mind, and picked up all the birches at the same time. I was ready to be beaten. I couldn't even take a breath as I wished, and was waiting for her

order that I should gird up my trousers and stand up promptly. Then she exposed her two legs out of her long Korea traditional skirt before me unexpectedly, and beat herself with the birches! My mother struck herself twice without giving me a chance to grab her. Even as she did it twice, it was like striking me more than ten times because she did it with a handful of birches. Her legs became smeared with red streaks as if they were the ribs of a fan. Her legs were clearly hurt and showed blood. Almost unconsciously I threw my chest upon her legs and cried, grabbing the birches with both hands. "Mother, I'll never do it again. Mother, mother, please pardon me just once."

"You will really not strike other children?" Making me pledge several times and putting down the whips, she folded her hands and prayed to God that He could forgive my sins and her sins of having educated me poorly. At that time she covered her legs neatly in order to pray, but the bruised welts and this scene of her beating herself have not been erased from my mind's eye for my whole life. A great deal of time has passed since my mother took her place with the Lord. I think about her when I hear similar stories, even now.

It was not my father alone who was working for his neighbors. My mother was the woman who was more eager, or as eager as my father in working for others. When a poor woman gave birth to a child, she always sent brown seaweed (In Korea, it is customary for a woman to have this brown seaweed after she delivers a baby: translator's note) and one mal (a mal is a unit of measure in Korea, about 18 liters) of rice to the woman. When she happened to find out that someone was going hungry, she used

to make the members of her family skip one meal, and send the food to the hungry household.

3) Self-study on Confucius teachings and the Books

I studied Chinese characters at a village school where a small group of pupils were taught Confucius teaching in old books until I was 13 years old. There was no school near my home and Seoul was not so far away from my house. However, I was not old enough to leave home to study outside of the village and my family could not afford to let me leave home to study. Our family was cultivating only 15 majigi,(about 4.8 acres) of paddy-field and 2,800 pyung of fields, (about 2.5 acres). It was very difficult for my father even to raise five children. I was the fourth of five brothers. Furthermore, one of my brothers was studying in Seoul, and the other brothers were out of the village, so I was not in a position to go out of the village to study because that would leave my father alone. Therefore, my father, who was a scholar of Chinese classics, and accepted new thoughts because of his religious life, was forced to admit me to the village school. He did this in spite of the family circumstances he faced, and in spite of the fact that Chinese classics were not in tune with the times. At that time I didn't even know what learning meant and why I should study, so that I just went to village school because I was told to do so by my father. However, the academic record of my Chinese characters was not so bad. So as I attended the school, I received ongoing praise by the teacher.

One day my teacher said to me. "You have opened a new line of thought." These words he spoke to me mean that I had come to understand the logic of learning. There may be many differences in the degree of understanding and learning, but I was proud of the fact that I could reason out for myself what I was studying without the help of notes and the interpretations of the tutor. However, as I thought that the teacher had been already aware of this fact, I was rather wondering why he broached the subject. So I said to him. "I don't know what you mean, sir." "The reason I spoke these words to you is, you put what you have learned into practice. I have watched you and found that you hold your head up straight, that you hold your hands politely, and that you step carefully. You know how to learn in a correct and orderly way."

The teacher laughed, and talked, and joked with me as if he thought I was praiseworthy.

However, I took the teacher's words for granted and didn't give it much serious thought. The reason is, I thought I should unconditionally believe what was written in books, and also what the teacher taught. I was making every effort to put what I learned into practice without fail. This was the early period of my study at the village school. I was studying the "So Hak", which is a textbook for moral training which included lessons on behavior, manners, respectful treatment, and etiquette towards elders by youngsters. Consequently, it was difficult beyond all description to practice what was written in this book. If I were to practice the content of this book as it was written today, I might have been treated as a mad man because it was so difficult. It was a time when the teacher taught me this for no good reason,

and the students just learned it because the teacher taught it. Therefore, the teacher himself didn't practice what he was teaching (In fact there were many things which couldn't be practiced) and he didn't tell the students to practice it as it was. In other words, the teacher and the students were simply using that textbook to teach and learn letters. Rote learning was the name of the game.

It was natural for the teacher to be surprised at me, because I, as a young student, put what I learned into practice, while the teacher didn't do it even though he was teaching. However, since I had learned from my parents before I entered the village school that I should put into practice what I learned, there was nothing new about what the teacher had to say.

Once I had an interesting experience. It was the day when people were supposed to undertake community work to repair the road in front of the village. Each family was supposed to send one person for this work. At that time my father was not at home, so I went to work to repair the road, replacing my father. The elderly people of the village criticized my work for one reason or another. They said, "A breast-feeding baby was sent to work." "How old is he anyway," they mocked. "I don't have such a young child myself, so I had to come here to work myself", they chided. Sure enough, I was the youngest one among the workers. I felt this as an intolerable insult, but I couldn't go back home without working. So I just worked hard as if I had not heard what they were talking about. I carried stones and soil twice when the grown-ups did it once, and worked even when they were taking a rest. Some grown-ups told me to take a rest at the time of the rest period. However, I continued to work, saying, "It's all right,

I'm not afraid of work." As a result, I worked more in the morning than the grown-ups. They talked among themselves. "He is an unusual fellow." "He is a stunning guy." Word of what I did on that day spread to the entire village. All the villagers praised me greatly, as if they finally understood that I had helped my neighbors. Furthermore, hearing that I was doing well at the village school, they said that I was born with the spirit and energy of Mt. Ye Bong and that I could become a great man among the members of the Andong Kim Clan. However, I felt shameful of such inordinate praise and pledged myself upon that occasion to work more diligently and harder.

Around this time I had a strange experience, which helped my education. It was because I had been lucky to receive an education, respecting Jesus and Confucius at the same time. The man who imparted to me the teachings of Jesus was my father; and the man who imparted to me the teachings of Confucius was the village school teacher. Since I was still young at that time, I might have thought that Jesus and Confucius was the same person. The reason for this is that the Bible and the Chinese classics included teachings of these two people which were similar to each other, and both teachers were very good themselves. I thought the God in the Bible was the same as the Heaven described in the Chinese classics, that the love in the Bible was the same as the humanity in the Confucian classics, that the love in the Bible was the same as the humanity in the Confucian classics, and that the idea of service in the Bible was the same as goodness in the Confucian classics.

However, I have come to understand that there is a considerable difference between the words of the Bible and those of the Chinese classics. I happened to notice this difference by chance. Nobody taught me this difference, but I came to make out the difference for myself. It was on a certain day. It didn't rain when the time came for me to go to the village school. But it rained when I returned home. Since my house was not so far away from the village school, I could get to my house without getting soaked if I decided to run. However, I got drenched to the skin because I came back home, walking slowly. Why didn't I come home on the run? It was because I had to practice the saying, "A true gentleman should straighten up his head, hold his hands politely, and step carefully," by Confucius.

I was proud of having walked home slowly and had no complaint. Unfortunately, I couldn't afford to change my wet clothes. I was obliged to dry out the wet clothes with my body heat. It was upon this occasion that I came to find the difference between the Bible and the Chinese classics. From that time on, I became greatly skeptical of the Chinese classics. Why was it a violation of the propriety of a true gentleman to speed up my walk in order to avoid the rain? Should one observe the propriety of a true gentleman even when he became wet in the rain and his cold became so serious that he could die? What would become of a true gentleman after all, if he observed the propriety of a true gentleman after this fashion? For the life of me, it seemed to me that the propriety of a gentleman was something more than this. This time I thought about this problem a little more deeply by comparing it to the Bible. The Bible speaks of one suffering distress for

other person, which is a more virtuous act than getting wet in the rain, and also speaks of sacrificing oneself for other people. But the Bible doesn't say that on a rainy day a true gentleman should walk carefully without any purpose, just to observe the propriety of a true gentleman. Comparing the Bible and the Chinese classics, I found that there were many forms and vanity, similar to the above incident, in the teaching of the Chinese classics. For example, among the poetry, writings, manners, and music which Confucius taught, I attached the greatest importance to manners. The reason for this was that the manners comprised the coming-of-age ceremony, matrimonial ceremony, funeral rites. And there were 16 Decorum books among his writings: (books about manners, or ceremony, or etiquette). They describe how to greet one's elders, how to bow to grandparents, both in the morning and in the evening, how to greet one's parents, and how to greet the grown-ups of one's neighborhood. And the degree of bending one's waist when one greeted grown-ups, was different respectively, depending upon who the grown-ups were. However, the Bible says that we should greet grown-ups just politely. I saw that the Chinese classics value forms, but the Bible attaches importance to content, namely, the mind. In other words, the bible teaches us that we should carry out things, moved by our conscience, no matter what the form may be. However, the Confucian classics teach us that we should be familiar with the manners in each situation, and observe them differently, depending upon the time and place.

4) Correcting from my own mistakes

After that, as I was growing, I felt the misfortune of the nation, as I diligently studied; I sometimes spread out a world map, and became immersed in thought.

In the spring, when I turned 18 years of age, I graduated from Kwangdong Middle school. I was thinking of avenging myself of our enemy by annihilating Japan, an old enemy of our nation. Before and after the March 1st Independence Movement, the purpose of our predecessor's struggle was to completely annihilate them. I thought that our sovereignty could be restored of its own accord if I annihilate the Japanese people.

Then, the method of annihilating Japan was further formulated. In other words, I thought of becoming the master of China first of all, and then of defeating Japan with the power derived from my being the King of Manchuria. People might think that I didn't have to become a leader of Manchuria to achieve my purpose, and that things would be all right if I guided and developed our country. However, I thought my idea of becoming the master of Mancuria and defeating Japan would take less time than a small country like Korea attacking a big one like Japan. There were innumerable reasons that my method of conquering Japan was akin to Don Quixote's methods. The first reason for it was this: I was possessed of a reckless thought that I was born with the natural quality of leadership, in view of my experience of having controlled the students as a monitor.

The second reason was this: If I would become a leader at all, I thought I would become a leader of a big country. Furthermore, Korea, which as it

appeared on a map seemed to be too small, and becoming a leader of our country, compared with China was, I thought, like being a chief of a Myeon (a Myeon equals a township). That's why my thought developed to the extent of needing to become a leader of China.

Now to resume, I came to the place where I must take the first step in achieving the grand ambition of becoming a leader of China, and the conquest of Japan. On a day in August of that year, I wrote a letter and left it at home so that my parents could see it. Taking some traveling expenses with me which I had prepared beforehand, I left my home early in the morning before dawn.

It was around noon when I reached Nam Dae Moon(South Gate) Train Station. I bought a train ticket for 13 won 5 jeon and got on an express train called Higari bound for Bong Cheon(Shenyang in Manchuria).

It was a scorching hot day, but the train ran so fast that I felt cool. The train, which ran overnight, was leaving Korea, in the morning sunshine, and was running along the tracks by a river lying on the boundary between Korea and Manchuria, with its steam whistle blowing.

Finally the train found itself running in the spacious 700 li field lying between Andong and Bong Cheon. The luxuriant Italian millet fields, broomcorn millet, and corn fields stretched out in front of us, uninterrupted by mountains or any obstruction. It was an endless vast plain. Where is such a fertile field as this which is so wide and where crops grow so well? I had never seen the likes. Like an ant, which had just come out of its hole and was watching Heaven and Earth, for the first time and marveling at it. I

just gaped with my mouth open at the limitless wide field. It was at 5 p.m. that the train arrived at Bong Choen Station.

I saw a large-scale hotel called Hong Seong whose signboard was just across from the station plaza. Since I knew by merely looking at the signboard that this hotel was being run by a Korean, I went in there. As I had expected, the landlord, a Korean, kindly received me as I spoke Korean. I was as pleased to see him as if I had met a friend of mine. However, the hotel charges were, tantalizing not in tune with my current financial situation.

Therefore, I had to save my money as much as possible because my staying at this hotel was not supposed to end in a day or two. Seeing that I was hesitating to stay at that hotel, the proprietor told me about a Korean town called an inn, and said that I had better go there if I wanted to stay that long. The Korean town was within 20 minutes ride from the inn if one went there by rickshaw. It was the place where only Korean people were living so that it seemed one was in Korea. I found the cheapest boarding house and checked into it. The landlord of the boarding house was a man called Mr. Cheong who was born in Kyoung Sang Province. He continuously asked me this question or that, in the accent of Kyoung Sang Province, and showed me his utmost kindness, learning from me some of my intentions. He said that I had done a praiseworthy thing as a young man. However, I did not show all my innermost intentions to him.

As I had nothing to do for the time being, I asked the landlord about the geographical situation of this locality and went out sight-seeing. However, I thought I was not enjoying sight-seeing for itself, but intended to carry

out the basic investigation of the configuration of the land, the heart of the people, and its customs. So I went around not only a small inn, but also Senyang city and its neighboring villages. According to what I saw, most of the shops in the streets were cigarette shops, restaurants, and bars. The picture coming to my mind in which people were seated in the shops eating, made me think that they didn't know of anything except eating and that they seemed to be more animals than human beings. They merely bought and ate flour cakes, drank liquor, and smoked like chimneys. Controlling them seemed easy and if I wielded my power, I thought they would easily fall down dominos.

One day I visited one place and found it to be opium den.. Ten people whose faces looked yellow were lying in a big dark room and in their mouths were long pipes, through which they were diligently belching out smoke. Witnessing this picture, I even thought that the Chinese people were poor people. Then, what about the Korean people living here? They discouraged me in another way. Only a few merchants were living well, and most of the rest of the people were odd men, who were living a very poor life. It seemed quite depressing that they were living a poor life despite the fact that they worked hard. However, I didn't think it could be applicable to these Korean people. They were lazy, I concluded so it was natural that they should lead a poor life. There were more people who were fooling around than working. Furthermore, it was mostly the Korean people who acted in a drunken and disorderly way or fought with each other. So whenever I saw them, I knitted my brows (frowned sternly) and felt ashamed of the fact that they were my fellow countrymen. I couldn't

understand what it was that was motivating them to live like this after they had left their fatherland and came to a strange country which was several thousand li away from Korea. This was not the only thing which disappointed me about the Korean people living here.

There was a Korean church called Shitae Tap(Tour) Church. After I went to this church, I was greatly disappointed on account of the way in which the believers were praying. They were led by a man who seemed to be a minister. I became embarrassed at first, because the sound of their prayers which was evidently in the Korean language, and the people who were bowing their heads were all dressed in Chinese clothes. After a while I realized that all the believers were indeed Koreans. I also came to be aware of the reasons why they wore Chinese clothes. It was said that they were ashamed of being Koreans because of the conduct of many of the Korean people living here. I couldn't understand this for the life of me. It is true however, that one would naturally be slightly ashamed of the poor behavior of our fellow countrymen in a foreign country.

The Korean people living in Manchuria greatly disappointed me in other ways too. After the worship service was over, I greeted the minister. The minister looked middle-aged; he grabbed both of my hands very gladly.

He said that his name was Yi Seong Ho. He was slightly surprised at my having come to Manchuria alone, and he asked me why I came to Manchuria. I avoided answering his question, telling him that I would let him know the reason for it in the future. Instead, I wanted to ask the

minister about the believer's clothes, but desisted since I thought he would be embarrassed.

More than a month had passed since I arrived in the Korean town, yet I had not made a concrete plan for my work. I was passing the days, without knowing from where and what I should start.

I then came to learn of a powerful group of mounted bandits. Most of these mounted bandits were atrocious thieves. However, it was also said that among these mounted bandits, there were so-called Robin Hood like characters who belonged to underground organizations working for their country and fellow countrymen, who terrorized the Japanese army, plundered ill-gotten money and goods, and helped poor people. Among these there were even a group of chivalrous bandits who occupied a wide district, and controlled it for several years, and even collected taxes. Therefore, it was true that their strength was not to be underestimated. Once I came to know of these things, I began to feel curious about them. I thought it would be easy to join them. I also thought that, as I was young, I could easily control Manchuria if I gradually established a position of strength and became their chief by any means possible. Such a dream was not a fictitious delusion. It has been spoken of from the most ancient of times that heroes can come from any station in life; and are there not many examples supporting this?

I went to the church to see Minister Yi Seong Nak. Finally I told him about the reason why I had come to Manchuria, and expressed my intention to join the bandits. When I came to this church at first, the minister asked

me why I came to Manchuria and at that time I told him that I would answer later. I finally gave him my deferred answer.

If I think how much he must have laughed secretly at my story, I blush even now. However, Minister Yi never laughed at me directly, but listened to me with a serious attitude, and advised me sincerely. "Your intention is very good, but it's not so easy. China has a history of thousands of years, but nobody has ever unified and controlled the vast land of China. How then can you, who has no affinity with China, do the work which the natives of China themselves couldn't do? Your idea is too big. It is an inordinate thought, not a delusion. History is something which slowly matures, not something which is achieved all at once. The group of mountain bandits here in Manchuria seemed to be great at first glance. However, their strength is really insignificant when we compare them with the vast continent of China, and when we consider them in the light of the long history of China. If these mounted bandits have occupied several villages today, this is merely the result of the work which was begun by their great-great grandfathers or great-grandfathers. Therefore, don't you think it will take at least several thousand years to rule the Continent? Your words remind me that you are an unusual man. I only want to say that your way of realizing your thoughts is slightly misdirected. So please take my words seriously and go back to Korea. Don't you think that you can achieve much more in a small area than in a great area? I believe there are limitless things to do in Korea now. In addition to these words, the minister exhorted me to go back home with many other arguments.

I was greatly discouraged by minister Yi's words. However, I felt that I had no ground to stand on in disagreeing with him. I was unable to counter his words of wisdom

As my grand ambition of ruling the continent of China crumbled before me, there was no reason why I should stay any longer in Manchuria. Therefore, I made up my mind to go back to Korea, as Minister Yi had advised me to. On a certain day after a little more than two months had passed since I arrived in Manchuria, without achieving anything, I returned to Pyoung-Yang. There was a valid reason why I got off in Pyoung-Yang instead of going to Seoul. I avoided Seoul, because Seoul was the place where the government-general, the headquarters of the colonial administration and the centre of Japanese imperialism was located and so there were many things there which would hinder my work. Another reason for my choice of Pyoung-Yang was that Pyoung-Yang was the second largest city, second only to Seoul; it also was the royal capital of old Gija Chosun, and of Kokoryeo(918-1392)

After I checked in to a hotel, I paid homage to the King Gija tomb and visited Boo Byeok Ru, Eul Mil Dae, and Moran Bong. I also visited old historic sites, and took in the sights of the streets and visualized what I was going to do in the future. However, God did not give me anything to do even in Pyoung-Yang. On the third day after arriving in PyoungYang, I had an upset stomach and was feeling extreme discomfort because of the cold noodles which I had eaten, and I almost died from the experience. I couldn't go to the hospital because of a lack of money so all I could do was to buy and take some medicine. However, no matter how much or what type of

medicine I took, the symptoms were not relieved, and I felt difficulty in breathing. I thought I would die because of this. At this moment I didn't think of any other thing but that I would die of this sickness; I felt my life had been utterly futile and I was quite frustrated. I lifted myself up off the floor, and prayed to God. "Please don't let me die like this. The reason you have sent me into this world is that you wanted to use me so that I could do something for this world. Every creature which has been created by you has been with a purpose including not only we human beings, but even the most seemingly insignificant things in the whole universe. I truly believe this. How then, how can you take me back to you, after having made me without any purpose? Please let me stay in this world and let me work according to your will."

While praying like this, I understood one thing of which I had not been aware up to that time, as if it were a revelation. This revelation was the fact that I was alienated from God during that time. The fact was, I thought that I would become master of the continent of China, that I longed to join the group of mounted bandits, and that all other things, including the above things, would be realized alone through the power of my ability and intellect. I finally figured out that this was a very foolish way of living, thinking and being. Then, why did I ask God to let me live any longer? I apologized to God for my foolishness very candidly and prayed and prayed that I would be able to do His work, according to His will, and glorify Him in all my endeavors.

Apparently, my sincere prayer was answered, because my pain disappeared. After this, I swore to God that I would offer up all of myself

and my work, in support of God's will. And first of all, I understood how much I was possessed with such a futile delusion during that time. I came to understand that China would be the place where Chinese people would work and Pyoung-Yang would be the place where the Pyoung Yang people would work. The place where I, who was still 18 years old would work, was my native town and with my family where my parents were still living. This is what I had to do more than anything else; to cultivate my body and mind. This was what God really wanted me to do.

I returned to my native town after staying in Pyoung-Yang for four days. I returned home after an absence of two months and ten days. During that time, I hadn't created any visible achievements and had spent all of my travelling money. However, there had been a certain gain. The reason for this was that if I had not left my hometown, I might not have found that my native town was the place where I would work.

I left home in midsummer when the rice plants were green in the paddy-fields, and came back home in autumn when the cool breeze was blowing and the rice was getting ripe and was tinged with brown. As soon as I came home, my parents were glad to see me more than anyone else. Having told them of my motivation of my having left home, and of the circumstances of my having returned home, my parents said that it was all due to the grace of God and they were pleased with it. I, who returned home, understood that I had left God and was leading a reckless and pointless life. Therefore, I began to read the Bible avidly, understanding clearly that it was the word of God. The more I read the Bible, the more I

came to understand that all the mental and physical potential which made up a human being was nothing without the influence of God.

That year passed in no time; and then the spring arrived, the season in which all the dormant things came back to life. Finally I prepared myself for a journey to Mt. Mani located in Kangwha Island, with the intention of conducting a special prayer. There was a valid reason of my own for having chosen this place for a place of prayer. There was a legend which had been handed-down legend for generations that this mountain was the one which had shook for three days after King Sejong the Great prayed to his God (of course, the meaning of this God was different from that of my God). However, I had an ambition to shake this mountain with my prayer. That's why I chose this mountain. If I think about it now, I think it was a very foolish idea. However, my faith at that time was in at a childish stage, and my faith had pretensions of heroism, much like my character.

Arriving at Mt. Mani, I booked a room in a small temple called Jeong Soo Temple and cooked food for myself. From that day I climbed up the mountain and began to pray.

“My Father, my God, I have come to deeply understand through my reckless wandering how insignificant is the power of a man who has averted his eyes from you. I swear to you that I will never depart from you again and will never do anything except what you ask me to do. How can a man manage a big church when he cannot manage his own house? How can a man be supported by his neighbors when he cannot be supported by his own parents? How can a man become a leader of a country when he is not supported by his own neighbors? However, Father, my God, I am

frustrated and feel stifled. I wonder what level of work you had in mind for me when you created me and sent me into this world. The things which human beings are doing vary from very small things at the bottom, to very great things at the top. It is true that everything is done according to your will, but I am wondering what level of work you are going to entrust me with. If I am the sort of person who can do only small and humble things, please let me do something bigger instead, and give me have power and strength. This is the place where King Sejong the Great, a wise ruler of Chosen prayed to God, and it was said that his prayer was answered and this mountain shook. If you want to satisfy my wish, please shake this mountain as proof, and give me, a young man encouragement through that." However, the mountain did not shake after my three day's worth of prayer. I attributed this to my lack of prayer, so that I kept on praying. As there was no doubt that God is omnipotent, I planned to sincerely entreat God that I would not abandon my will, until this mountain shook as a testimony that God wanted to entrust me with great things in the future. Therefore, I kept praying for 40 days. However, I did not wait for the mountain to shake now. This meant that my faith in God took a root more firmly. God accepted the meaning of my prayer and gave me a revelation that the mountain would not shake. God, who has a precious responsibility of bringing up all human beings and of guiding them to His land, will be satisfied with the fact that we believed in Him, and He doesn't have to shake a mountain for me as proof. God does not concern Himself with such reckless and frivolous things.

5) Setting my way ahead: Farming and educating young famers

The famous March 1st Independence Movement took place in the year when I was 18 years of age. At that time the villagers all cheered for independence, egged on by my father. A procession from our neighboring villages came to our village and joined the people of our village. The purpose of this meeting was to go to Deok So, where the Myeon(a sub county) office and the police box were located and which was 30 li (ten li is equivalent to 4 kilometers or about 2.5 miles). In the hands of 300 or 400 people was the national flag of Korea. Placards were flying here and there. Father took the lead of the crowd and shouted. "Hurrah, for the independence of Korea!" Then, the crowd simultaneously held up the placards and the national flag and shouted. After the people of several villages had converged into one place, standing in front of the village, somebody gave a speech in a tearful and loud voice. It was the speech like a bolt from the sky which accused the Japanese people of poisoning our King Ko Jong .

When this speech was delivered, pandemonium erupted. They yelled in a disorderly way and burst into tears here and there. At that time I didn't know much about the King except that he was as high as God. Why did the Japanese kill such a high dignitary? Are they not bad people that should go to hell? This was all I felt about the crowd who were shouting. I was merely watching them as if looking on a house in mourning. However, the seed, growing up under the ground during the winter, is about to bud; and a

chick, breaking out of an egg will eventually recognize its mother. After I entered middle school, several teachers put aside their normal subjects and spent time talking about the history of our country. The teachers were very cautious in their choice of words because of the times. They avoided speaking directly as far as is possible and talked by means of parables. That's why I couldn't be too confident of what they were talking about.

At that time, the only interpreter of the history of our country who satisfied my curiosity was my father. If the teachers had given me hints, my father interpreted them at home. As I became older and advanced to higher classes, I found a history book of Korea at home and read it because the hints given by the teacher contained more and more stimulating ideas. From the time when I knew the real facts of the Harrah Movement, (March 1st. Independence Movement), I thought the Japanese were devils. When I learn that King Ko Jong was murdered by poison, I was aware of the real facts about it, and when I was aware of the fact that the Japanese had massacred innumerable Koreans, I couldn't help but regard the Japanese as even worse than devils.

I had to wander endlessly and to suffer many trials physically, and many more spiritually until I found what I had to do with my life. Finally, I found that farming was what I had to do. But what helped cement this conclusion further in my mind was the will of my father who suddenly passed away. My father died of a stomach illness at the age of 58. I was 23 years of age at the time of my father's death. When he died, he left a will that I should become a farmer. My father's faith in farming was based on the Bible (Genesis 3:16 and after). In ordinary times, my father moved me a great

deal by his faith that farming was a way of performing a patriotic duty at a time when people were undergoing great difficulties in obtaining food, and he also moved me by the faith in which farming was a way of vicariously atoning for the sins of our ancestors who have eaten without having expended sweat in doing so. Just as he requested me to do the work of farming by talking to me, and also in his will, I had to heed what he said. Specifically, father spoke these words in his will:

"In the case of our country, more intellectuals should be farmers. Farming is a driving force of industry, but our intellectuals avoided farming and ignorant peasants have done the work of farming. Therefore, our economy and civilization wasn't able to raise itself out of backwardness; and finally, as a result of this weakness, our country fell under the sway of the Japanese empire. If we are to restore our sovereignty, we should be, first of all, economically independent and self-sufficient. In achieving this objective, there is no other way forward but for intellectuals to participate in farming and increase the levels of our national agricultural productivity."

What he said was absolutely correct. This remark was enough to make me realize how westernized he had become. Even now, as I examine myself, I compare myself to my father and what he said at that moment. As I completely sympathized with my father's words of advice to me, I did not really need his written will to motivate me, and nobody could make me give up farming even if he were able to mobilize every means possible.

It is said that people have always been somewhat reluctant to engage in farming, in the past as well as now. The reasons are many. First, the profits from farming are small. Second, farming is hard. Third, those

engaged in farming are often looked down upon. Fourth, those engaged in farming do not enjoy high social status. Fifth, those engaged in farming are assumed to lack education and are assumed to be uncultivated. Generally speaking, many people are not willing to engage in farming for the above reasons. At a glance, these seem to be highly plausible reasons. However, how mistaken are they? I can say that these are mistaken assumptions, because I myself am a farmer.

First, I'll examine the point that farming produces few profits. In the case of rice farming, if we sow a grain of rice seed in the spring and cultivate it for only six months; it will yield as much as 1,200-1,800 kernels. (This is achieved through plants multiplying during the 1st. and 2nd. transplantation). A grain of Italian millet seed will yield 7,000-8,000 kernels. A grain of sesame will yield 4,000-5,000 kernels. A seed of zucchini will yield 300 small zucchinis, and 12 full sized squash weighing 25 pounds. A watermelon seed will yield 7 watermelons weighing 8 pounds respectively over a period of four months. A melon seed will yield 12-14 melons. Of course, a man should expend effort and have a number of critical skills, to improve the quality of the seeds and soil and understand key farming methods. Most farmers do not make such great efforts as these, and often lack such skill, so they do not produce the above amounts. This is sufficient enough to make me think my father's remarks that intellectuals should engage in farming was in fact perfectly reasonable.

We could think that farmers themselves are responsible for causing people to have such mistaken notions about farming; but we can think that all the successive administrators and agricultural planners are responsible

for it, too. Not only are farmers responsible, but also ordinary people believe that any man can engage in farming if he has nothing but strength to dig the ground. Therefore, our farmers think that only nature can decide whether crops are rich and poor in yield, and so they wait for favorable weather which will bring about fruitful crops. This is almost the same approach as primitive people's farming methods. As farmers work with this kind of mentality, they think more highly evolved skills or knowledge are not needed-everything is to be decided by nature. As they are working as farmers and making progress and developing constantly, it is natural that our farmers are not able to make both ends meet by farming alone. In a rural area, when we ask those parents who don't send their children to school why they don't send them, they answer that they need them to work on the farm and become farmers instead. If a farmer happens to do something wrong and is scolded for it, he usually answers this way; "How can a man living by digging the ground know such a thing?" Thus, we often hear him answer to the effect that it is natural for him to be ignorant. Besides these patterns of thought, we can hear such expression as, "Is a farmer not a man, too?" or "Don't look down on me because I eat by digging the ground." We can illustrate this mentality with other expressions similar to the above in more detail if required. The time when intellectual people will be engaged in farming in Korea as they do in advanced countries seems to be very far away, which is very discouraging.

Second, it is said that not everyone can engage in farming because it requires strength. However, in view of my own experience, farming is the least toilsome and the most comfortable work. Nothing is freer and more

creative in this world than farming. A farmer is free from restraint and farming isn't restricted by time, and one can engage in farming within one's own power and limitations. Farming is not tough, but it in fact energizes strength. A farmer's skin becomes strong because he works under the sunshine all day long, and as he inhales the oxygen which plants exhale all day long, his assimilation of the new and excretion of the old is done well. Since he moves his body, his muscles are strengthened and this fosters good digestion too. Since he is not employed by other people, he has no anxiety about his job; this situation is good for mental health.

Third, it is said that a farmer is treated with contempt. This remark is not only generally correct, but also wrong in another important sense. It is true because a farmer is actually treated with contempt in this modern world. It is wrong because such treatment is unfair and such attitudes need correction. The countries where farmers are treated with contempt are places such as China where Confucian thought is strongly believed, and our country. Therefore, our country, where enlightenment has been brought about relatively recently, it may not be the case that a farmer is treated with contempt now, but that can be changed. The thought that a farmer is treated with contempt was made by aristocratic people, namely, those who do not engage in any work requiring any sort of effort at all. They despise farmers because they needed a means by which they could live without working. Therefore the attitude of looking down on farmers, created by the above mentioned situation, has established two upper classes which ruled during much of our country. Did this thought of treating farmers with contempt also not create a cause of factional strife among the four classes which

existed under the Yi Dynasty(1392-1910)? This undermined the development of our national economy, weakened our national strength, thwarted our culture, stymied civilization, and brought backwardness to our country, all of which finally resulted in our becoming a victim of Japanese Imperialism

In our country, the number of farmers who are still treated with contempt comprises more than half of the entire people. Not only administrators, but also city dwellers should deeply reflect on this. Farmers shouldn't only say that administrators and city-dwellers should not treat them with contempt, but they should cultivate a more elevated consciousness of their rights as farmers. If a man is to know that farming is a very real worth-while job for human beings to engage in, he must learn what Jesus implies in John 15:1. "I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman." This is a statement in which God has been compared to a farmer. If a man wants to know what truth lies later in this verse he must study and think deeply on it.

Fourth, it is said that farming is a job which holds no prospects for a better future. I don't understand this remark, either. Does it mean that no matter how hard a man may farm he cannot produce anything? Or does it mean that if a man digs the ground, only soil comes out of the ground? The future of a farmer is said to be remain as a farmer. However, this assertion will also be a lamentation expressed from a position of profound ignorance. If a person studies for the purpose of passing high level civil service exams, he has a hope of passing it. Moreover, if he becomes a governmental official, he has a hope of getting a promotion. If he is engaged in trade, he has a hope of becoming a very rich man. Compared to this profession, the

notion that farming offers few prospects could be understandable. Since a man engaged in farming knows that he can't make both ends meet by farming, and he doesn't know how to farm in order to improve his income, he will not have any hope of becoming rich. In this light it is true that farming is a job without prospects. However, if this is strictly the case, even God is a being without hope. The reason for this is that God has nothing higher to aspire to. The Bible says God is a farmer. There is nothing to be desired in an eternal job. If a person has an unstable job, he sticks to that job, with deep desire and his utmost power. However, a farmer remains a farmer even if he is ruined. If we call this an eternal job, which has nothing to be desired, a job without hope, what is the best job in the world? "Remove far from me vanity and lies: give me neither poverty nor riches: feed me with food convenient for me: Lest I be full, and deny thee and say, Who is the Lord? Or lest I be poor, and steal, and take the name of my God in vain." (Proverbs 30:8-9) This quotation applies most fittingly to the life of a farmer.

Fifth, and last, it is said that farmers became stupid and ignorant. However, if a stupid and ignorant person engages in farming, he can become a wise man. Yet a wise man, if he does engage in farming, never becomes stupid and ignorant. What does this imply? If people know that originally a man's wisdom is developed by confronting himself with nature, they will agree with my theory. Learning is, after all, a systematic process of studying the phenomena of nature, so that nature is the origin and matrix of learning. Therefore, it is very absurd to say that a farmer, who is working with nature face to face, inevitably becomes stupid and ignorant as

a result. To think that a thing can be known by means of learning is tantamount to the thought that a thing can be known more correctly by a picture rendered from substance, or by a paper explaining about the nature of its very substance, rather than seeing the substance directly. Seeing is believing. Is a picture or an explanation on paper more than seeing the substance directly? When a person sees the mystery or marvel of dew in the morning, or in the evening, or sees a flower which blooms every spring, or feels the mystery and marvel of it, or directly observes that, out of a dried seed, too hard to be bitten by the teeth, there sprouts a new bud, and it yields abundant fruit, does he become stupid and ignorant? Does the person looking at the picture or the explanation on paper of the above phenomena become wise? "I will praise thee; for I am fearfully and wonderfully made: marvelous are thy works; and that my soul knoweth right well." (Psalms 139-14) Beyond this, what statement can we human beings make? And what do we know? However, I have nothing further to say if they say that a farmer, who is surrounded by mysterious nature and directly feels its mystery, becomes stupid and ignorant by his engaging in farming, and those who are totally unrelated to it, become wise. If we look into the history of mankind, in both ancient and modern times, we find that great figures who have done great things came from rural areas.

Two years after I began to farm, people praised me, saying that I was the best farmer in the village. So the senior farmers of the village came to follow me in my habits of diligence and newly acquired skills. I had come to have confidence in my abilities to a certain degree so that I began to look more broadly for fresh fields. The new dream was that of whether or not I

could make a land of God, on other words, a paradise on this earth. I had gained the trust of my family and that of the village, which meant that the sphere of my leadership was widened. Before I would extended it further, and become a leader of our country, I had the idea of establishing a small kingdom suitable to my ideal. I dreamed of establishing a village, a Garden of Eden, where five grains (rice, millet, beans, wheat and barley) would ripen, the flowers of fruit trees would be in full bloom, bees and butterflies would dance, every house would have milking goats, there would be a church, all villagers would believe in God as brothers, all the people work, produce, lead an affluent life, and find spiritual and physical comfort by venerating and worshiping God.

The ideal village I was visualizing would consist of ten families. It would be possible for me to go forth and establish this village if I had about 24,000 pyung of land (about 20 acres), and 5,000 won with which I could purchase land and reclaim and develop it. These thoughts occurred around the time when the construction of the Choong Ang Train Line started. I planned to make the 5,000 won that we needed by working at the construction site of the new line. I was thinking of running a business nearby, with the workers of this construction project as my customers. I was not unaware of the fact that nobody could engage in trade if he had no experience or knowledge. However, it was a time when I didn't know the meaning of the word, "impossible", so I didn't care about whether my prospective business was a success or failure. Therefore, I borrowed 200 won at interest and opened a store at one side of the construction site. I opened a multiple store in which one part of the store was a sundry goods

store and the other part was a barber shop. At that time I decided that my wife, who was still young, should not participate in the business. The reason for this was that the house was made to be a store so it was difficult to run a household there, I did not have intention of using my wife as a female merchant. Therefore, I decided to send my wife and young children to her parent's home.

Thus, I cooked food for myself there and ran a business for a full two years until the construction work was finished. Today I am teaching the students of the Farmer's School about the experiences I underwent at that time. My business became comparatively successful and I paid back the principal sum of 200 won with interest, and made a big profit of 3,500 won at that time. However, I was still 1,500 won short from my original target sum. The operating procedure which I directly put into practice for my business was as follows:

- (1) More than anything else, I should choose the business which best fits my individual disposition and character as a condition for opening my store.
- (2) I should set up the store in a place where transportation was convenient and there was a sufficient local population.
- (3) I should put up a signboard with my trading name which corresponds to the nature my trade.
- (4) I should ensure that the volume of stock is in proportion to the structure and size of the store.

- (5) I should display goods either inside or appropriately, depending on their proportions to my stock.
- (6) I should always attach price tags to my goods, and write and attach the factory delivery price, wholesale price, transportation expenditures involved, and final retail price.
- (7) When a customer comes to the store more than twice, I should write down his address and place his location on the store's map.
- (8) When a customer comes to the store more than three times, I should write down the amount of the price of the goods that he has bought.
- (9) When a customer comes to the store with goods he bought at other stores, I should wrap them up along with the goods he bought at my store for his added convenience.
- (10) I should kindly greet all customers regardless as to whether they buy anything or go away empty handed.
- (11) I should serve customers iced water in summer, and with boiled Kyoul Myoung Ja (a name of a herb used as a tea) in winter. In the case of Kyoul Myoung Ja tea, I should write and post the diagram of its nutritional value.
- (12) I shouldn't allow salespersons to quarrel with or in front of customers.
- (13) I should never sell goods on credit. In case of brothers and ministers of the church, I lend them money and let them buy my goods.
- (14) I should open the store as early as possible and close at a certain hour.
- (15) On the last day of every month, I should calculate the income and expenditure of that month, and donate one-tenth of the income to the church and to some organization or persons engaged in public welfare.

- (16) Twice a year (on Jan. 1 and Aug. 15) I should give regular customers presents which are worth one-hundredth of my income.
- (17) I should prohibit the vices of luxury and pride even if I make a great deal of money.
- (18) At the end of each year, I should calculate the income and expenditures, and establish a new year's plan, and give a prayer of thanksgiving, staying up overnight.

Since I had made 3,500 won, out of the target sum of 5,000 won, it meant that more than half of my dream was achieved. I could start my work and carry it out successfully. However, as a man feels regrets in life if he could not become a wealthy farmer who could harvest 1,000 seom (one seom is equivalent to 5.12 U. S. bushels, or 47.6 U. S. gallons) because of a shortage of one only seom, I too couldn't undertake the work because of the lack of 1,500 won.

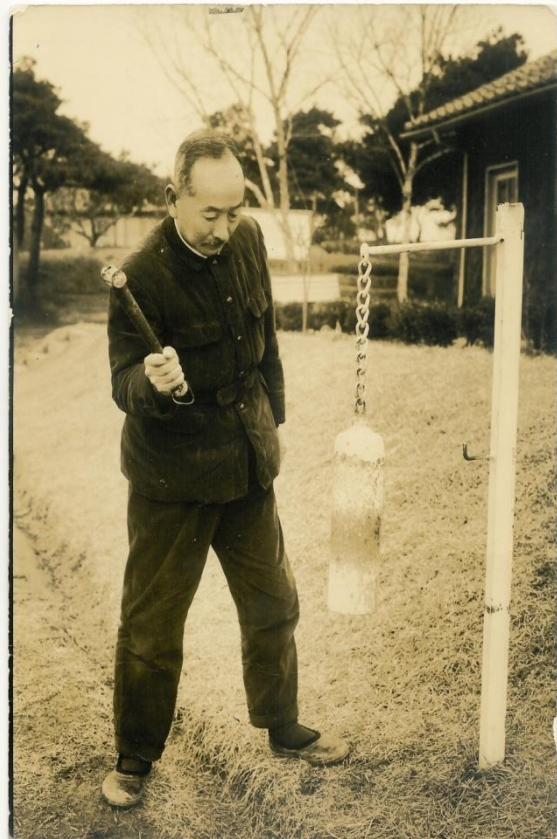
At that time I was looking around for something by which I could make money by hook or by crook, when a friend of mine brought me a piece of gold ore sample. It was as if he were reading my mind. He told me that he dug out this sample at Mt. Cheong Kye located on Wang Seo Myoun, Wang Joo country which was not far away from the store I had been running. He also asked me if I would want to run the gold mine there. I was half curious and half hesitating to take him up on his offer. Before deciding, I wanted to have the gold ore sample appraised and so I took it to Seoul and had it appraised. An evaluation was made to the effect that there was a high proportion of gold in that gold ore sample. Full of new hope on hearing this,

I leapt into this new venture. I slept and got up together with the miners everyday; and dug into the mountain to the extent that my hands became callous, and I didn't even recognize it any more as hard labor. However, the mineral vein which had a high rate of gold did not appear even after we had been digging for more than a year. Finally I came to realize that the gold ore sample was a fake, dug from another mine. I lost all the 3,500 won I made by having run a business before I learned about my errors sold my Welson watch which I carried with me, and my bicycle and completely paid the overdue wages of my workers. I gave up the work and left the mine. For three years six months including the two years spent in my trade, I had expended my effort, all for nothing. What I realized was that my original idea of establishing a sacred paradise and trying to do so through greed and speculation was wrong and I understood that the establishment of an ideal village could be carried out, not by money, but my blood and sweat.



Centennial Commemoration of the Birth of “Ilga” Kim Young-Ki





At dawn, the Bell of Pioneer tolled every day: a symbolic act of spiritual renewal at Canaan Farmers' Schools



Young Ilga(left) in front of his self-promise in 1931: "Save Home Country"



Ilga leading the early morning run with Korean movie stars



Ceremony of Magsaysay Award, 1966.



A makeshift tent school and church in 1960's



General Park's first visit to Canaan Famers' School right after military coup, 1962.



Ilga and President Park in the Blue House

Part 2.

A short history of farming and educating poverty fighters in Canaan Famers' Schools

1) Aiming to Establish a Utopia on Earth, 1935-1945

I purchased a reserved forest for 90 won in 1935 and started reclamation, bearing the brunt of all forms of criticism and derision. This dream has now become an established farm of 150,000 pyung (128 acres) where milk and honey flow. In this respect, I wanted to be a living example for our age. Let's examine my 40 year personal journey along the road of reclamation.

My dream of establishing an ideal village ended in failure and I went back to where I had begun three years and six months before, to the farm itself. However, the experience which I had undergone during that time was not all in vain. It couldn't help but be a great lesson in itself because I learned that the construction of an ideal village should be carried out only through our own individual efforts and resources at hand. However, working empty handed was a matter of degree. I was in a situation in which we were living in a rented room of another person's house, because the three members of my family had no place to live. So the dream of establishing an ideal village seemed almost delusional under those conditions.

There was land which could be turned into excellent agricultural land if reclaimed. Even in this village, there were many mountains and fields

where I could establish an ideal village. I could obtain such land quite cheaply. However, I was very anxious because I had no money with which to buy any land at all. I had never entertained the hope that the land where I would establish an ideal village would be fertile soil. I just wanted to reclaim any mountain or sandy field and shape it with my hands and turn it into good land for the future. There were such lands available, but where was the land which I could reclaim? Finally, hearing that there was a money-lender living at So Seong in Kwang Joo, I went down to him, and without offering any mortgage and without carrying any letter of recommendation with me, I introduced myself to him and asked him to lend me 400 won. The money-lender, as if he were dumb-founded, told me that he could not lend me that kind of sum.

However, then I said. "Which is more important, a mortgage or a man? Even if I offer you a mortgage, everything will be ended if I die. Why is the mortgage better than this body of mine? If I fail in my business, you will not receive the money lent to me, and I will be ruined. Don't you think so?" He understood what I meant, looking at me for a while, said, "I have conducted this money-lending business for several years, but I have never seen such a person as you. I will lend you the money as you have requested. Please don't let me down!"

I bought 3,000 pyung of mountain land lying beyond the village for 90 won, paying 3 jeon a pyung. This was a mountain only by name and was a very poor one where even scrub brush couldn't grow satisfactorily. I reserved the rest of the money for the purpose of buying fruit trees, seeds, fertilizers, and for food. My wife and I set about the reclamation of this

mountain. This was the foundation work for the ideal village I would establish in the future. However, in addition to the fact that this mountain was barren, there were many difficulties involved in the reclamation process. Reclamation work belongs to the heaviest category of heavy labor among all the kinds of manual labor. Therefore, my wife felt a tremendous degree of hardship in coping with the work and she looked pathetically at what we were doing. Naturally I couldn't help but be burdened with so much work. Besides this, the people living around my work place criticized me beyond all description. They said. "He is a clever man, but he has nothing, no real job or business, except for scratching at the soil." Such a man as a cousin of my father flatly criticized me in this way" It is regrettable that such a man as you was born into our family." My father-in-law said that he felt resentment for having given his daughter to me.

No matter what others said, my wife and I cherished our dream which would be realized sometime in the future and worked steadily towards it, ignoring our present day to day hardship. We bought a milk goat and took it along with our lunch basket, and when we arrived at our work place, we tied it so it could feed on the field and we worked. Then we milked it, and drank the milk, and rested. When we took a rest while working, we relieved our fatigue by praying and singing hymns, gathered our strength, then continued to work. Working like this, we gradually got accustomed to the work, established our own method of work, and came to enjoy the pleasure which other people were not aware of. No matter what other people said about us, I felt rewarded and happy every day.

We planted fruit trees and between them, sweet potatoes on the reclaimed land. Unexpectedly from the first year of the intercropping of sweet potatoes, we had a bumper crop amounting to 40 sacks. This quantity of 40 sacks of potatoes was not so little in the villages around our village. This has become an important occasion in which all the people who were criticizing me were made to look upon me in a very different light, I carried out the work of cultivating fruit trees and producing sweet potatoes for three years. During that time the fruit trees grew and I began to have a fine orchard and the production of sweet potatoes increased. However, the reclaimed land was too narrow to be suitable as a site for the ideal village which would be established. Searching for a more suitable place, I finally found it. I didn't have to worry about the funds with which to buy that suitable land. The reason for this was that the land reclaimed by my wife and me was sold for the sum I needed for buying that more suitable land. The reserved forest, and useless land, which I bought for three jeon per pyung, finally became a fertile farm. The price of the farm rose to 1,200 won, which was ten times as much as the price paid three years earlier when I bought it in the first place. This was really surprising for us!

Despite the fact that I had only spent three years in this work, this experience helped me to thoroughly understand the method of managing a reclaimed farm. I'll go on with this work, being sure of not failing as long as I repeat the experience which we went through the first time. I'll introduce my method of reclaiming the wasteland, and of managing a farm to other people.

It is better to choose the prospective land within 100 li of a large city, (25 miles) and within 30 li(8 or 10 miles) of a small city, and within 10 li (2 or 2 miles) of a national highway. Even if the land is not situated at a place where there are no car or oxcart roads, it should be situated in a place where such a road is likely to be constructed in the near future.

If possible, the land which is blocked in the west, and is open in the east and south is the most suitable. Additionally, it is better if there are streams on both sides of the land. However, it will be less suitable if the width of the streams is too wide. The reason for this is that too wide a stream is unsuitable for agriculture. The land should be at a location where there are no concerns regarding flooding during periods of heavy rain. Land with an incline of 10 to 15 degrees is good, but the land with an incline of 25 degrees is also suitable if no better land is available. It is possible to create an orchard by reclaiming land through terraced reclamation methods on land which has a greater inclination than the above if one works very carefully and knows what one is doing.

The field and mountain areas where forest trees have grown free and thickly are the most suitable kind of land to be cultivated as an orchard. However, the fields and mountains where willows, alders, and firs grow well, are swampy land, so that they are unsuitable for the cultivation of fruit trees. The places where weeds grow densely are unsuitable for high-level horticulture. In addition, the places where mugwort, the common rush, and other plants grow thickly, is generally swampy, and is therefore unsuitable as a farm land.

When we dig out all the soil to be reclaimed two feet deep in various places a meter separated from the next place... and when water, gravel, clayish soil come out of these places, it is not suitable as general farm land.

One thousand pyung of farm land per family is necessary and 600 pyung (1/2 an acre) including a lot for stock raising and a building site is necessary. However, this can be increased or reduced according to the capital available.

August : Weeds are to be cut and thrown away.

September : Trees are to be removed. The trees are not to be cut down, but their roots are to be dug out with an axe while they stand intact.

October : The dug-out trees are to be cut according to their uses and are then to be dispensed with.

November : Low land is to be leveled and to be readjusted.

December : The purchase of young fruit trees is to be made. Next comes the purchase of insecticides, breeding animals for stock raising, and agricultural tools. On the 31st, we are to pray all night long.

January : We create an annual work program, a monthly work program, and a housekeeping book.

February : From the first day to the fifth day, we are to visit relatives and acquaintances. From the sixth to the 15th day we purchase a fattened goat, and make soup out of it, boiling it all night long. When we mix 5 hob (a hob is 0.381 U.S. pint) of salt with 5 hob of water and make the goat drink it, it will die in one minute. We boil it in boiling water

and remove the hair from it. We sever its abdomen, take out its intestines (special care must be taken not to burst the bladder and pancreas), cut them into 6 to 8 parts, and boil them in a cauldron for 4 to 6 hours. After this boiled goat soup cools off it is put into a jar and is covered with vinyl so that air cannot pass through it. Then it is stored. We eat one bowl of it at one meal for 6 days. At this time, we don't work, but rest.

March : On the first day, I am to set about our task of reclamation. I load all the tools necessary for reclamation. These tools include a pan and a transistor radio. The pan is to be used for boiling goat's milk and the transistor radio is to be used for listening to during breaks. Reclamation is to be started from low lying land working up to high land gradually. A person should aim to reclaim about one pyung a day. Reclamation should be stopped after one month. If we engage in reclamation for more than this period of time, more expenses will be accrued, more work needs to be done, and people will become too tired physically.

April : Fruit trees need to be planted. Agricultural crops are to be sown. Fruit trees are to be planted by the 10th day. The sowing of agricultural crops ought to be done early or late according to the type of crops being planted.

May to August : Fruit trees and agricultural crops are to be thoroughly taken care of. Weeds are to be thoroughly removed. Disinfectant and fertilizers are to be thoroughly applied to where needed.

Use of the Funds.

Three-tenths of the available funds are to be used for the purchase of farm land. One-tenth of it is to be used for the expenses of a place to live, barns etc. and for wells and draining marshland. One-tenth is to be used for the purchase of young fruit trees, insecticides for the fruit trees, fertilizers, and tools. One-tenth is to be used for the breeding animals and for feed. One-tenth is to be used for the purchase of the seeds, fertilizers, tools, and a transistor radio. One-tenth is to be used for food to be eaten for one year (with an emphasis on nutrition; mixed grains are to be used) and for clothes, daily necessities, and medicines to be used for four years. One-tenth is to be used for transportation money, freight, library expenses (educational expenses), and incidentals. One-tenth is to be used as an emergency fund.

The Process for the Construction of the Farm.

First, a road is to be built (from the external path to the center of the farm).

Second, a well is to be dug.

Third, a restroom is to be built.

Fourth, accommodation is to be built.

Fifth, a barn is to be built.

Program for Balancing the Accounts

*In the first year:

Income : Food is to become self-sufficient in kind for one year. Half of the wages are restored in cash.

Loss : Two kwan of body weight (16.5 lbs) is lost. Half of one's wages and its interest are lost. The quality of food is to be changed (to sweet potatoes).

*In the second year:

Income : Food is to become self-sufficient for one year. Half a kwan of body weight is restored (4 lbs). Seeds of agricultural products become self-sufficient. Expenses for wages are restored.

Loss : There are to be no losses.

*In the third year:

Income : Foods become self-sufficient. A half kwan of body weight (4 lbs.) is restored. Seeds of agricultural products become self-sufficient. The expenses for wages are restored.

Profit : Ten percent profit is accrued to be saved in a circulating fund.

*In the fourth year:

Income : One kwan of body weight (8 lbs.) is increased, as compared with that of the previous year, so the reduced body weight ought now to be completely restored.

Profit : Twenty percent is accrued to and saved in the circulating fund.

In the fifth year:

Income : Income ought to be the same as in the previous year.

Profit : Thirty percent is accrued and saved into the circulating fund.

In the sixth and seventh year:

Ten percent profit is accrued on a continual basis.

Other Matters to be Attended to

- (a) When a person goes to an unfamiliar area to carry out a reclamation project, he should not tell anybody about it especially his wife's parents and friends. You may tell them about it four years later.
- (b) One should speak as little as possible.
- (c) One should not show off one's academic qualifications or wealth to local people.
- (d) One should not put up a signboard describing the nature of the reclamation.
- (e) One should be kind to everybody.

From the 1,200 won which I had made by selling my orchard, I first paid back the principal of 400 won to which I had been paying interest during that time. When I had paid back all the debt, the man who had loaned me the money knew how much success I had had with the loan, and was more pleased with my success than with my paying back his debt. With the remaining 800 won after I paid back the loan, I bought the 4,100 pyung(3.5 acres) of field and mountain which I had surveyed before, and set about reclaiming it. I then started establishing an ideal village there. I called friends who sympathized with my intentions: first of all, my brothers who shared my ideals and plans joined us in this place. Though many were openly critical of me, there many people who acted in concert with me. As time passed, my reclamation work gained publicity, and people came here to live, not only from neighboring districts and counties, but also from Seoul and as far away as Manchuria.

However, I couldn't accept a limitless number of people. A minimum land of 5,000 pyung (4 acres) was needed for each family. Of course, as the people in this ideal village became more wealthy, the above minimum farm land would be sufficient. However, if the number of the families was too many, compared with the available farm land, it would undermine the future development of the site. Therefore, I decided that the maximum number of families would be ten, and made up my mind not to accept any more than that. Therefore, I determined the location of each house in advance and had the people concerned build their respective houses at the designated sites. I had the structure and form of the houses built according to the already prepared blueprints. I made an arrangement in which the size of the prospective houses would be in proportion to the number of the members of each family. I also made an arrangement in which, no matter how rich a man might be, he would not be allowed to make the exterior of his house look unnecessarily luxurious. I also made an arrangement in which the houses would have many windows for sanitation and for the convenience of living so that there could be excellent lighting and ventilation. I had the people plant hibiscus plants and many kinds of flowers around their houses instead of building fences. I had each family raise a goat and produce milk from it and drink the milk, and I also had each family raise domestic animals including chickens, rabbits, and pigs. In this way they could increase their income. We planted peach trees, pear trees, and grapevines and intercropped sweet potatoes between these fruit trees. The reason for this was: as this was barren land which was being reclaimed, it was the most suitable land for growing fruit trees and we

could get a good harvest by raising sweet potatoes even on barren land, depending upon the method of growing sweet potatoes, I selected big and strong sweet potatoes at the time when the hotbed was put up, and in the middle of May we planted the sweet potatoes which were taller than one of foot in height.

The higher the ridges in the plowed land, the better. We dug the middle of the ridges and put compost and ash from plants into it. We had to seed twice a year without fail. When sweet potato vines grew too densely, we nipped the buds. A prolific kind of sweet potatoes, Okinawa II, was available at this time. I encouraged this method, and the entire village produced 200 sacks of sweet potatoes every year. This amount became enough to augment our food supply even if there were poor crops of rice or barley.

It was at this juncture of early success that we experienced a difficulty. It was difficult to store sweet potatoes over a long period of time and we couldn't keep sweet potatoes throughout the year because they wouldn't keep. Therefore, I began to study alternative methods of storing them. However, my study of the method of storing sweet potatoes was no simple matter. Therefore, a great deal of sweet potatoes became rotten, and I failed each time I tried to find a method of storing them. As a result, 120 sacks of sweet potatoes became rotten and were lost over a period of three years. Finally I succeeded in preserving the sweet potatoes. The method I found was that of storing sweet potatoes underground. By storing them in this way, they were preserved for one year. In this way, old sweet potatoes could be stored until new sweet potatoes could replace them. This method

was not known either in Korea or in Japan before this. The storing of sweet potatoes during the winter was possible, but storing them throughout the year was developed by me for the first time. At that time, a Japanese man named Takeda, who was Director of the Farmer's Training Center of Kyoung Ki Province, was commonly acknowledged as an authority in such matters. He came to me along with 80 trainees to study my methods.

In the meantime, our village of Bong Ahn gradually reformed the traditional way of living, attaching importance to economical and thrifty ways of being and living. We built homes according to the original blueprints as mentioned above.

We abandoned living on rice alone and replaced rice with mixed grains and sweet potatoes. We prohibited luxury and wore the clothes which were convenient for living and farming activities

As for agricultural tools, such as shovels and ploughs, these were jointly owned by the village and were used in rotation. We mutually exchanged flowers and seeds and rotated them in turn. We also exchanged flower seeds and other seeds of hotbed plants and planted them. We built up a joint fund for the village and used it for public works in the village. When villagers had money to spare, they could deposit that money in the joint fund of the village without interest. When a person happened to need money unexpectedly, the joint fund of the village was available to loan him free of interest and with the terms that the principal should be paid back in five to ten years. These methods were not directed by the orders of any particular individual, but were decided jointly by the entire village. We then put these community decided methods into practice.

Our villagers had dinner together once a month at a family home by turns. The purpose of this dining together was, first, fraternization. The second objective was to have a meeting in which the villagers would make public their thoughts on daily issues such as clothes, food, and shelter. If these opinions were evaluated by the entire villages and was accepted, we put it them into practice immediately.

Finally, our ideal village at Bong Ahn made startling progress. There were 40 people when I started this ideal village. However, this number increased to a total of 64 after five years. The field, which was 6,500 pyung(5.5 acres) at the outset, increased to 13,700 pyung(11.7 acres). Moreover, the paddy-field, which was 9,000 pyung(7.7 acres) at first, increased to 13,900 pyung(12 acres). The orchard, which was 4,000 pyung(3.5 acres) at the outset, increased to 12,000 pyung(10 acres). Additionally, the villagers raised two head of oxen, four pigs, 105 chickens, and eight goats. Besides these improvements, almost all the families sent more than one person to middle school in Seoul so that he might study there. The paper windows of the houses were mostly changed into glass windows. The roofs of five houses were laid with tiles. Every house had facilities for dining together. Also no one in the village was suffering from any major illnesses because they received medical examinations twice a year.

As the establishment of my ideal village became successful, many people from Seoul and provincial areas came to our village. Among these visitors was Minister Yi Li Seon, who even wrote a book entitled, "An

Ideal Village." This meant that Bong Ahn Ideal Village had become quite famous and well known in its own right.

Around this time World War II came to a close, and Japanese imperialism perished. I had publicly opposed the change of our family names into Japanese names, the paying of homage to Japanese shrines, and the national ceremony. I welcomed the liberation from Japan on August 15 at this village.

2) Launching new Utopia after liberation, 1946-1961

Everybody welcomed the August 15th liberation from Japan; they were so deeply moved by it. However, I was buoyant with a new dream of launching the ideal village movement throughout the country. Therefore, I came up to Seoul on August 20 and stood up publically under the slogan, "Farmers, let's unite and establish ideal villages!" However, this was not carried out as I wished. I then joined a movement opposing trusteeship; and because of this I was imprisoned for ten days.

In these momentous times, I pledged myself to return to the rural area and entrusted everything to the will of God. Then one day a neighbor who had visited me sometimes called at my boarding house, and said, "There is an entirely deserted orchard of 13,000 pyung(11 acres) on the outskirts of Seoul. Are you interested in it?"

This orchard belonged to a certain Mr. Won, who was known to be a very rich man. He became a wealthy man at a single stroke by operating a

gold mine. Perhaps he had a vision with which he could foresee the future. At the end of the Japanese administration, he was looking for a quiet and snug shelter surrounded by a mountain which was not so far from Seoul. The place he was seeking was one called Koo Ki Ri, Eun Pyoung Myeon, Ko Yang Country. If one goes toward Samgak Mountain a little from the outside of Ja Ha Moon, and turns to the foot of the mountain on the left side, and goes a little distance one can find this place. Here was just the place Mr. Won was looking for.

Mr. Won bought this land of 13,000 pyung, planted fruit trees, and began to build the house where his family would live. This house was a giant mansion in which even the basement comprised 70 pyung, (2,520 sq. ft.) as did the 1st floor. However, even before the construction of this house was finished, Mr. Won was suddenly taken ill and passed away. From that time on, there spread a rumour that this was a haunted house, and that it had been abandoned for 11 years.

Hearing him explain the situation, I immediately indicated a strong intention to buy the orchard. The words "haunted house" didn't influence me at all from the beginning. I was a man who became almost a specialist in buying and reclaiming what was once only wasteland, and there were even fruit trees already there. Therefore, this orchard would be better than grassland, and as a giant house was said to be there, it would be very convenient to set up there. Guided by the man who had introduced me to the orchard, I made a survey of the orchard immediately. Sure enough, this was an orchard only by name and was nothing but a field of weeds. The house was enormous, but the interior decoration was not completely

finished and had been abandoned for 11 years. Therefore, it was in a mess. It was truly a deserted land, and the house was an abandoned one.

I made up my mind to buy the deserted orchard and went down to my hometown and disposed of my farm. The farm I disposed of was the one I had cultivated with earnestness, but I sold it without regret. Cultivation was my work. However, cultivation and the possession of the cultivated land was not my work. So I didn't feel sorry for having sold my farm. I sold my farm for 900,000 won and bought the Koo Ki Ri orchard for the same price. Therefore, in the fall of that year, my family packed our belongings and we loaded them in a truck and we moved to that deserted land. Our feelings were similar to that of the British Puritans who had left for the New Continent of America in the Mayflower hundreds of years before.

When we arrived there, my family gathered together and the first thing we did was to pray. We felt the same as the Puritans did. The Mayflower, carrying the 101 Puritans who were going to the newly discovered continent of America, underwent raging storms for several months and landed at Plymouth located on the northwestern part of what is now Boston. Risking biting cold and a tough winter, chanting hymns, and groping their way, they landed on the American Continent. However, when they landed, 51 Puritans were dead and only 51 were alive. However, they didn't lose courage.

After landing, they gathered together, first of all, and prayed to God in thanks at their safe landing. They then reclaimed a primeval forest and embarked upon the establishment of their families. As they ran out of food and had no way of getting it, they obtained corn seeds from the natives and

planted them. First of all, they caught and ate mountain animals and began to reclaim the land of the primeval forest. It turned out that, after all, The United States of today started from such a humble beginning as this. Their pioneering spirit has become the foundation of the United States of America. Since they landed in America in December, 1620, only 300 years have passed. It is not by accident that their descendants have made today's America. Even in my prayers I admired their pioneering spirits. We moved onto this new area in emulation of this spirit. From the dawn of the next day, the members of our families including even the young children were assigned their respective tasks of work and set about them.

I worked at the Koo Ki Ri orchard for three and one half years. I entered this orchard in Oct., 1946 and left it in May, 1950. What was accomplished at this orchard during that period of time? And why did I leave the orchard? Of course, I went to this orchard for the purpose of setting it right, so as I fulfilled my purpose, I left it.

During the first year after I entered this orchard, many guests began to visit my house. The names of the visitors who were known to the public are; Mr. Kim Seong Soo, Mr. Cho Byoung Wook, Mr. Ham Seok Heon, Mr. Yoo Yong Whan, and Mr. Yi Hyoun Pil known as the saint of Cheolla Nam Province. Besides these people, innumerable other people paid a visit to my home individually, or as a group. They came to my house not to see me, but to see what I had done. Even if people didn't know the three parts of my name, they knew the Koo Ki Ri orchard house. The people who visited my house usually went around the orchard and the house and they all said more or less the same thing; "In spite of all, you have achieved all

of this." All of them were aware that this orchard had been in a state of profound ruin. They were all people of commonly recognized outstanding abilities and position, so I viewed such compliments as inordinate praise. In fact, I wanted to accept their statement as it was. The reason I am speaking of this was not that the reclamation of the orchard for which I spent three years was an enormous thing in its own right, but when I think about what kind of things the 30 million fellow countrymen have done for the whole three years, I wanted to say proudly that I have reclaimed this orchard.

At this point, Koo Ki Ri Orchard didn't need my work or presence any more. One day a stranger visited my house; he was Minister Yoo Jae Heon, who had been running a monastery at Cheol Won in Kang Won Province before Korea was liberated from Japan. He said, "I heard that this is an earthly paradise. And upon coming here, I see that it really is!" "Farming is my job." I added. Continuing he said, "I heard all about that, too. But this is not a life of farming, but a life of a heavenly kingdom. And a working man should do more work than this." I answered him, "I agree with you. I have to find another working place, but I have no one who can be in charge of this orchard." However, he was really a man who had come to buy our orchard. Running a monastery was his hob and he was looking for a place where he could do it. And he heard that our house was big and was located in a good place, and so he came to me.

The selling of my orchard to Minister Yoo was decided there and then. The total sum was 1,200,000 won; and I received only 1,000,000 won and entrusted 200,000 won to him for later payment. Then I asked him to do one thing which I couldn't do during that time. My request was this; up til

this point, far our house was used as a dwelling place and a church building, as we held worship services in our home. Now if this house should become a monastery, the villagers would have no place to conduct worship services. So I asked him to build a church building and spread the gospel in this valley.

Reverend Yoo agreed to my proposal gladly and accepted the 200,000 won. However, unfortunately, the church was not constructed, and Reverend Yoo did not establish the monastery which was his desire. It was in May that I sold the orchard and the house to him, and it was the next month that the Korean Conflict broke out.

In winter, 1951 the army of Red China came down and was repulsed in the spring of the next year. On one particular spring day of this year a minister to whom I was close in ordinary times, came to me and introduced me to a new work place. During the Korean Conflict he took refuge in Yong In, and he told me that there was a good piece of land in Yong In and asked me to go there at once.

Guided by him, I went there. There was, surely, a reclaimable piece of land of 60,000 pyung(51.5 acres). It was located at Sa Am Ri, Won Sam Myeon, Yong In Koon. However, the owner of this land wanted to sell it in one transaction. I had no funds to buy all the land. Therefore, I went to a certain Reverend Kang who had wanted to do business with me previously, and urged him go into farming with me. He consented with me gladly. Finally we purchased the land and began to reclaim the land in May of that year. We named the prospective village the Village of Eden.

I took along with me a total of 27 people. They were my brothers, my family, the people of the Bong An Ideal Village who had lost their houses because of the bombing, and the young students living in Seoul who sympathized with my work. There is a proverb, "A man becomes rich not by making a lot of money, but by being thrifty." This is a true statement. No matter how much money one makes, one cannot save it if he is wasteful. On the other hand, if one makes but a little money, if thrifty one can save. This is the principle of diligence, frugality, and saving. It was the time when every kind of material was in short supply, because it was right after the war. I have originally insisted on thrift and austerity and practiced it in all my affairs too. I could go to a neighboring village and rent a room and live there; but I was with other like-minded persons who didn't wish to do this. Therefore, we put up a tent and solved our room and board problems in this way.

When I got up at five o'clock (at five in winter) and rang the bell first, those of a similar mind from other remote villages got up simultaneously and gathered in our tent. Then, we held a brief worship service, finished breakfast, and went to the work, singing hymns as we went. This work, which started this way, was finished at seven at night. After we had supper and held another worship service, we went to bed at 10 p.m. Everyone of us had a meal of boiled barley; but we had not eaten even that boiled barley meal sufficiently. We made bowls out of the empty cans which American soldiers threw away. We graded these bowls as to size: the first bowl, the second bowl, and the third bowl. The first bowl of boiled barley was for heavy workers; the second bowl for light workers, and the third for mental

workers. And as I was in charge of the guidance and supervision of all the reclamation work, the leading of worship services, and spiritual admonitions, I ate the boiled barley of the third bowl. However, we didn't always eat according to the graded bowls. We used to evaluate the result of our work by a communal vote once a month, and to upgrade the number of the bowl for workers according to his or her individual situations. My bowl was upgraded from the third one to the first one only in two or three months. Therefore, through this system I was able to eat the meal normally reserved for a heavy worker.

First, we made earthen bricks and constructed a church building. As the source of the strength for the whole project was pure faith, it was natural that the church building should be built first. When the construction of the church was complete, we were extremely happy. The people of the village who had up to this point, no church in which to pray were happy, too, beyond all description. Next, we built a makeshift schoolhouse. Even if the schoolhouse was just a tent, it was a comfortable school which we named the "Gospel High Farmer's School." I established this school with a view to developing it into an agricultural college, and the villagers welcomed this school wholeheartedly. Among the villagers, there were those who regarded us as strange people. However, most of them considered us disciples of God who came to their village to help develop it.

At that time, I was a man who was farming in a rural area, so I was not known to the public yet. However, Minister Kang was not only a man who had earned a Ph. D. degree in the United States, but was also a man whose name was very well known in Seoul. In Korea, no such man as Reverend

Kang worked in a rural area, and so the provincial people looked up to him with awe and respect.

At that time, my biggest difficulty was that of hunger. As I felt hungry, I thought other people felt hungrier than I did. However, my work made me hungrier than other people because of the nature of my work. Once, the magistrate of Yong In Country paid a visit to our Village of Eden in person, and learned of our situation. He sent us six sacks of beans, and six sacks of barley. My body was trained by work, and I had the ability to do physical labor and I had a firm conviction that I must work, so I could work with not so much difficulty, or rather, happily. However, young students felt great difficulty in coping with the work. They seemed to work with difficulty, influenced by my spiritual precepts.

On one particular day, our work was going on. There occurred an incident in which two young students who came from Seoul, and my second son left in the middle of a job. I thought that they had run away because they had difficulty in enduring this life. I could not overcome my pangs of guilt about having made them work so much. This was the most agonizing thing for me in my days of the Village of Eden. Finally, I collapsed because of overwork; this was the first time in my life that this had ever happened to me. I got well after I lay in bed without being able to move my body for over a week. The construction of the Village of Eden was carried out literally by sweat and blood. As the months and the years passed, the wasteland was transformed into a fertile farmland, which produced abundant crops. Thus, the entire village gradually became

economically more balanced. This transformation enabled us to cope with all our pains.

Beside this joy, there was also another joy. The number of students of the Farmer's High School gradually increased and the number of the people attending church gradually increased, too. I felt immeasurable happiness when the work we were undertaking with such difficulty resulted in people being drawn to God through the gospel.

Alternating between physically trying experiences and mental pleasures, I worked there for three full years. Finally, after three years of work we were able to see 40 newly converted Christians who were living in the neighboring villages. Therefore, I left that Village of Eden without further developing it and without spreading the gospel to more people. Reverend Kang, who was working with me at that time, seemed to wish to continue on with his own plans. His plans were worthy, and I thought I shouldn't oppose his plans just because they were different from mine. Therefore, I decided to leave the Village of Eden.

3) Training poverty fighters in Canaan Farmers' Schools, 1962-

From about one month before I thought I had to leave the Village of Eden, I travelled around here and there, looking for a place where I could work.

Finally, I discovered Poong San Ri, Dong Boo Myeon, in Kwang Joo County (The City of Hanam), and there was a reason why I stopped the car

in this particular village. The present name of this village is Poong San Ri(The literal translation of these words is "a rich mountain village"), but this name was only given later, (after we had developed it), the original name being Whang San Ri (The literal translation of these words it "a desolate mountain village"). Even the bus operator and bus conductress were all calling it Whang San Ri as if the name of Poong San Ri were strange to them. I thought the name was really odd so I stopped the car and got out. This was how I came to settle down in this village.

I found out how the name Whang San was changed into Poong San. During the time when Japan ruled Korea, the Japanese people were said to have changed the word "Whang" to "Poong"(hence the shift in meaning from "desolate" to "rich").

Going around the village at first, I learned that the name of Whang San Ri was the proper name for this village. Wherever I went in this village, every place was like a desolate mountain. Not only was the mountain desolate, but also the fields and the village were all desolate. There are many desolate mountains in Korea, but this place really reminded me of a desolate place. The quality of earth was completely infertile, so that the vegetables planted in the fields, the weeds along the road, and the trees in the mountain were not able to grow properly. This was the very reason I chose this place. It was just what I was looking for.

At that time, there was a great deal of land standing idle for want of use; so I thought I could buy land easily if I wanted to. Therefore, I decided to move to this place first of all. It was not so bad in terms of location and configuration. Furthermore, it was near Seoul and transportation was

convenient. Therefore it was the place I wanted because I could show my work to many people in the future. On that very day when I came to survey this place, I contracted to rent an empty house which had been built by the gate. This used to be the servant's quarters. I returned to the Village of Eden in Yong In, and brought my family to this village. It was on Nov.16, 1954 when my family settled there: my wife; the eldest son, Chong Il; the second son, Beom Il; the third son, Pyung Il; the eldest daughter, Hellen ; the second daughter, Chan-Ran, and myself.

Once I expressed my intention to buy land, the landowners competed with each other to sell their land to me. The land was so poor, that even if the landowners would offer their land free of charge, nobody would be willing to come here to farm. At around this time, Seoul's influence on this village was at its height and so all the people were going to Seoul, deserting their land as if they could live only by going to Seoul. Therefore, it was quite natural for people to compete to sell their land to me. Since I came to this place, and as years passed, many orchards, nurseries, and stock farms have come into being. Even when I moved to this village first, a certain orchard owner who just planted young fruit trees asked me to buy his orchard from him. Additionally, a certain man had a very presentable and rich paddy-field, an ordinary field, and a house and was living fairly well, but nevertheless wanted to sell up. Thus, there were many people who wanted to sell their land.

However, as I did not come into this village to buy land already reclaimed and live a comfortable life there; I was not interested in the above person's proposal to buy his land. Putting aside this land or that, I

chose an area of wasteland and bought it, which is the Whang San land of 10,000 pyung(8.5 acres). This then became the location of the Canaan Farm Number one, which I am running now.

However, this was at the time when winter was setting in, so I could make only a few preparations before spring and I could not start to work very well. However, I couldn't spend the three months of winter merely sitting down at home; so I planned to launch the enlightenment of this rural area in Kwang Joo County by taking advantage of the period of winter.

First of all, I went up to Seoul and bought a set of musical instruments including a big drum, a trumpet, a trombone, and cymbals to be played by our quartet. Then, I learned how to play them together with my three sons. After we learned how to play in concert as amateurs, we rented a three-quarter ton pick-up with "key money", and began to go around Kwang Joo County including Kwang Joo town, in order to deliver lectures. We four people, father and three sons, formed a band. We called the people together by singing in chorus, and playing the musical instruments. I gave a lecture when people gathered. Not only did we play the musical instruments but we wore the same clothes as well as naturally resembling one another in appearance. Here we were, an old man and three young men, who were similar in height, sang in chorus, and looked like a quartet such as the so-called "Blue-bells" or "Bong Bong" Quartets. Therefore, people couldn't help but gather when we played. There were many people however, who regarded us as Chinese herb sellers or advertising men.

I didn't care about what other people thought about us, but what was their attitude when they listened to my lecture? This was important. They

were the people who came to us to watch the performance of our music, not to listen to my story. When I began to give a speech the audience started making strange expressions. They were people who had listened a great deal to speeches of a certain political candidate or other, or one who was boasting of himself, or to the speech in which the speaker wanted the people to do him a favor. They had also listened to the speeches of Chinese herb dealers or to that of salesmen. So they made expressions showing that they were quite fed up with listening to speeches.

Then, did my rural enlightenment lecture result in failure? As I planned to deliver lectures all during the winter, I did not become depressed by one failure or two. However, my sons were responsible for gathering the people by blowing their trumpet and by singing songs, looked discouraged. It was natural for my sons to look discourage, because all of them were college graduates and their parents were healthy and they had nothing of which they were envious. They couldn't help but be in low spirits, because they were being treated as the players of a Chinese herb dealer and the audiences which they had gathered with difficulty were quite negative in attitude.

"Father, we feel ashamed of ourselves, and how can we endure it? Is there any other method besides this one?" This was what my sons asked me. "Why do you feel ashamed of yourselves when you are doing a noble thing? People often feel ashamed of doing the right thing and it happens many times that they have the illusion that doing something wrong is the honorable thing. This is because their way of seeing the world is mistaken. Haven't benevolent people been treated as stupid from the earliest times?

Don't you think that the purpose of going around and of doing things like this to correct their mistaken ideas?

I am claiming to be a man who has a happier family than any other family. The reason is that my wife is practicing her obedience to me as she pledged herself to do at the early period of our matrimony; and my sons never disobey my words. I believe that my family is the best flower-bed given by God. Therefore, I have confidence in everything we attempt to do."

Finally, my sons gained strength. However, the reason they regained their strength was not that I admonished them, but that many people began to listen to my lectures. First, the audience thought that my speech would not be anything special, but as the lecture continued, they gradually became curious about my speech and assumed the attitude by which they listened to my lectures. Even those people who were leaving my meeting returned to continue to listen to my lectures.

As the situation developed, it was not my sons alone that gained strength. My son's strength directly became my strength. I put forth as much effort as possible and continued to deliver lectures for two or three hours at a time.

The content of my lectures ranged from pointing out the things that are so wrong about modern everyday life in detail, to discussing the methods for improving our circumstances; also the significance of farming, of the importance of social life, and of our final target to arrive at in life, were all adequately discussed. My lectures were comprehensive ones. In other words, I upheld the revolution in living in ways appropriate to our age.

After I returned from my lecturing tour, I found that there was no church and that there was a vacant and idle ground about half a kilometer (.3 Mi.) away from the house I was living in. So I established a church using nothing more than just a tent. The roof of the church was made of the tent itself, and on the ground was strewn straw and straw mats. This church is a predecessor of today's Canaan Church. Thirteen years have passed since that church was set up. During that time, the bell of the church told the villagers the time without skipping a day. It played a role in making them live a life in accordance with the time told by the church bell. In addition to this, as I had three watches and always rang the church bell in accordance with the average time of the three watches, the church bell was a standard time keeper.

Before I embarked upon a life of farming, I gathered the leading people of the neighboring village and gave them have a short training course in the church, as my first act of charitable work for the local people.

This short training course was more effective than anything else. After I finished this short training course, I planted sweet potatoes in the ground, full of clay, which I set about reclaiming. This crop of sweet potatoes turned out to be a very successful venture as it showed the fruitful results of a practical experiment to the villagers. The villagers, who had now learned that what I told them was true, came to practice do the same, and were benefited immeasurably by it. The Yi Wha Brick Yard, located beside our farm of today, was constructed after I came here. This soil is said to be the best soil for making bricks in the whole of East Asia; so anybody who knows how solid the bricks are produced in this brick yard, will guess what

kind of ground this is. However, to my knowledge, acquired through experience, those sweet potatoes also grow well even in ground such as this. We dig on a mountain, or roadside, or any other place and plant sweet potatoes. They grow well.

Therefore, I always plant sweet potatoes whenever I first set about a new project involving land reclamation. Then I change the nature of the soil itself with compost or fertilizer and plant other crops. This is the order in which my reclamation proceeds.

Now, let me tell you several characteristics of sweet potatoes.

(1) Sweet potatoes an excellent food in times of famine. Sweet potatoes yield neither a rich crop, nor a poor one, and they grow well anywhere. Sweet potatoes endure disasters caused by drought, flood, wind, and insects. This is the reason why many sweet potatoes are grown in this Province.

(2) It is easy to grow sweet potatoes. It does not require much fertilizer to grow sweet potatoes. Since grass cannot grow around them, because sweet potatoes are incompatible with it, we don't have to weed often. Therefore, even old men and children can raise sweet potatoes.

(3) When we eat sweet potatoes, we don't have to add other ingredients to them. We just eat them like we eat fruit. During the Korean War, many people escaped into the mountains, and lived by eating only sweet potatoes. Since we can eat sweet potatoes raw, we don't have to drink much water when we eat them.

(4) Since sweet potatoes have a component called santonin, and this element is an effective deterrent to such parasites as roundworm,

threadworm, and hookworms. Therefore, if we eat sweet potatoes, problems with such parasites can be remedied. It has also been medically proven that sweet potatoes lower blood pressure.

(5) Sweet potatoes are more versatile than rice. Seven kinds of food including wine, rice cakes, soybean cakes, and taffy are made out of sweet potatoes which are similar to the above mentioned common foods.

(6) The rate by which sweet potatoes can be grown and harvested is higher than other crops. According to my experience over 40 years, the price of a dae doo of rice (A "dae doo" is a measure of about half a bushel), is about the same as that of a sack of (20kwan) of sweet potatoes. In one pyung of ground (36sq. ft.) one-tenth a dae doo of rice is produced, but five kwan of sweet potatoes can be produced in the same area. Therefore, one mal of rice is produced in 10 pyung (36sq. ft.). But 20 kwan of sweet potatoes which has the same value as one mal of rice is produced in four pyung. Therefore, the ratio is 2.5 times better for sweet potatoes than for rice. In terms of nutrition, one mal of rice is equivalent to three doe (One doe is one-tenth of a mal) of sweet potatoes.

Besides these advantages, sweet potatoes are a cheaper form of fodder for stock breeding, and have much more nutrition. Therefore, animals eating sweet potatoes grow healthier. Therefore, the growing of sweet potatoes should be naturally encouraged as a national policy. Anyway, we have worked with the sweat of our brow, and have given many important lessons to the villagers. Everything has been established in these last seven

years since we came here. The people themselves who laughed at us, have evaluated what we have done and have changed their minds about us.

We have made great progress. The wasteland was transformed into a fertile land where milk and honey flowed. All the small things which were planted in that first seven years had become big things. By sweat and blood new life bloomed. The members of our family, who had barely kept body and soul together with sweet potatoes at first, have come to have enough to eat, and to spare and to give to others.

We received many visitors and operated the Farmer's School at our own expense. The farm facilities increased daily and the tent church became a brick church. We, who used to live in a rented house, came to have a building of 510pyung (18,360 sq. ft.), which was then used for our School.

However, my work did not end there. As long as I continue to work, this project will continue to grow. I'll devote the remainder of my life to education at our Farmer's School.

Once an official of a certain broadcasting station came to me with a tape-recorder and asked me about what I was doing and what my future plan was, telling me it would be used for a broadcast to North Korea. So I told him the following:

"The number of the pyung of our farm is 10,000 pyung,(8.5 acres) and the number of our family members is eight. So the territory is 10,000 pyung and the population is eight. I am the ruler, so am I not president? We have all the things within the Republic of Korea, so we are a small Republic of Korea. Then, of what is our cabinet composed? My eldest son is prime minister, my second son is minister of agriculture, my daughter-in-law is

minister of health and social affairs, my third son is director of stock breeding, my second daughter is a chief clerk of rabbit raising. We even lack manpower, and have more official positions than we have people to fill them. So how much in reserve do we have! Thus, our family is being well managed. Will hundreds of counties and millions of families not automatically achieve a good standard of living if they do like our family does? No matter how excellently a ruler may administer the state of affairs, it is only for a short duration, during the times when he rules. The way to guarantee the eternal progress of a nation by enabling each person to do well.”

After this, I came to be nicknamed the "President of the 10,000 pyung Republic." This meant that I was president of the eight people whose territory is 10,000 pyung.

Speaking of the Canaan Farmer's School, many people seem only aware of the Canaan Farmer's School for adults and peasants, a school located at Hanam City in Kyoung Ki Province. However, there is another Farmer's school, which is less known to most people. It is the second Canaan Farmer's school, located at Yong Am Ri, Shin Lim Myeon, Won Seong County which is half way up Chi Ak Mountain in Kang Won Province. Three or four years have passed since this school was established and in that time approximately 30,000 students have graduated from this school.

Furthermore, the size of this school is much larger than that of the Farmer's School located at Kwang Joo. The site of the school at Kwang Joo is 10,000 pyung (8.5 acres). However, the site of the school at Shin Lim is

150,000 pyung (128 acres), the the school building is 900 pyung (32,400 sq. ft.). This size is the result of expansion which has been made gradually every year for 20 years. That was 1973, one year after my 60th birthday.. It might have been from that time on, or a little before that time, but there was one thing I felt very much annoyed about. Promoting their economic development plans, the government was often using such words as “the miracle of the Rhine River.” The reason I felt very much annoyed was that the people who have never been to the Rhine River, would not know the meaning of the above words and would not know what kind of miracle happened there. Couldn't I show directly the nature of that miracle on this land? This was what I was thinking about at that time.

As a last resort, I spoke about this thought of mine to the students of the Farmer's School, and also published a book on the topic. However, these methods were not very effective as showing people directly with their own eyes the process of making a miracle.

Finally, I even thought of selling the Farmer's School at Hanam City. I bought this almost empty, muddy field for 50 won a pyung 20 years ago. However, this land was developed during that time and the land registration was changed; so that I thought I could make some money if I sold it. This was my method of reclamation I have chosen during all these years that I bought an almost abandoned piece of wasteland, made it good land, sold it, bought a bigger piece, and developed it. However, when I came to think about selling it, I thought there would not be anybody who would buy this school, because all the facilities I had set up were school facilities, which were not useful for any purpose other than for a school. More than anything

else, I couldn't sell the school where students had come in such good faith to study every day.

Then, Heaven helped me, and I unexpectedly came into a great sum of money amounting to 3 million won. A brother and sister named elder Kim Yoon Shan and elder Kim He Ki, whom I respected, learned of my intentions, and sent me that sum without any strings attached. This couldn't but be a rare thing in the world of today; and it is something I'll never forget for as long as I live. So with this money I bought the land at Shin Lim in Kang Won Province where the present Shin Lim Farmer's School stands. This land extends from the eastern top of Chi Ak Mountain, which stands 4185 feet above sea level and is one of the towering peaks of the Tea Baek Mountain Range which can be called the backbone of our country. It has been almost completely developed, as beautiful as if a Taoist hermit with supernatural powers were living there, if seen in the distance. However, if a man approaches this place on foot up close, he will be astonished at the fact that it is high, rugged, and rocky. Those who see this land often say, "This mountain came to have a real owner." The reason I purchased this steep land which was difficult to develop was that it corresponded to the significance of reclamation of that which I cherish. There were other reasons why I decided to purchase this mountainous district in Kang Won Province.

First, this place is a boundary district between Choong Cheong Book Province and Kang Won Province, and is one of the most culturally backward hinder lands in Korea.

Second, 67% of this area is mountainous and the inhabitants are not self-sufficient in food, either by rice farming or ordinary field farming. Despite this, the vast mountainous land has just stood idle. So this is the place where I could show the inhabitants how to use this mountain district as a source of income and show them by example how they can employ it for their own good and development.

Third, people shy away from the development of a mountainous district, and in fact very few if any embark upon it. Everybody wants to go to the city, so I wanted to show them that a true picture of a pioneer who does the opposite; who goes from the city to a mountainous district. This is the reason why I chose this district.

In addition to these reasons, the people who donated the expenses money for the purchase of this land proffered a request, saying, "As you have orally taught us at the Farmer's School in times past, please show the people the miracle of producing something out of nothing." Anyway, I proceeded with my reclamation work in accordance to my will, and theirs, and held a ground-breaking ceremony among a pile of rocks in the middle-slope of the mountain on March 13, 1973.

On the day of the ground-breaking ceremony, General Han Shin who was Commander-In-Chief of the 1st Army, was there. Also many local dignitaries, and 50 to 60 young people who were my previous followers came to work with me with spades and pickaxes were present at the ground-breaking ceremony. These young men were a great strength to me more than anything else. I thanked these young men, and asked them to bring about good results, and heartily exchanged handshakes with them.

We embarked upon our reclamation work. First, as there was no place to sleep and no kitchen, I made a makeshift hut out of cornstalks as a substitute sleeping place and kitchen. We decided to use as a reclamation office the straw-thatched cottage which land clearers were using and had abandoned. I made a work schedule starting from four o'clock in the morning till ten o'clock at night. In front of the office I put up an oxyacetylene tank so that it could be used as a substitute bell, (just like the one at Canaan Farm) so it could be rung every morning. Everyone listened for the ringing of the oxyacetylene tank and got up, we sang the national anthem first, and then changed to the song of Shin Lim Garden, and then set to work. For the first several days, the inhabitants of this district watched us with a strange look in their eyes, but soon even they voluntarily came and helped us with our work. The Governor of Kang Won Province came to our work place in person, and promised to help us. Army units sent us bulldozers, and provided us with manpower. Old graduates of our Farmer's School came up to the new work place, carrying saplings and food upon their shoulders, from all over the country. Thus, this reclamation work was realized with more ease than scheduled. Therefore, after only a little more than four years, the farm land was created, a road was constructed, and a site for a future Farmer's School and various kinds of stock yard were provided. After one further year, an auditorium and a building for lodging and boarding were erected and a house where my family would live was constructed.

It was on our original blueprint that we would divide the entire surface of the mountain, ranging from level ground to the uppermost part of it, into three parts:

(1) we would build houses of private prayer and houses for meditation on the top of the mountain, (2) we would build a school below them, (3) and we would cultivate the bottom part of the mountain as agricultural land and as a stockyard. The original blueprint was carried out as it was.

Nobody can deny that a man's soul is truly the master of his fate. Since the soul is headed for Heaven, the uppermost part of the reclaimed mountain became a house of prayer for the soul. In addition, since what the human body eats and lives from is provided from the ground, the agricultural land and stockyard was made at the bottom of the reclaimed mountain. Since what we do after we eat is study, a place for education was established above the agricultural land and stockyard.

At the uppermost part of the mountain, where the soul is nourished by the sun, we built one comprehensive house of prayer of 100 pyung (3,600 sq. ft.) and 65 individual houses of prayer which range in size from two or three pyung(64 to 108 sq. ft.).

On the farm, located at the bottom of the reclaimed land, we planted about 2,000 fruit trees of various kinds, which began to bear fruit from 1977 onwards. We also made a field where we could grow corn, sweet potatoes, and peas suitable for the quality of the soil thereof. We built a factory producing corn syrup and taffy with corn as a raw material. We also built a factory producing sesame oil out of the sesame which is produced on the farm. We are raising 30 head of Holstein cows and 50 pigs at the

stockyard. As for the place for study, we have provided a building of 900 pyung (32,400 sq. ft.) including an auditorium capable of accommodating 400 people, a dining room, and a house for lodging and board. Outfront, there is a most satisfactory athletic field.

It may be said that transportation to the farm is somewhat inconvenient, but I think the facilities for education and the environment for education is second to none. Therefore, we have a rush of requests for education from public agencies of various levels, educational institutions, various kinds of companies, and churches. By January every year, we make an educational program in which the people to be educated during the year are completely booked up. Thus, even if it had only been two years since the school was opened, the number of people who graduated from this school is, as I mentioned, more than 30,000. There are also many people who have visited our school to learn by observation and have taken a tour of our school.

Appendix

Yong-Ki KIM Public Service Ramon Magsaysay AWARD, 1966



The 1966 Ramon Magsaysay Award for Public Service

CITATION for Kim Yong-Ki

Ramon Magsaysay Award Presentation Ceremonies

31 August 1966, Manila, Philippines

"Whangsan," or "Wasted Hill," was the local name for the inhospitable three and one-half hectare plot outside Seoul that KIM YONG-KI and his family chose as their challenge 11 years ago. There, with "one hand on the bible and a hoe in the other," KIM provided for his family and built a productive farm and school for farmers. Today the transformed hill is respectfully called "Canaan."

For the war-scarred ancient land of Korea and some three-fourths of its citizens who are farmers, he has shown that the most basic and enlightened of skills applied with work and love for the soil bring consequential material returns. Reaching far beyond agriculture, he has demonstrated the value of erecting simple houses of improved design, adopting a cheaper and more healthful diet, wearing more practical clothes and shunning wasteful, customary social demands. Within this context he has tested his ideas, established a nondenominational Christian Church and written his book, *The Way To a True Living*.

KIM and his family are the core faculty of the Canaan Farmer's School, working from four in the morning until 10 in the evening. Specialists from outside are invited as visiting lecturers. In this unique work-study institution 1,893 men and women have been trained over the past four years. They have learned to raise field crops, vegetables, fruit trees, strawberries, bees, rabbits, goats, cattle and much else. More notable have been the feeling of pride in working the soil and producing food, and the sense of nearness to God and nature that this allows; these they have carried with them to other villages.

The dream of rejuvenating Korean rural life that led KIM to Canaan began in his youth. He was born in 1912 in Yangjoo County, Kyunggi Province, into a family of farmers. Formative influences were his study of the Confucian classics and a deep commitment to Christianity. In his twenties he built a model village in Bongan and became perhaps the best sweet potato farmer in Korea. This effort he left to a friend to manage and, in 1945, founded a new community on waste land in Koyang County, complete with a school and church. In 1950 KIM moved to Yongin County where he led in creation of the Farmer's Evangelical Folk High School. After five years he could leave this institution to the management of associates and move on to found the Canaan farm and school.

Guided by an idea and faith, KIM has shown that rural material circumstances in Asia, even when meager, can, with sustained work, be shaped for the better. In his scheme, the spiritual awakening of farmers, so that song becomes an intimate and natural expression of their zest, is crucial.

In electing KIM YONG-KI to receive the 1966 Ramon Magsaysay Award for Public Service, the Board of Trustees recognizes his example of

Christian principles practically applied to improve agriculture and imbue rural life with new joy and dignity.

RESPONSE of Kim Yong-Ki

Ramon Magsaysay Award Presentation Ceremonies

31 August 1966 Manila, Philippines

I wish to express my deep gratitude for the honor given to me to be present at this meaningful ceremony today. And I have to thank God who enabled me to have this honor.

Since God created the world, He has been working continuously to utilize all creatures, to control them in their natural order, so that they might have a good society. First, He created Adam and Eve and blessed them to be upright before Him and bear children and prosper. He put them in the Garden of Eden giving them their own work to do on the earth and made them a good family. Ever since that time, numberless people have come on earth and have gone to the eternal world according to the plan of God. Only a few could live over a hundred years. But during their short lifetime, many disobeyed the will of God and lived in sin. Such people provoked the anger of God. They only inflicted harm on the people and brought bad luck to their own nation. Finally they brought unhappiness on themselves. They made a history to be ashamed of by man and God. They lived a demoralized life out of crooked conscience. In time, they died and went to the unknown world leaving harm to the people after them.

On the other hand, ever since history began there have been some people who shine like morning stars in the dark world. They have been the suns to the people who have lived in despair. They could give hope, light

and joy to the aimless people. They could glorify God, the Creator. They could go to the true eternal world after their death. Certainly there have been such noble characters among us.

As we all know, the late President Magsaysay was born in 1907 in the Philippines, not a big country, which belongs to Asia. He gave new strength and new hope to the Filipinos when they were living in deep agony. He laid the firm ground of a happy nation. The world still admires his courage, wisdom and devotion. He could set an example to the world by starting a brilliant history. But alas! He was taken from us and has gone to the eternal kingdom by the calling of the Creator. But I have no doubt that his unselfish love for his nation will never fade without bearing good fruit in the course of time.

Korea belongs to the same East as the Philippines. We have a long history, beautiful land, agreeable weather, and good people. Unfortunately, for some time we were oppressed by the unrighteous neighbor country, and we have not had much chance to establish a prosperous country. We all regret some of our past historical facts. However, through the grace of God we were delivered from the hands of the enemy, and now we are making some progress though our pace is tedious. I am deeply impressed by this occasion to be awarded this prize in this kind of historical situation. I realize its significance.

I was born in a good Christian family. I have tried my best to imitate the best lives of my forefathers in religion, life and patriotism. I found my mission in farming, and I can say without scruple that I worked for the progress of the welfare of farmers which would promote the welfare of the whole nation. But comparing my insignificant life to the famed prize I am getting I am ashamed of myself. This prize is much valued in the world.

Realizing that such a prize was awarded to a man like me I begin to feel that we are now overpassing the boundaries of nationalism. We are in one mind and in one purpose to realize a bright society in a corner of the world. We are in a great movement to liberate the people from the slavery of horror and disorder and lead them to a peaceful world. We are needed to be the salt and light of the earth for such a noble enterprise. This should be the way to glorify God, the Creator. I am reconfirming my resolution to follow the way already shown by our forefathers and devote my life to this purpose, though it be of small account.

In closing, I want to thank the Board of Trustees of the Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation, the Philippine people and all of the friends of my country who helped me to have this honor today.

BIOGRAPHY of Kim Yong-Ki

Farmer-educator and philosopher, KIM YONG-KI has ardently demonstrated to his fellow Korean farmers that life, even on a meager plot of poor land, can be joyful and productive. His mission has been to bring dynamic spiritual and material change to the rural areas of his country.

KIM YONG-KI was born on September 5, 1908 at Nungnai-ri, Wabumyun, a rural community of Yangjoo County, Kyounggi Province, in the central area of the Korean Peninsula. His parents, Kim Choon Kyo and Kim Kong Yoon, were farmers of modest circumstances. Simple in life style but well read, his father had attended a Presbyterian school and his mother was a devout, practical Christian. Taught to regard hard work as a virtue, the five sons, of whom YONG-KI was the fourth, began as small boys to help their parents in the fields.

At the age of seven, YONG-KI was enrolled in the village school in Yangjoo County where the curriculum consisted of "Chinese learning." Here the boy was for six years an avid student of the Chinese classics. From 1921 to 1925 he continued the study of Chinese classics at home while helping on the family farm. By 1925 he had saved enough money to enter the private Kwangdong Middle School in Yangjoo County where, for his secondary education, he specialized in farming. Upon graduation in 1929 he visited China, remaining for nearly a year to observe and study Chinese philosophy which had greatly influenced Korean culture.

From the study of Confucius and Lao Tze KIM gained, among other values, a strong sense of right relationship within a family and among all people and an intensely felt appreciation of nature. At the same time steeped at home in Christian teaching, he developed a sensitive awareness of human dignity, righteousness, love of God and the social need of service to others.

A thoughtful lad, KIM resolved while in middle school to dedicate his life to the improvement of the rural communities of his country. Cognizant that more than two-thirds of the population of Korea were engaged in farming, and intimately familiar with the rigorous conditions under which most of his fellow farmers lived, his personal goal became raising the economic and educational status of farmers.

KIM YONG-KI was 23 when he inherited from his father his first small farm in Bongan, Kyounggi, not far from his parental home. By then convinced that a truly Christian farmer, through example and hard work, could influence and change the plight of the common man on the soil, he dreamed of building a model village. To this end he set out to develop a farm that would provide training for other farmers as well as help instill in

them a zeal for a new way of life. The farm was wasteland so he elected to plant sweet potatoes because they would grow in poor soil and under any climatic conditions. Men, women and even children could easily learn to plant and cultivate them, and they were nutritious. To set a spiritual example KIM built a simple, nondenominational Christian church on his property. KIM firmly believes, as he later wrote, that "a material society will not bring happiness without a spiritual society."

In the previous year KIM had married Kim Bong Hi, who became his partner in the enterprise. First, the idealistic young husband sent his bride, who had received only a primary education, to Seoul for further schooling.

The Bongan farm flourished in the 15 years from 1930 to 1945 and KIM became one of Korea's best sweet potato farmers. Living was never easy but there was satisfaction for the family in the produce of their labor. The KIMs' three sons and two daughters, like their father, began as small children to share in the family work. After seven years of experimentation, KIM developed a method for storing sweet potatoes for 12 months which highly trained Japanese farmers had failed to do. The achievement called him to the attention of Japanese officials and the secretary to the Japanese Governor of Korea paid a visit to his farm. This success confirmed his decision to be a "studying farmer." Since then he has continuously experimented to increase production and up-grade field crops, vegetables, fruits, and livestock, and better preserve and store produce.

Meticulously setting aside time to read, write, and think about the direction of his effort, KIM was introduced by a friend at the age of 30 to the works of Rabindranath Tagore, the gifted Indian philosopher, writer and teacher. From such sources came renewed inspiration.

Anxious to extend his demonstration work KIM, in 1945, sold the Bongan farm and bought in Koyang County of Kyoungi Province another piece of wasteland where he established an entirely new settlement. As the land was brought into production, a school was opened for farmers and, as on each farm that he developed, always a small, nondenominational Christian church was built. The experiences at Bongan and Koyang and his ideas for rural Korea were summarized by KIM in a small volume entitled *Model Village*, published in 1946.

After five years, KIM sold the Koyang farm and again "ventured for victory" on a piece of marginal mountain land in Yong-in County of Kyoungi which became the core of a third "model" village. There KIM organized an Evangelical Farming Institute and a Farmers' Evangelical Junior School. This farm was sold after three years to intimate friends in the community who are not farmers but have continued the Evangelical Junior School using KIM's principles.

Having proven to himself that his theories were practical, KIM wanted now to be near the capital so that more people would see what could be done with unproductive land. The 10,000 pyung plot (roughly three and one-half hectares) he purchased in 1954 was locally known as "Whangsan," or "Wasted Hill." Ideally for KIM, it was located only some 40 minutes by local bus from Seoul, near the southeast boundary of the city in the administrative district of Pungsan Ri.

Proposing to name the small tract "Canaan," after the Biblical land of milk and honey, KIM had first to persuade his children to work with him to establish this "heaven on earth." The years of developing the other farms on marginal land had been hard and more strenuous years would be ahead while a livelihood was wrested from this barren place. All eventually

agreed and the family began their new life on the wasted hill with only one tent and some sheep.

Hardship followed upon hardship, but sustained by KIM's indomitable belief in God and his conviction that Korea must improve agriculture and rural life before the nation could prosper, the family persevered, managing to provide for themselves and, in time, building a thriving farm. Of the 10,000 pyung some 8,000 pyung were farmed; on the remaining hilly, pine tree-covered land domestic animals were kept. Again, a nondenominational church was built on the property where, in lieu of a pastor, KIM served as Elder. Soon a familiar feature in the small, neat church was Elder KIM, exhorting his family and some 100 villagers: "God gave us the land that we have to cultivate. God gave us the revelations that we have to learn. God gave us the mission to be really alive."

As the venture prospered, Canaan Farm became a model for the countryside—here was visible evidence of what could be done. Eventually, the example of the farm was so compelling that young community leaders and farmers eager to learn from KIM began to visit and ask his advice. In February 1962 Canaan Farm was productive enough to permit KIM to arrange his home as a school for the young people who wanted to come to study and practice the successful agricultural ideas and techniques he had developed over the years of his farming career.

Despite the family's sometimes grinding poverty, KIM had prepared his children, as he had his wife, for this undertaking, insuring that each of them had a formal education. The two elder sons graduated from Seoul Presbyterian Seminary, his first daughter from Pierson Memorial Bible School, and his second daughter is now attending Kwangju Namhan Gardening School. The youngest son, taken into the Army after finishing

his junior course at Dankook Law College, is expected to graduate from this College after his military service and then to teach at Canaan. The wife of his first son—who joined the Canaan effort because of KIM's eloquence and later became his daughter-in-law—was graduated from Myungji Junior College in Home Economics, and the husband of his first daughter graduated from Kyunghee University.

With the exception of specialists who occasionally are invited for lectures, the family comprise the faculty of Canaan School. The first son teaches general farming, the second son instructs in care and breeding of livestock and domestic animals, the first daughter teaches food dietetics, the son-in-law farming life, and the daughter-in-law home economics. KIM himself teaches special farming techniques and conducts daily devotions and church services. Mrs. Kim does the cooking for the family and the students and assists on the farm. The sons and son-in-law also farm, as do the daughter and daughter-in-law when their other work is done.

At Canaan Farm trainees learn to raise milking cows and goats, angora rabbits, turkeys and other poultry, as well as how to cultivate various fruits and vegetables—strawberries, grapes, potatoes, sweet potatoes, and medicinal plants—which increase a farmer's income. Neighbors, too, are welcome. Impressed by KIM's results, an increasing number are following his methods.

Basic to KIM's effort is his pioneering in "life-improvement." KIM does not wear the white clothing which is customary among Korean farmers, but uses a more practical cloth of darker color fashioned into overalls—for heavy work—or simple pants and a jacket, and wears footgear of rubber to save on leather. He advises the people to simplify their traditional customs for weddings and funerals. Songs, mostly written

by KIM, expressing the beauties and abundance of nature and the satisfactions of tilling the soil, are part of everyday life at Canaan Farm. Urging more nutritious and less expensive eating habits, Elder KIM and his family eat bread made of sweet potato flour or wheat flour as their staple instead of rice. The KIM home is a departure from the traditional farmhouse; he designed it and recommends his design to others. Built with wooden floors, brick walls and large glass windows with a southern exposure, it is less costly to heat than the usual house with small openings and earthen floor, and the rooms are brighter and more healthful.

Villagers in the neighborhood of Canaan Farm testify that KIM's ideas are gaining currency. "He is a man of belief to make a welfare society in this area," one farmer explained, "so we were influenced by Elder KIM in livelihood improvements." Another father volunteered: "Mr. KIM is the only real community leader I have ever met."

KIM's intention is to waste not one minute of his "precious life." He customarily rises at 4 a.m. and retires before 10 at night. For 14 hours a day he is to be seen farming, teaching, praying and preaching. The remaining hours he spends with his family and in reading and writing. "We have three joys a day," he has written. "One is working, the second is eating together and the third is chatting together. Everything we do is scheduled beforehand. Our living principles are obedience, love, faith and industry."

Though the home is now arranged as an institution with classrooms and office, the family, including three grandchildren, maintains a close, rewarding way of life. The house, like the new bunkhouse for trainees, is modest, completely utilitarian and clean. The central figure is KIM, the Elder, proving what he teaches and practicing what he preaches. His

purpose, he frequently reiterates, is a demonstration of family life on a farm that will encourage others to live a more joyous, productive rural life.

KIM is kept busiest with the 15-day training courses offered to young people who he hopes will share his passion for bringing about positive change in rural Korea. At the Canaan Farmers School three types of courses are offered—for church pastors, farming specialists and unskilled young men and women. Since the school opened in 1962, two courses have so far been held for 67 church pastors, two for 66 experienced farmers and 39 courses for 1,760 young people going into farming, including some soldiers. Neighboring villagers describe KIM's students as being "changed and renewed" by some "heart revolution" inspired by his instruction.

For the regular 15-day training course inexperienced young farmers pay a fee of 200 won (in 1962 when the school started, equivalent to US\$1.54; since March 1965, equivalent to approximately 80 U.S. cents), they bring or buy their own rice or grain and pay a total of 225 won for the side dishes they are served at the school. Experienced farmers pay no fee but work at Canaan Farm for one year while in training.

KIM teaches his own theories which he has evolved from careful experiments. Tests are on practical applications in farming. To students he also preaches the Christian ethic. His often repeated theme is service and sacrifice for the betterment of Korea's underdeveloped rural areas. "Work hard!" he exhorts his students, "Cultivate the earth given to us and pour in your sincerity and then God will bless you." A correspondent from a Seoul journal recorded this classroom admonition: "If we do not love our land then no more will God permit us to be a self-supporting nation." He went on to explain "Loving the land means to farm it, not waste and squander it".

Fellow Koreans who have followed his career refer to KIM as the Grundtvig of Korea. Although KIM has not read of N. F. S. Grundtvig's work, the effort at Canaan, as at the earlier farms, is motivated by a concern similar to that of the great 19th century Danish churchman and poet who was moved by a Christian calling to rejuvenate rural life.

For all of his largely self-taught erudition, KIM considers himself, and has the appearance of, an humble farmer. But his eyes shine forth the mission into which he pours his heart. His behaviour reflects his belief and thoughts. Looking much younger than his 58 years, despite his long hours of work each day, KIM is content to be judged a good Christian and a good farmer.

His efforts as a community leader have been recognized by the Korean government. In 1960 he received the Cultural Award from the Minister of Public Information and the following year a citation from the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry. In 1962 he received three letters of appreciation from the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, from the National Reconstruction Movement Kyounggi Branch, and from the Minister of Public Information, as well as a citation from the Governor of Kyounggi Province. The Chief of Staff of the Korean Air Force addressed a citation to KIM on June 26, 1964 and earlier invited him to lecture before a group of officers and enlisted men. His audience was so enthusiastic that similar lectures were arranged at every airbase and the Air Force sent enlisted men to Canaan Farm for training. In 1965 KIM received a third commendation from the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry.

Government officials have asked KIM what they could do to help but he refuses assistance: "Please do not make any disturbance," he requests, "that is the best way to help me."

Proud of his heritage, KIM did not change his family name when it pleased colonial administrators for Koreans to adopt the Japanese style. Instead, he kept his independent posture but, at the same time, an attitude of fairness. Under the Republic, established at the end of World War II, he has been likewise independent, not identifying with any political party or regime or any Christian denomination. Farming, he believes, is the best way to contribute to the fatherland—patriotism, in his view, is maintaining one's integrity and working hard for the development of the Korean community.

With the farm, church and school established, KIM opened a store in Seoul where products from Canaan and neighboring farms could be shown and sold "for demonstration of the productivity of good farmers." Low cost and guaranteed quality are features of the well-patronized Canaan Products Store.

Canaan Farm, so laboriously developed over the past 11 years, now nets a profit of some 900,000 won (approximately US\$3,500) per year from the sale of surplus farm products. This achievement is due essentially to the KIM family, though there has been valuable help from students and from trainees who have volunteered to work at Canaan Farm in order to practice KIM's farming techniques.

KIM's experiments to improve agricultural production have added income and prestige. He today raises the best breed of milk cattle and Angora rabbits in Korea. These rabbits, a species originally imported from Ankara, Turkey, are raised for their fur which brings US\$ 10.00 per kilogram and is much in demand for export. A highly successful experiment in strawberry culture was achieved by using special fertilizers and devising methods of planting and replanting adapted to the locale.

In recent years KIM has made extensive lecture tours throughout Korea to encourage his fellow farmers to take pride and joy in their important role, live righteously and do their farm work well. Many farming communities have asked to hear him, and since he could not comply with all requests, he began, in 1960, writing in the form of essays, the lectures he had given. In 1963 this collection of autobiographical essays expressing his philosophy was published in a volume entitled, *The Way to a True Living*.

In the preface to his book Elder KIM says: "I am not in the least discouraged with regard to the future of my fatherland. 'Where there is a will, there is a way.' I believe there is surely the way to a true living. If we try really hard to overcome our difficulties, we shall be able to reach the 'Promised Land' some day, somehow. In writing this book I try to be sincere and frank. I do not wish to exaggerate. I am determined to speak the truth."

His way to true living, KIM says, is based on "my belief in God, the earth, and human beings. We must believe in God. We must have a close relationship with the earth; we must know how to cooperate with each other." On this framework KIM has built his life and from his experience as a human being and a farmer he gives in these essays practical advice to others on the problems of everyday living and working.

KIM's success symbolizes the hope of all Korean farmers. He has proved that a farmer who owns three and one-half hectares of wasteland and is willing to work, can support his own family and make important contributions to his community. His motivation has been not to derive short-term benefit for himself and his family, but to serve his fellow farmers. "His Christian devotion and patriotic zeal are the source of abundant inspiration to all Koreans," writes a leading Korean educator. "As

the title of his book suggests, he has shown to Korean farmers 'the way to a true living'."

August 1966 Manila

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3. Adult education in Canaan Famers' School for Poverty Reduction

Dr. Ki-Seok KIM

Introduction¹⁴

Kim Yong-ki, or better known as his pen name “Ilga (literally means One Family),” dedicated his whole life fighting for his suffering country and people. It was his unique leadership that drove him to live his life to save his country in her darkest time. In order to revive the spirit of his exemplary life today, it is necessary to understand how his leadership had been formed. His leadership reflects the history of his life. His life story is not just his personal history but is closely related to the modern history of Korea which had been going through difficulties since the opening of its

¹⁴ This paper was originally written in 1998 to read at the Symposium on Ilga's Life and Thoughts, organized by the Ilga Foundation (<http://www.ilga.or.kr/>). Both selection and revision were made to put in this series of non-formal education and development of Korea edited by Educators without Borders and Ilga Foundation.

ports in 1882. Therefore, to understand his works clearly, we need to ruminate on his life history and reflect it on the thorny path of Korean history.

Ilga believed that the first public enemy of the mankind is poverty. This poverty includes both material and spiritual kinds of poverty. These two are like the two sides of a coin. In order to simultaneously resolve the two sides of poverty that look like two different things at a glance, Ilga led the Antipoverty Movement by suggesting the theory of unifying spirit and body. Poverty causes dehumanization in the world and leads to oppression and distortion of life. Ilga gave himself to the fight against poverty throughout his whole life. Whether it is material or spiritual, poverty is a concrete and realistic thing. It appears at a particular historical and social moment. For this reason, a cause for poverty in each country and ethnic group is different. Therefore, the Antipoverty Movement developed at a very specific historical moment. His Movement first began to develop in late 1930s when Utopian Village was being built, and it began to fully develop its characteristics in early 1960s when the Canaan Farm, upon which Canaan Farmer's School was pioneered.

Fight against Japanese Colonial Oppression and Exploitation

Since the invasion of Korea began under the so-called "1905 Treaty" between Korea and Japan, it was in the 1930s when Japan showed their true oppressive self by instituting the enslavement policy. According to later historians, the policy was forcibly enforced in three stages. First, colonial economic exploitation system was established, accelerating

impoverishment of farmers. Second, after the material exploitation, Japan established oppressive policy to root out the nation's spirit. And lastly, when anti-imperialism and anti-Japanese movements continued despite the exploitation and annihilation of nation's spirit, psychological and physical destruction of leaders of independence movement were committed. During this oppressive period, young Ilga, who was around 20 years old, planned to build Utopia with number of his comrades in his home town.

During this period, Japan widely implemented a so-called "increase the production of food" policy. Modern style of farm management was introduced and improvements of plant breed, land and irrigation facilities, and supply of chemical fertilizers were conducted. At a glance, many actions that Japanese leaders took to increase food production looked like actions for the "modernization" of Korean agricultural industry. In 1930s, the capitalistic industrial economy in Japan was transitioned to monopolistic capitalism and, at the same time, militarism following Fascism and Nazism appeared. The precondition for emergence of monopolistic capitalism is securing many low-paid workers in Japan. At the same time, in order to establish militarism, support from the whole nation including farmers, laborers, as well as the middle class people is absolutely necessary. This stage of capitalism cannot be maintained by exploitation and oppression alone but by hegemony which can induce national consensus through high-level manipulation of ideology. Hegemony emerged to secure a mass of low-paid workers and to gain support from them. This kind of hegemony emerged in the form of Fascism and Nazism followed by imperialistic militarism in Japan. In order to maintain its militarism, Japan tried to raise the living standard of laborers/farmers by coming out with a measure to

provide good quality rice at inexpensive price. The idea of maintaining monopolistic capitalism in Japan by securing good quality grain at low price soon led to so-called “increase of food production” policy in Korea. The means to secure more low-price grain by increasing agricultural production was the low-price rice policy implemented in all colonies. The policy and the low-price rice policy were the two sides of colonial exploitation policies. Colonial ruling classes controlling the price of grain set the price of rice a lot lower than the cost of production. Eventually, most grain farmers in Korea, except large landowners, worked without being self-sufficient which accelerated their impoverishment. The poverty in Korea during this period was in fact manufactured by Japanese policy and an inevitable consequence of the double-sidedness of policy. In other words, colonial exploitation worsened the poverty in Korea.

The most noteworthy feature from his public 60 years of pioneering was the consistent cultivation of wasteland. Although Ilga and his comrades never neglected the importance of rice farming and self-sufficiency at any point, they continuously focused on cultivating wasteland. They even grew sweet potatoes as a substitute for rice. There was an inevitable reason for this.. Unlike rice, sweet potatoes can easily rot without some special treatment. Japan could not plunder sweet potatoes which were impossible to store. More importantly, the food production policy itself was motivated by exploitation, and therefore rice farming itself would help being easily incorporated into the colonial exploitation system. Cultivating wasteland was an action against grain-oriented agricultural policy of Japan and resistance to being drawn to its exploitation system. Ilga came up with a unique method to store sweet potatoes for up to one year. It was a way of

self-helping and survival strategy that had to be developed for farmers who had to replace rice with sweet potatoes for consumption. The cultivation of wasteland, led by Ilga and his comrades, was a peasant movement to protect their right to live without losing the nation's pride while avoiding the food production increase policy. .

The enslavement policy did not just end with material plundering. It revealed its violent characteristics by plotting annihilation of ethnic consciousness and culture of Korea. The so-called colonial view of history emerged at this time and the Korean history was written denying the dynamism of our history. The exploitation of food and destruction of consciousness were followed by Japanese invaders' inhumane violence to destroy reputations of leaders and followers participating in the Korean independence movements. Leaders who devoted themselves to the independence movement, despite all kinds of conciliation and oppression, were arrested, detained and tortured under the political offender probation order, the preliminary detention law and the high criminal investigator system which were constituted in 1930s. A measure to prohibit the independence movement leaders' residence in Seoul was also implemented. Ilga became an organizer for a farmer's union in the Yangju region which was a faction of a secret alliance for national foundation. Utopian village was a site of cultivating wasteland and at the same time a secret hiding place for the independence movement.

The project of building Utopia s was in fact an independent and autonomous action against Japan's ethnocide policy. Ilga refused to be drawn into colonial exploitation system, but adhered to national

consciousness despite various types of suppression. The harder Japan's oppression was, the more he resisted with all his might and, through this process, Ilga formed his unique personality and ability as a leader. The greater part of character was self-made and, in particular, leadership was closely related to the realities of colonial tyranny. His qualification and competence acquired in the early stages of pioneering remained with little change amid development of rapidly changing Korean modern history. Ilga was disappointed at fluctuating political state after the liberation and he kept his distance from the political scene at the time, moved to rural area, and focused on the survival of rural communities and building God's kingdom through revival of body and spirit. However, there comes a time when people look for a leader and Ilga's leadership received attention. This was the time of spectacular Korean economic development amid the amazement of the world and the history of pioneering continued with building of the Canaan Farm and Canaan Farmer's School in 1962

Fight against Absolute Poverty

Economic development during three to four decades since 1960's was literally equivalent to making something out of nothing. During the same period, the Canaan Farm which started with cultivating wasteland advanced to building a school for farmers, the first school for non-formal adult education in its kind with a specific focus on poverty alleviation. He even used publicly the word of "Peasant Militias" in the name of the school. If Army, Navy and Air Forces are protecting nation external enemies, then who would protect people from internal enemy like poverty. For him Canaan means "a promised land of milk and honey" according to the Book.

By combining these two words, his school has been a school of heading for the Promised Land through poverty ending. This is a land of what he termed a place of “blessed people” live. He used a variety of lifelong learning programs: in-house boarding training, outreaching mobile schools, and circular lectures at everywhere requested. The theme of his teaching and lectures could be summed as “we could get out of poverty, it all depended on us, or more simply, “we can do it!”

The history of expansion of Canaan spiritual renewal movement to the whole country went side by side with the compressed economic development which will be mentioned again later. Capitalistic industrialization in Korea started without enough natural resources and accumulated capital or technologies needed for it. Necessary capital and technologies were introduced from foreign countries in the form of loan and introduction of technology. What Korea had plenty of was high-quality labor. During this period, Korean modern education was spreading rapidly as well. Right after the liberation, three fourth of economic population was illiterate and the percentage of children entering primary school was less than 60% due to Japan’s deprivation policy of educational opportunity. Furthermore, the Korean War occurred and key educational facilities were severely damaged in both the South and the North. After the war, Korean education in 1950s had to be rebuilt from the ruins. However, after 1950s, school education started to expand fast because of Korean people’s longtime expectation from and enthusiasm for education which is as old as Korean history. By 1960s, primary school entrance rate reached 100% and compulsory education for primary school was, in fact, completed in the sense of quantity.

In 1970s, when Korean economy shifted from producing goods to replace imports to producing consumer goods for export and changed to light industry. In 1980s the economy was shifting to heavy chemical industry. In each key step of economic development, Korean education system continuously supplied high-quality labor preceding the economic demand or need. However, as can be seen in industrialization in other countries, workers who only received public education are not adequate to increase productivity of industry. They need to have a certain degree of technological knowledge and skill and, in particular, should be fairly disciplined

As everyone knows, the driving force that expands Korean education is the desire to enter advanced schools. Therefore, primary and secondary education was focused on liberal arts education and students with relatively low academic achievement or lack of financial support chose vocational education when they failed to enter higher level schools. As a result of liberal arts-centered education, skill level for vocational technology was very low and technical skills education in the secondary school could not match the production technology of the industry. In late 1970s, secondary vocational education was reinforced but still technical skills education at schools could not satisfy the demand from the heavy chemical industry. Achieving great success at the International Vocational Training Competition, held annually, confirmed the high-level of skill and technical abilities. However, a more serious problem was acquiring a negative sense and belief about physical labor through formal or informal education at schools. So called 'educational enthusiasm' was a reflection of preference for white collar work over physical work which was widely spread among Koreans. Most students who fail at the entrance exam for higher level

schools experience negative self-conception and enter the production field by being forced to choose physical work. Korean education continued to supply a large labor force but with low level of technological skill and lacking internalization of professional ethics that were essential to increase productivity.

The labor force needed in early stage of industrialization is a large scale, inexpensive, and high-quality kind. Certain size of labor force was secured with the completion of secondary education and students with low educational background who failed to enter universities became the source of cheap labor supply. However, it was a question of the quality of labor and more importantly non-economical and non-technological qualities such as attitude, a value system, self-identity and character than technical skills. In other words, healthy work ethic within the labor force was questionable. The public education could not offer high-quality labor force with well-established professionalism. The way to produce the high-quality labor force had to be found outside of school education. An example is the pioneer training at the Canaan Farmers' School.

The CFS established by Ilga was originally a social educational institute to foster wasteland pioneers. Therefore, early educational curriculum included not only his unique religious and spiritual education but also various agricultural skills training and practice. The seven-year project of cultivating wasteland, sweet potato farming and its 12 months storage method, livestock, strawberry, grape and peony farming skills related to increase income were taught. Cultivating wasteland requires strong willpower and devotion as it equals making something out of

nothing. For instance, one must live industriously and frugally and have firm will not only to endure hardships of farming but to turn it into enjoyment. Like Puritans, one should take a job as a duty given by God and needs strong spiritual determination to work for the glory of God and one's salvation. Looking into the religious pedigree of Ilga's family and early conversion to Christianity shows that religious life of Ilga started while associating with missionaries who maintained Puritanical belief within the Protestantism. Ilga was sort of a native Puritan. He lived by this religious belief and strictly followed the belief not only in his work and labor but in his family and private life as well.

Even with the education, Ilga stressed mental aspects such as work ethic rather than farming and cognitive skills. The mental side that Ilga stressed came from the Christian gospels. In the aspect of the discipline for everyday life, he pursued community life of mutual exchange shown in the early churches and sought the spiritual grounds of cultivating wasteland from Puritanical belief and ethic that consider a job as a call given by God. Such educational beliefs of Ilga unknowingly corresponded with the spirit of sustained capitalistic industrial development which was the task of nation at the time. In fact, people's interest in the Canaan Farmers' School was not about teaching skills for farm production to increase income. It was about Ilga's own unique character education known as 'spiritual education.' Before skills training, he taught a 'true way of living' and the school saw more success with 'human education' than any technical training for farming. The theme of Ilga's lectures at churches, schools, companies, military bases, and public institution, was also about 'the true way of living.' For this reason, people from all walks of life who were attracted to

character education itself as well as the next generation farming leaders who were trying to revive Korean agriculture by devoting themselves to the rural life came to the Canaan Farmers' School.

The important elements from his 'the true way of life' are men laboring and being faithful to their jobs and these were reflected in the special programs, aside from the regular programs offered to the next generation workers for a peasant movement, to fulfill the national demand. It was when Ilga's spiritual education encountered the government-led *Saemaoul* Movement (the New Village Movement, NVM) in early 1970s, that it became a national interest and drew people's attention. NVM was a national mobilization project initiated by the Third Republic of Korea. Chairman Park Jeong-hee who led the military *coup d'état* visited the Canaan farmer's school while making an inspection tour around the country after the *coup*. Due to two people's meeting, the spiritual education of Canaan farmer's school became the basis for the government-led spiritual education for nation in terms of its form and contents. Drastic measures were taken to prevent people from leaving agriculture and to promote agricultural industry. And in order to train leaders who would take charge of such revival of rural communities, a farmer training institute was established as an affiliate of the National Agricultural Cooperative Federation. Ilga was a key instructor in this institute and its training course for leaders of rural community coincided with the program already offered at the Canaan farmer's school. After his inauguration as the president, President Park kept showing interest in development of rural community. He took Dr. Park Jin-hwan's suggestion and started the NVM. At that time, Dr. JW Park was the Special Aid to President in charge of agricultural economy in the Blue House. Ilga's spirit and his political aims became the

spiritual source for the NVM. This Movement since expanded from rural communities to the cities and factories, and with the expansion, Ilga's teachings also spread out to the whole country. In order to respond to requests from all over the country, the CFS opened short-term special programs besides the existing training programs for the next generation leaders to cultivate wasteland and to offer its spiritual education to people from all walks of life.

In fact, the history of the special program for the private sectors at the CFS followed the same route with that of "compressed type"¹⁵ of economic development of Korea. This program was an educational course for the nation to establish right work ethics necessary to sustain the development of Korean industry. Besides people who came on their own accord, trainees from public organizations, military, educational institutions, private companies, and social institutions attended this program. Among many programs offered at the school, the program stands out in terms of the numbers of trainings and graduates. It is hard to find an equivalent anywhere in the world where the same course was offered more than 1,000 times over 20 years at a single social educational institute. Along with the dramatic growth of the special program and the existing programs for youth, clerics (Catholic, Buddhism and Protestants), and the mobile school programs which continued since the opening of the school, the CFS literally became a national education institute for all Koreans. This can be compared to the case in Denmark where the Folk's High-schools provided

¹⁵For the view which considers the main character of Korean economic development as 'compressed type,' See Cho Soon, Korean Economic Development – Its Characters and Problems, 『*The Serious of Economic Theories*』, Vol. 27 No. 4 Economic Research Center, Seoul National University, 1988:405-430.

spiritual and human resources essential to overcome the national crisis in its history of revival, and that *Satyagraha Ashram* in India, founded by Gandhi, also provided spiritual and human resources demanded for the political independence movement of India against Britain and, after establishing the country, the religious and spiritual unification movement. Both the FHs in Denmark and *Satyagraha Ashram* in India are representative educational institutes for adults that contributed to the establishment of a country based on their dedication to genuine perfection of character and the power of morality and ethics. The CFS has been the closest domestic example to these two cases in Denmark and India.

As industrialization of Korea was accomplished by creating something out of nothing, three prerequisites for industrialization were capital, technology, and labor. As is well known, Korea depended upon foreign countries to satisfy the first two prerequisites. The last and more important condition had to be met domestically. The school education continuously supplied quality labor force. However, in terms of establishment of vocational ethics or work discipline, the school education was either passive or negative. An alternative was the Canaan farmer's school. What lacked in school education was supplemented here and in some cases, noteworthy results were obtained in the areas of character education and discipline training unattainable in the school education. For 30 to 40 years since the opening of school, as many as 600,000 people have completed some form of the spiritual and character education and most of them quietly engaged, at the front-line of industry, in the compressed economic growth. The campaign for the Antipoverty Movement in 1960s evolved to reproduce responsible people who lived their daily life with firm vocational

ethics and stern work discipline that were essential to expand Korean national power.

Lessons from his life: Fighting against Global Poverty

Before the Korean financial crisis started from South East Asia in 1997, the Korean economy grew like a rising sun. Korea became the 24th member of OECD and there were speculations about when Korea would become a member of G7, and some conglomerates overused fancy slogans such as ‘topmost,’ ‘superior’ and ‘the world’s best.’ Despite the economic crisis of 1997, it is clear that the power of Korea has been enhanced like never before and the self-confidence about this achievement needs to be maintained. In fact, the quantitative expansion of the Korean economy is unprecedented in the world and economists consider our development as a representative example of “compressed economic development.” The word ‘compressed’ here means the compression of time needed for achieving industrialization. According to estimation by economic historians, it took 2 centuries for Britain, the first country to achieve capitalistic industrialization, to grow their economic size to that of Korea’s today. The U.S., the most powerful nation and almost the only country enjoying sustainable economic development, spent one and a half century. In the case of Japan, a country with the world-class economy in the Northeast Asian region, it took nearly a century. However, Korean economic development was triggered by producing goods to replace imports in the mid 1960s and the economy grew rapidly for the next 30 years with export-oriented economic development so that it only took about 40 years to achieve 10,000 dollars GNP per capita. Of course, hasty economic growth

led to some serious problems resulting from focusing only on growth in size. Continued expansion of the size, without sound internal stability, magnified and reproduced inequalities of wealth that eventually led to a bubble economy. However, in terms of an economic size, Korea achieved amazing economic development.

Until now, the spirit of Ilga has been examined through his life history and the overlapping features of modern history with his life. Ilga was not a born leader but more than that, he was a self-made leader who obtained leadership while overcoming unfortunate history given to him. He lived his whole life struggling for emancipation from poverty. He tried to drive out both material poverty and spiritual poverty. His life seemed to be a painful gesture, beyond common understanding, against the harsh historical reality. Unlike most modern Korean leaders, he refused the trend of the times. This is the reason why he was sometimes remembered as a ‘self-righteous’ person. Ilga fought against the poverty by trying to root out the cause and underlying motives. The poverty in farming villages in 1930s resulted from the colonial exploitation and the enslavement policy. Ilga, at 20 years old, devoted his life to the movements of anti-imperialism, anti-Japan and retrieval of the sovereignty of a nation with the slogan ‘Save home country.’ His dream was not just an independent wealthy country but a community of mutual exchange of the early church, a community “where rabbits and lions can get along together,” and “a blessed land of milk and honey.” They are the communities consistently seen throughout the Bible. It cannot be said that Ilga realized his dream. It is not because his dream was unrealistic. Like myself, one of the many disciples who were trying to live by his teaching could not understand his dream very well and to bear the self-

training and commitment demanded to achieve it.

Ilga cultivated wasteland to increase agricultural productivity. He could have left the countryside for a city as other leaders did. However, he lived with only one goal of being a single-minded pioneer. He dedicated his life to create something out of nothing and when Korean economy struggled to create something out of nothing, she found a clue from Ilga. When high-quality labor force was added to the capital and technology borrowed from foreign countries, an amazing history of national expansion was achieved. However, focusing too much on the expansion of the size and saving time caused internal instability which failed to realize economical justice. The extended gap between the rich and the poor has caused an uneven distribution of wealth. In particular, accumulating wealth without hard work, so called 'free ride,' became the frontrunner of the bubble economy which flaunted extravagance and dissipation. Who would pay attention to Ilga's life and agony when, in the era of excessive consumption, he insisted on saving water which seemingly would last forever without running dry. Current global financial crisis is a natural consequence. Seeking arrogant and luxurious life, forgetting Ilga's teachings, led to the economic crisis today.

It is time to rethink about Ilga's agony, dream and fight. Why did Ilga go after the center of the causes instead of superficial symptoms when he was fighting against the poverty? Why did he go against the trend of time? Why did he sacrifice himself to seek wealth and happiness for this country? When he prayed for two hours each morning, what did he seek? In order to overcome the economic crisis, we probably need to think of these questions

as we live our lives. We may need to run together to the place his finger pointed right before he died, shouting slogans of spiritual renewal and pioneering. Taking a powerful step toward this place is what he termed “the Blessed People’s Movement” or Bok-min thoughts. Even though Ilga is no longer with us, his teachings of the movement continue. It is the true way of living. It is the road to the 21 Century Utopia where a society has political and economical liberation and is ruled by moral autonomy. EWB is one of the followers of his good fighting against domestic and global poverty.



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