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THE IMPACT OF THE GOVERNMENT POLICY ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN THE FIRST REPUBLIC OF KOREA, 1948-1960

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. Background of the Study

Korea was relatively unknown to the West until the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 which made headlines in the international press.[1] But many centuries ago, the Asiatic kingdom known to Westerners as Korea was a thriving country.[2] The name Korea was first used in the Koryo Monarchy (910-1392), and the people of this kingdom called their country "Chosun,"[3] which literally means "Land of the Morning Calm". Such a name implies a peaceful land, where the country is far from a stream of tumultuous civilization.

Korea's long historical continuity as a nation has produced a unique and cultural heritage. Notwithstanding the influence of powerful neighbors, Koreans have managed to retain a strong national and racial identity. The Korean race has remained unified as a distinct group with its own physical and cultural characteristics: their own language, tradition, beliefs, distinctive family structure and society, and intimate

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[1]U.S. Marine Corps, U.S. Marine Operation in Korea (Washington, D.C.: Historical Branch, G-3 Division, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 1954), p. 1.

[2]Ibid.

[3]"Chosun" is the name by which Korea was known from 1392-1892; and during the Japanese Colonial days, 1910-1945, it was also used (Japanese spelling "Chosen"). It was adopted as the official name of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea: variants of Sam Han (Three Kingdoms). After Korea was annexed to Japan in 1910, it was called "Taihan Minkuk" for the Korean Provisional Government in China, and it was adopted as the official name of the Republic of Korea in the South Korea from 1948 onward.

knowledge of historical background.[1]

Until the latter part of the nineteenth century, Korea existed as a "Hermit Kingdom" isolated from the West, and enjoyed a considerable measure of independence "within the orbit of the Chinese Confucian system."[2] From the centuries of this special relationship with China, Korea emerged with a government and a social structure, as well as an educational system based on Confucian principles. Under the influence of Confucian thought, which became dominant during the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910), formal education was primarily provided for the "yangban"[3] or ruling class-children and youth, and underprivileged class-children were almost entirely ignored.[4] The main purpose of education concerned the development of Chinese classical literature and Confucian principles of philosophy, which were available only to a very few in order to meet the requirements of the civil service examinations. Nevertheless, the classical Chinese literature and Confucian moral principles were highly

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[1]Byung-do Lee, Hankuk-sa Kai Kwan (Outline of Korean History) (Seoul, Korea: Bomoon-Kak Press, 1964), pp. 9-17.

[2]Chun-Suk Oh, Hankuk Shin Kyoyuk-Sa (The New Educational History of Korea) (Seoul, Korea: Hyundai Kyoyuk Chonsu Publishing Co., 1964), pp. 5-8.

[3]The Yi Dynasty formally adopted the basic four social classes: (1) the ruling class known as the "yangban," forestalled all higher government positions and alone was eligible to the higher Civil Service examination; (2) the "chungin," a small middle class, composed of professionals engaged in the lower levels of government positions, and considered largely as engineers, skilled technicians and clerks; (3) the "sangmin" (also known as yangmin) were the commoners; including farmers, merchants, artisans; (4) at the bottom came the "chronmin," the "low-born" or "vile" class, itself consisted of several stratified components. See Mun-Ki Lee, Hankuk Sa Sajor (Dictionary of Korean History) (Seoul, Korea: Hankuk Publishing, Co., 1959), p. 40.

[4]Chun-Suk Oh, op. cit., pp. 17-20.

developed during this period.[1]

The last years of the nineteenth century were probably the most important in the history of modern Korea. Beginning in 1882, Korean isolation from the West was ended by a series of treaties, the first of which was signed with the United States.[2] These treaties brought Korea into closer contact with the outside world and helped to prepare for the "open-door" policy. The arrival of Christian missionaries and the establishment of Western forms of modern schools in the feudal society of Korea was a great event for Korean education. Later, it influenced the movement of school reorganization toward the ideas of universal education for children of all classes. But Korea lacked the necessary foundations for making a transformation of her institutions to carry out this new innovation immediately.

Situated at the focal point of the China-Russian-Japan triangle, the peninsula has frequently been the target for the expansionist schemes of each of these powers as well as the cultural bridge over which the lore of China flowed into Japan. At the turn of the century, as a result of this geographical location, Korea became a center of international rivalries in the Far East. The struggle for supremacy over Korea, waged by China, Japan, and Russia, finally brought about two wars: the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. These wars culminated in the Japanese military occupation of Korea in 1905, followed by outright annexation in 1910 when Korea lost

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[1]Sang Man Park, Hankuk Sa (A History of Korean Education) (Seoul, Korea: Dai-Han Kyoyuk Yonhap-Hoe, 1956), pp. 146-147.

[2]Ki-Back Lee, Hankuk Sa Shin-Ron (The New Theory of Korean History) (Seoul, Korea: Ilcho-Kak Publishing Co., 1966), pp. 293-294.

her national identity as a sovereign state.

Until Japan surrendered to the Allied forces on August 14, 1945, it had exercised complete domination over the social, economic, and political life of the Korean people for nearly four decades.[1] However, despite the Japanese repressions, the Korean people made some significant advances during the period 1910-1945. Japanese authorities obviously opened the road which led to modernization. They introduced a modern public school system designed to help incorporate the Koreans into the Japanese cultural sphere and to make Korea Japanization. The primary purposes of education were "cultural and political assimilations,"[2] or the conversion of the Koreans into loyal subjects of the Japanese Empire; thus, education played a large part in the attainment of the political goals of this period.

With the defeat of Japan in World War II, Korean political patterns took on a decidedly different character. At the Cairo Conference on December 1, 1943, two years before the end of the war, the wartime leaders of the big powers (the United States, Great Britain, and China) agreed that "in due course, Korea shall become free and independent."[3] However, soon after liberation in 1945, Korea found itself a divided nation, under military occupation by the American forces in the southern part and the Russian forces in the northern part. Ultimately, the division at the thirty-eighth parallel created two rival states, producing

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[1]Cornelius Osgood, The Koreans and Their Culture (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1951), pp. 281-282.

[2]Han-Been Lee, Korea: Time Change, and Administration (Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center Press, 1968), p. 43.

[3]Shannon McCune, Korea's Heritage: A Regional and Social Geography (Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1956), pp. 46-47.

critical problems seemingly impossible to resolve. Not only is Korea today far from being united and free; with its disadvantageous position as a center of power politics in the Far East, even its future as a unified nation is extremely uncertain.

Shortly after the establishment of the American Military Government in South Korea in 1945, the authorities were faced with the task of the democratization of the people and the reconstruction of socio-economic and political stability.[1] During the Occupation period (1945-1948), the reorganization of the educational system in South Korea was successfully achieved, and it has remained as a foundation of the new educational system. The goals, curriculum, textbook contents, school structures, and teacher training programs were entirely reorganized and based largely on those of the American educational system.[2] This educational reorganization, however, was radically transformed without consideration of the socio-economic and cultural background of Korean society.[3] Therefore, most of the distinguished scholars, educators, and citizens of South Korea made vigorous criticisms.

Since independence was achieved in South Korea, considerable thought has gone into shaping the aims and objectives of education in such a fashion as to realize the essential goals of the new nation, and Korea has committed itself to using the educational system as an agency for political socialization. However, drastic changes have occurred in South Korea since independence. The Rhee government was toppled by the

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[1] Ibid., p. 47.

[2] Oh, op. cit., p. 403.

[3] The American University, U.S. Army Area Handbook for Korea: April 1958--November 1964 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), p. 138.

"April Student Revolution" in April, 1960, and its successor, Chang-Myon's regime, was inaugurated in August, 1960, as the Government of the Second Republic of Korea. In May, 1961, the Second Republic, however, was also overthrown by a military coup d'etat. A military junta, which took power after the revolution of May, 1961, continued to rule until December, 1963, when a constitutional government was formally installed. The political instability of that period has continued to affect the new nation which is striving toward modernization. Nevertheless, Korea has witnessed throughout each different political stage that an educational system can be a stable instrument in advancing the cause of freedom in the political, social, and economic development of a nation.

In short, with the termination of the United States military occupation in South Korea, the constitutional government was formally inaugurated under the assistance of the Occupation authorities in 1948. For the first time in its history, the democratic system of government was thus formulated largely by the Korean people themselves, and they were therefore, from this time on, totally responsible for a solution of such emerging problems as the democratization of its people and the stabilization of political and economic spheres of the country. However, the Republic had not had a sufficient time and experiences for attaining these goals. Moreover, the social and political foundations were so deeply rooted into the manifestation of the Confucian though whose influence had become so much on a part of Korea's way of living. In spite of this difficult situation, the Republic had steadily demonstrated to develop all aspects of social stagnations, including political and economic instabilities, largely through education. In carrying out these aims, the government had made an assumption to reform the educational system toward a more economically-oriented pattern of education geared to a

modern and industrialized society. However, it was unfortunate that the educational system had often served merely for the purpose of political expansion. Nevertheless, education in the Republic had made a remarkable progress when political phases were changing. This study is therefore to focus on educational development affected by the political factors through an examination of the governmental policies on education in the First Republic of Korea.

B. Related Studies

Several researches have touched upon the development of Korean education in connection with its establishment, growth, value systems, and physical expansion. Recently, a few pioneering studies of education in Korea have been published which deal mainly with manpower needs and the requirements of education for producing the array of skills essential for economic and industrial development.

Although a few doctoral dissertations have attempted to trace the relationship of politics to educational development, none has dealt adequately with this aspect.

From his first hand experience, Horace H. Underwood, a pioneer American Protestant missionary who dedicated his whole life to mission work in Korea, studied modern education in Korea in 1926.[1] In his masterful work, he presented "a general view of the development of education in Korea from the time when that country ceased to be the Hermit Kingdom down to the present."[2] This was published as a Ph.D. dissertation in

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[1] Horace Horton Underwood, "Modern Education in Korea" (published Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, New York: International Press, 1926), pp. 1-336.

[2] Ibid., p. 1.

which the author primarily concentrated on mission education in Korea. Underwood not only dealt with the narrow scheme of mission education but also the entire problem of educational development including public, private, formal, and informal education. His work gives valuable information on the general picture of modern education in Korea in all of its various phases.

A native scholar, George Paik, made a study of the history of Protestant missions in Korea from 1832 to 1910, when Korea was annexed by Japan.[1] He gives a magnificent account of Protestant mission work, including a general view of educational development during this period. His introductory chapter is devoted to presentation of the political, social, and economic situations found in the latter part of the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910). He emphasized that unstable social situations became the main hindrance to educational development and modernization in Korea.

Don Adams studied Korean education between 1945 and 1955, concentrating on the outlines of major events. In his work,[2] a great variety of educational information is presented on the events, facts, and specific phenomena which affected educational development during the time of the American military occupation from 1945-1948.

Van Lierop's research on the development of schools[3] under the Korean mission from 1919 to 1950 is another interesting study which reveals

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[1]George Paik, The History of Protestant Missions in Korea (Pyengyang, Korea: Union Christian College Press, 1929), pp. 1-438.

[2]Donald Adams, "Education in Korea, 1945-1955" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut, 1956), pp. 1-328.

[3]Peter Van Lierop, "The Development of Schools under the Korean Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1919-1950" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1955), pp. 1-265.

the influence of environmental factors on the development of both mission and public schools in Korea. He attempted specifically to trace an outline of the policies of the Japanese government in Korea, and relates the New Educational Reform Movements to a brief history of the development of the mission schools. The basic elements of theory, organization, and practice in educational development are also discussed. This research is well-executed and documented with considerably detailed information on Korean mission education.

Another native scholar, Sung-hwa Lee,[1] a graduate of the University of Pittsburgh in 1958, wrote about the social and political factors which affected Korean education during the period from 1885 to 1945. His study related chronological events of the history of Korean education and emphasized its educational development especially during the Japanese domination, in much the same manner as did the previous researches by George Paik and Van Lierop. Although Lee chose political and social phenomenon in the latter part of the nineteenth century in Korea as the background for his study, he did not mention the relationship between political and social factors with educational development.

Finally, Byung Hun Nam,[2] another graduate of the University of Pittsburgh, studied the educational reorganization activities in South Korea during the time of the United States military occupation from 1945 to 1948. He attempted to emphasize the necessity to reorganize the entire school system along democratic lines in order to meet the demands

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[1]Sung-Hwa Lee, "The Social and Political Factors Affecting Korean Education, 1885-1945" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1958), pp. 1-224.

[2]Byung Hun Nam, "Educational Reorganization in South Korea Under the United States Army Military Government, 1945-1948" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1962), pp. 1-266.

of both the new nation and the Korean people. The educational system prior to this time was the aristocratic system which adhered to Japanese colonial policy, and this study contributes materials which are necessary to formulate an understanding of the importance of school reorganization. During the United States military occupation of Korea, this reorganization became the major task of the Korean educational program.

In conclusion, the writer could find no studies dealing exclusively with the subject of political impact on educational development in Korea. The works of Underwood and Paik, mentioned previously, are outdated and deal only briefly with political circumstances in their introductory chapters. Nam's thesis, of a more recent date, is not related to the subject dealt with in the present study, although Nam briefly deals with the political affairs in a few chapters.

It is strange that politics remains a neglected area of study because the history of Korean education grew out of the idea of citizenship training for services and loyalty to the authorities. Higher education was always linked to the need for capable government officers. There has been considerable growth of interest in dealing with such new concepts as the political consequences of expanding education. Consequently, a greater relaince upon economic development in order to justify increasing support of the Korean school system must be considered.

C. Statement of the Problem

The primary purpose of this study is to examine the political and social patterns of Korean society through an analysis of the major political events, and how those socio-political factors had affected the educational system to be changed in the First Republic of Korea from

1948 to 1960. The secondary purpose of this study is to focus on the educational role and how that role had been used as the means of attaining political and governmental goals.

D. Elements of the Problem

In carrying out the purpose of this study, an attempt is made to concentrate on the following problems: (a) since the socio-political factors were important determinants for both the values and the patterns of the educational system in Korea, the social and political conditions from the period of the traditional society (1392-1910) through the Post-Liberation period (1945-1948) have been reviewed in order to examine the consequences of the political influence on educational development with a particular emphasis on the periods of the Japanese colonial regime (1910-1945) and the United States military occupation (1945-1948); (b) the establishment of the First Republic of Korea and the new provisions of education have been analyzed for evaluating the effects of the new governmental policies on the formulation of the new educational system; (c) the major political events and their effects on education during the post-independence period (1948-1950) have been described in analyzing the implementation of democratic ideals on educational reform; (d) a description of the Korean War and the educational damages aggravated by the War is made in order to examine the effects of the war policy on education which resulted in initiating military training programs in schools; (e) the economic programs during the post-Korean War period (1953-1960) are evaluated in terms of their consequences on policies affecting education; (f) finally, the politically controlled educational system and its outcome have been considered to identify more specific problems in this matter.

E. Delimitations of the Problem

This study is delimited to the period, 1948-1960, which extends from the beginning of the First Republic of Korea to the end of the Republic. This study is also delimited to the southern part of the peninsula, from the demilitarized zone demarcated by the thirty-eighth parallel which came under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Korea.

F. The Technical Treatment of the Problem

The historical-analytical method is the principal technique employed in this work. The descriptive method is also used to ascertain the direct influence of political factors upon the development of the educational system in Korea.

G. Sources of Data

Primary source materials include (a) government documents and other official publications pertinent to education such as guides, laws, regulations, reports, records, studies of investigations by the central and local governments issued the Old Korean government, the Government-General of Chosen, the United States Military Government in Korea, and the Government of the Republic of Korea; (b) official reports and studies on Korean education, letters and records, handbooks, and other related materials issued by the United States Department of State, the United Nations, various foreign missions to Korea including agencies and boards delegated by the United States Government and the United Nations, and the Christian Mission groups; (c) the newspapers, magazines, periodicals, personal letters, the documentary statistics, school year books, annual reports by various educational agencies and schools, charts and maps;

(d) the writer's personal experiences through the direct investigations and the interviews with various scholars and educational authorities in Korea.

Secondary source material includes articles, college textbooks, journals, reports on education by various writers and organizations, doctoral dissertations, and other related works.

Most of the primary and secondary source materials which are used for this study were found in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., the Central Library of the University of Pittsburgh, the Far Eastern Library of the University of Pittsburgh, the Asian Studies' Library of the University of Chicago, the Carnegie Public Library, and the Library of the Pittsburgh Theological Seminary. A large number of primary source materials were obtained from Korea through friends, the writer's family, officers at the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea, and the writer's former teachers.

II. SOCIO-POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN KOREA PRIOR TO INDEPENDENCE IN 1848

Certain historical events which had brought about significant changes in the two thousand years of recorded history of Korea must now be considered. First, the centuries of special relationships with China, had led the traditional society of the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910) to mold its educational system on Confucian principles of philosophy. Second, the period of Japanese colonial rule had used the educational system as a key instrument of colonization from 1910 to 1945. Third, the much shorter but highly important period of Western influence during the period of the United States Army Military Occupation (1945-1948) resulted in establishing the democratic system of education.

A. The Traditional Society and Education in the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910)

1. General Character of the Yi Society

Korea is an ancient nation with a distinctive tradition. From the beginning of its history, the Koreans have lived as a separate ethnic group on an "S"-shaped peninsula on the eastern coast of Asia. At the end of the third century, the Korean people, influenced by Chinese culture and deeply impressed by Buddhism, began a systematic borrowing that they emerged.[1] Absorbing the borrowings into their own patterns, Koreans produced a unique culture of Korean art, literature, and music.

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[1]Ki-Back Lee, Hankuk Sa Shin-Ron (The New Theory of Korean History) (Seoul, Korea: Ilcho-Kak Publishing Company, 1966), pp. 30-35.

Korea, new to world culture, had to modify first, but quickly developed to fit its own needs and later created out of them an original culture.

From the end of the fourteenth century on, Neo-Confucianism,[1] the state cult of the Yi Dynasty, provided the ideological basis for the ruling class and bestowed the mantle of legitimacy on the repressive rule of its practitioners. This produced a rigidly hierarchical and authoritarian social structure during the Yi period. Furthermore, political institutions of the Yi Dynasty modeled after those of China were in decadence after centuries of debilitating factional strife and corrupt practices. The basically agrarian economy, with little manufacturing and with localized small-scale commercial activities, perpetuated the misery of the peasantry in the lower classes. Under such conditions, education was a neglected area and was retained merely as an instrument of the privileged class for promoting their own social status.

2. Traditional Education

Up to 1910, when the Japanese colonial government established a modern public school system, the Korean educational system was traditional and limited to a minority of the upper class. Higher education was primarily a study of the classics and was offered only to males.[2] The tra-

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[1]Although Confucianism had been in Korea since the days of the Three Kingdoms (57 B.C.--918 A.D.), it was Chu-Hsi's Neo-Confucianism which had a wide influence in the Yi period. The fundamentals of Neo-Confucianism placed excessive emphasis on knowledge and moral obligations, binding the life and customs of the people. Furthermore, when it came to giving spiritual comfort or saving one's soul, this new philosophy was comparable to Buddhism.

[2]The educational structure of the Confucian period is well described in Lee Man Kyu, Chosen Kyouksa (History of Korean Education), which is composed of two volumes and published in Seoul: Ulyu Moonwhasa, in 1947, (Vol. 1) and 1949, (Vol. 2). See also, Hakwon-sa, Korea: Its Land, People and Culture of All Ages (Seoul: Hakwon-sa Ltd., 1960).

ditional period of Korean education can be traced back to the Confucian period in the days of the Yi Dynasty, when the teachings of Confucian philosophy were the most important part of the educational program. This system was, however, inefficient and contributed very little to meeting the universal and practical needs of the common people.

Confucian thought, which became dominant in the Yi period, served as the guiding principle of government by Confucian scholars,[1] who received royal favors and were given important official positions. By gaining access to political powers, many of the scholar-rulers of the early Yi era continued to hold responsible positions in educational institutions. The primary purpose of education for the individual was to enable him to become a competent Confucian scholar and pass the civil service examinations, called "Kwago." The educational system was closely geared with the civil service examination system. The curricula of the schools were mainly the Confucian philosophy, Chinese and Korean classical literature, and calligraphy, since the civil service examinations covered these areas. Education at the higher level was available only to the sons of the gentry class, called "Yangban."[2] Since the purpose of education was to acquire knowledge of Chinese classics and to pass the civil service examinations, formal education was considered unnecessary for the common people. In fact, beyond the elementary school level, people from certain family occupational backgrounds--mer-

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[1]Sang Man Park, Hankuk Sa (A History of Korean Education) (Seoul, Korea: Dai-Han Kyoyuk Yonhap-Hoe, 1956), pp. 146-151.

[2]Fundamentally, Chu-Hsi's Neo-Confucian system of "correct relations" of the superior-inferior or ruler-subject was the basis for the social class system. This was rigid hierarchal system which was basically composed of four major distinct social classes; (1) "Yangban," or ruling class, (2) "chungin," or middle class, (3) "sangmin," or commoners' class, and (4) "chonmin," or despised class.

chants, artisans, musicians, actors, butchers, and other menials--were not allowed to apply for the civil service examinations.

In the society of the Confucian period, due to the social structure in which the greatest respect and priority were given to the literary scholars, manual work was despised. Education completely lacked the function of contributing to the solution of the practical problems of the people. This emphasis on classical education, with almost complete disregard for scientific and technical education, were responsible for keeping Korea an isolated, backward, and agrarian country.

The pyramid shape of the Confucian school system, however, developed four major types of educational institutions: (1) schools called "Sodang" where the basic Chinese characters and the elementary Confucian philosophy were taught; (2) academies called "Sowon" where the tablets of the sages were kept, (3) local schools called "Hyangkyo," or the secondary educational institutions where the local yangban's sons were prepared for higher education; and (4) the royal academy called "Sunggyunkwan," which became the only national institute for higher learning.

a. Sodang. The primary school of the Confucian system was called the "Sodang." Almost every village of any size had at least one, where sons of commoners and of middleclass people spent hours a day learning to read and write the Chinese characters and to understand the basic Chinese classical texts. The simple wooden building of the Sodang usually contained one or two classrooms in which there were no tables, chairs, or blackboards. Each pupil prepared his own textbooks and notebooks. The teachers, who comprehended Chinese literature and Confucian philosophy, drilled the rows of young charges by rote in the elements of Korean education, which was essentially Chinese. Pupils of four years

of age or more could enroll, and education was largely confined to males. On the lowest level, however, girls were allowed to learn the basic reading of the Chinese characters for more effective service as servant girls.[1]

The Sodang was privately operated and no government subsidy was granted. Each pupil brought his own tuition fees twice a year. The duration of the Sodang's programs was usually from two to three years, largely dependent upon the individual pupil's achievement. When the pupil reached the age of fifteen, if his circumstances and abilities permitted, he was promoted to a higher level, even to the local Hyangkyo if his family were well connected.

Sons of local Yangbans were usually taught at their homes by a qualified Confucian scholar.[2] This was not only to separate them from commoner's children, but also to concentrate on a higher standard of academic achievement.[3]

b. The Sowon (The Confucian Academy). The Sowon was the core of the Confucian school system which provided highly intellectual scholars of Confucian philosophy and its classical literature. It was founded in the early part of the sixteenth century by Chu-Sebung, who dedicated this institution under government auspices, tax-free, and with a government foundation of land. The Sowon was the local institution of higher education which stressed scholarship and the role of the male. Women, of course, had no place in Sowon activities. Here Toege, a great Confucian scholar (1542-1569), taught his young followers in the long

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[1] Park, op. cit., pp. 173-178.

[2] Ibid., pp. 174-175.

[3] Ibid., pp. 164-165.

period of his retirement from government. He became the prototype of Korean scholarship--a learned man, devoted to teaching within his own circle and school.[1] Later, the Sowon became a social and educational institution of great importance and fame throughout the country. Such was the Sowon's extraordinary proliferation that there were 65 by the end of the 18th century, 27 of them with some government sponsorship and land.[2]

Though actual placement in the bureaucracy was unlikely for most graduates, the Sowon extended educational opportunity by accepting local men and not always requiring strict yangban status.[3] As a result, the Sowon eventually became the center of political factionalism. The scholar enshrined would become the patron saint of the local faction, a man who had played a prominent philosophical or political role in the factional struggle. Here the plots of the factions were hatched, and the implementation discussed. The local scholars, sometimes from a wide area, gathered here. The young scholar listened to the old, and the old passed on the local factional tradition. However, with the abolition of the Sowon (except for a few in each province) by the Regent Prince or Taewon-gun in 1872, the door closed. Education ceased to play a primary role in determining access to power. In many ways, the Sowon had served as the central institution for intellectual activities. The type has remained a Korean ideal, and examples of it have been prominent in Korean life.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 249-250.

[2] Ibid., pp. 180-181.

[3] Ibid., pp. 179-180.

c. Hyangkyo. When the Yi Dynasty was formed in 1392, Taejo, its founder, started the anti-Buddhist policy and took further measures to spread Confucianism. With this aim, he issued new laws and regulations regarding the establishment of Munmyo (Confucian shrines). He ordered all local authorities to build Munmyo in each township throughout the provinces for the purpose of holding regular ceremonies of Confucian worship for the local officials and Confucian scholars.[1]

During the reign of Taejong, the third king of the Yi Dynasty (1416-1426), the Munmyo was developed into Hyangkyo (literally, a local school) which consisted of two main parts: Munmyo and school. The former was a shrine honoring Confucius as well as leading Korean scholars of the Confucian tradition. The latter was the school in which Chinese classics and Confucian philosophy were taught as preparation for entrance examinations in higher institutions.[2]

Upon ascending to the throne, Sejong, the fourth king of the Dynasty (1426-1440) further developed Hyangkyo as the local yangban class and of noble scholars. This was the only public educational institution established by the authorities of each township under the supervision of the central government.[3] Hyangkyo was based on the Chinese model: the principal subjects of study were the works of Confucius, the Chinese classics, and literature in preparation for higher education. The teaching staffs were highly qualified Confucian scholars who were distinguished men of good reputation and of good family background. The curriculum was about the same as the Sodang, but a

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[1] Ibid., pp. 164-165.

[2] Ibid., p. 165.

[3] Ibid., pp. 167-169.

few more subjects, such as basic mathematics, astronomy, and classical music, had been added. This institution was entirely operated by the local authorities and supported by the tax-free lands and the nobles' contributions. According to the census taken in 1895, there were 563 Hyangkyos throughout the country.[1]

d. Sunggyunkwan. Because the main path to power led through the examination system called "kwago" to the central bureaucracy, education had been a major hurdle. This fact determined governmental policy toward the educational system and infused schools with politics. Sunggyunkwan, the headquarters of Confucianism in Korea, was established in 1397 by the same King Taejo, of whom previous mention has been made. Its purpose was to teach Chinese literature and the philosophy of Confucius, but it also aimed at training sons of the Yangban class for the civil service examination and career bureaucratic services.

The head and major staff members were career officials of the central government, holding also concurrent Censorate or official literary position.[2] Since it had an enrollment capacity of only two hundred, competition to enter was intense, often involving factional activities.[3] The original Sunggyunkwan students regarded themselves not only as specially privileged elites, but almost as a part of the governmental system with semi-consultive rights. Sunggyunkwan students ruled much of their own intramural affairs, could collectively memorize the

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[1] Ibid., pp. 167-169.

[2] Gari Keith Ledyard, "The Korean Language Reforms of 1446: The Origin, Background, and Early History of the Korean Alphabet" (unpublished dissertation, Columbia University, 1962), p. 35.

[3] Korea Ministry of Education and National Commission for UNESCO, Education in Korea (Seoul, 1962), p. 35.

Confucian doctrines and, from the fifteenth century on, occasionally took to the streets in demonstration, being sometimes aroused to do so by "senior" Sunggyunkwan alumni within the administration.[1] The curriculum consisted of interpretative study of Chinese classical textbooks which had already been learned in the Hyangkyo. Passages were expounded by the teacher, and the commentaries by other scholars were consulted. Essays on literary themes were composed by the students, who strove for elegant style in prose and verse. These abilities, as well as comprehension of Confucian philosophy, were necessary for a good performance on the government examinations.

3. The Beginning of Modern Education

Protestant Christianity had entered Korea shortly after the country was opened to residence of Westerners toward the close of the nineteenth century. It took root among the humble but substantial agricultural population who, in their despair and disillusionment over the national humiliation of the occupation, turned to their new Faith for spiritual comfort, intellectual advancement, and in some cases, for political benefit.[2] Moreover, Christianity frequently influenced the underprivileged people to change their behavior, and inspired them to accept ideals of Christian belief that had previously been little known, such as equality, freedom, individual dignity, and democratic ideology. From the beginning, Christian missionary activity seemed not to be confined merely to the efforts of evangelical efforts, but also, in a broad sense, it dealt diligently with such matters as education, hospitalization,

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[1] Sa-yop Kim, Chosen Munhak-Sa (History of Korean Literature) (Seoul, 1950), p. 175.

[2] Oh, op. cit., pp. 48-50.

sanitation, and relief tasks which the Yi Government and the people had long neglected. The introduction of modern Western forms of education to the traditional society of Korea was perhaps one of the greatest and best contributions ever made. Dr. L. George Paik, a native scholar who has devoted his work to mission education, states:

> The establishment of Protestant missions influenced the nation in many ways. It furthered a better understanding of the West by imparting a knowledge of the superior material science, and the trustworthy and upright character of Westerners. The introduction of Western educational methods was also useful. The old educational system had trained a selected few for the civil service. The conception of public education and of modern curricula first came through contact with the missionaries. The establishment of schools for girls and women was also a distinctive contribution.
>
> The idea of institutional philanthropy was introduced through the hospitals and orphanages. The Koreans had been sympathetic and helpful neighbors to each other, but institutional philanthropy was new. Another monumental effect was the revival of the Korean script. The Korean alphabet should have been one of the best instruments in the history of the Korean culture, but scholars had despised it and had substituted the Chinese characters. The translation of the Bible and the Christian literature into Korean gave the occasion for the revival of the Korean script. What was probably the first attempt to compile a pure Korean grammar was made by Catholic and Protestant missionaries. The systematization of the spelling and the writing of the Korean script was also fostered.[1]

Thus, the Christian missionaires played an active role in cultivating a variety of revolutionary innovations on Korean education. Education for common people--including such people as butchers, buffoons, traveling performers, jailkeepers, fugitives, criminals and serfs--was one of the radical phenomena at that time. According to Dr. Paik's description, conversions among thousands of outcast class people soon became "one of the most remarkable features of evangelical efforts in and around the capital, and they were anxious to learn Hangul, Korean phonetic alphabet, in order to read the Bible."[2]

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[1]George Paik, The History of Protestant Missions in Korea (Pyengyang, Korea: Union Christian College Press, 1929), pp. 152-153.

[2]Ibid., p. 193.

In 1905, the northern Presbyterian mission founded Severance Union Medical College and its hospital in Seoul. This was "the first and the finest modern school and hospital system in the entire country."[1] Dr. Paik further pointed out: "perhaps one of the greatest revolutionary steps that the medical mission undertook was the training of Korean women for medical service."[2] At the same time, the foundation of a training school for nurses was an epochal educational achievement.

a. The Modern Elementary Schools (Elementary Mission Schools). For centuries, Korea had known the Old Chinese type of elementary school (the Sodang mentioned earlier) and it was continued on an unofficial basis until the first missionary schools were founded in 1885. In the beginning, the missionaries founded few schools, but there was a gradual increased number of Christians.[3] But even in the early days, the new curriculum was offered, replacing the Chinese characters and classics which alone were offered in the Sodangs. The first of these mission schools in 1885 added to the Chinese written language the Korean vernacular in Hangul (the native phonetic alphabet), the English language, basic arithmetic, and science courses in the upper grades. In addition, moral and religious courses in Christianity were given as the basis of all the courses.[4] These elementary schools were aimed at "giving such education as will immediately help the cultivation of moral character and the pursuit of daily life."[5] Thus the mission schools gave more

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[1] Ibid., p. 325.

[2] Ibid., pp. 325-326.

[3] Horace Horton Underwood, "Modern Education in Korea" (published Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, New York: International Press, 1926), p. 160.

[4] Ibid., p. 20.

[5] Manual of Education in Chosen, p. 26.

emphasis to the practical knowledge for daily life.[1]

b. The Missionary Secondary Schools. One significant fact was that the missions were eager to provide a secondary level of education for the Korean youngsters. The mission, however, had its own primary motives for its secondary schools, which the following statements clearly indicate:

> Education and spiritual development of the youth of the Church, with the view toward progressive evangelistic effort, and a qualified Church leadership, cultivating spiritual and intellectual growth throughout the entire membership of the Church, and developing character that shall embody standards of business integrity and efficiency.[2]

Nevertheless, mission education had made a contribution not only to the teaching of the Bible and Christian morality, but also the teaching and popularization of the vernacular language and the revitalization of indigenous culture. The introduction of the modern secondary curriculum including such subjects as mathematics, sciences, geography and history, as well as foreign language (English) was one of the turning points in the history of Korean education. Furthermore, Christian ideals concerning respect for the individual was naturally reflected in the classroom situation, so that the method of teaching and the teachers' regard for the pupils led to considerable change from the old Korean schools. These institutions became not only centers of learning about the West among Korean youths, but also mobilization centers for Korean intellectuals. They led early independence leaders to encourage their own patriotism for restoring freedom and independence from colonial forces.

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[1] Annual Report on the Administration of Chosen, 1923-24, pp. 7-8.

[2] The Korean Presbytery, Minutes and Reports of the Annual Meeting of the Chosen Meeting of the Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A. (Seoul: YMCA Press, 1921), p. 58.

c. The Mission School for Girls. Education for girls and women was another noteworthy achievement of the missions. The government of the Yi Korea had made no provisions for female education, so the majority of women from ancient times down to the turn of the nineteenth century were not even allowed to learn the basic characters of the Korean language. They had, therefore, known little of the World outside of their home environments. For most Korean women, education meant obedience to older members of the family and self-training for compliance to all requests.

In 1886, a missionary group of the Northern Methodist Church of the United States founded the first school for girls in the history of Korean education, following the establishment of "Pae-Chae" high school for boys in 1885. This mission school for girls called "Ewha Hackdang" (now Ewha Women's University with over 7,000 students and one of the largest women's universities in the world) was a truly pioneer institute for the education of females in Korea. Features of the modern curriculum, textbooks, instructional equipment, facilities, school buildings, and teaching methods could be seen in this institution as early as the turn of the century.

d. Modern Higher Education. The first actual higher education in the modern sense came in 1906, when the Christian missionaries opened the doors of Union Christian College in Pyungyang. Secondary education alone did not meet the needs of the people, and in 1915, Chosen Christian College was founded in Seoul in order to provide for the increasing necessity of higher education of Christian youngsters and future Christian leaders in such fields as evangelism, social service, medicine, education, journalism, and the translation and publication of

Christian literature.

By the time of the annexation in 1910, there were 76 mission-elementary schools with 37,767 pupils, 48 mission-secondary schools with 5,107 students; 4 mission-colleges including one women's college and one medical college; 3 theological seminaries including one of Catholic origin, one nursery training school, and many other religio-education institutions, such as YMCA's training clubs, evening schools for vocational training, and special schools for handicapped children.[1]

Following the abolition of the Sowon (acadamies) in the Taewongun period and the end of the examination system in 1894, Christian schools had begun to fill the gap, gradually from 1885 until 1903 and then in a deluge from 1903 on.

As a result of the missionary's contribution, their diligent devotion and their influence on education in the last few decades of the Yi Dynasty, the need to renovate the centuries-old educational institutions mounted. But the basically isolationist policy of the Authorities hampered and delayed introduction of the modern Western forms of education into that traditional society.

B. Colonial Policy and the New Educational System Under Japanese Domination in Korea, 1905-1945

Japanese colonial rule in Korea had passed through several distinctive political stages, each of which had significant functions in developing the new educational system. These stages might be classified into four periods: (1) the protectorate period (1905-1910), in which the Japanese government introduced the public educational system as a stepping-stone toward annexation; (2) the repression period (1911-1919),

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[1] Paik, op. cit., p. 395.

in which they established the new pattern of the educational system to dominate every aspect of Korean life; (3) the reform period (1920-1936), in which the Japanese revised the aim of the educational system toward cultural and political assimilation; and (4) the war period (1937-1945), in which the Japanese militarists reformed the educational system for war effort.[1]

1. The Beginning of the Colonial Policy and Education during the Protectorate Period, 1905-1910

With the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, Japan concluded a defense alliance with Korea, making Russia a common enemy of the two countries. In addition, Japan concluded a diplomatic and financial agreement with Korea to tighten further the relations between the two nations.

In the treaty of peace signed at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on September 5, 1905, the Imperial Russian Government pledged to accept Japan's paramount political, military, and economic interests in Korea. The Russian government further agreed neither to obstruct nor interfere with measures of guidance, protection, and control which Japan might find it necessary to take there.[2] From this time onward, Japan maintained a powerful army in Korea. This military superiority enabled Japan to induce the reluctant Korean government to conclude a series of agreements in 1904-1905 culminating in the treaty of November 17, 1905, which established a Japanese protectorate.[3] Under the treaty, Korea

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[1]Oh, op. cit., pp. 52-83.

[2]George M. McCune, Korea Today (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 22.

[3]Andrew J. Grajdanzev, Modern Korea (New York: The John Day Company, 1944), pp. 31-33.

not only handed over to the Japanese government the control of her foreign affairs,[1] but also obligated herself to accept Japanese advice and assistance for the improvement of its internal administration.[2]

In November, 1905, Japan created the Residency General of Korean Court to take charge of Korea's foreign affairs, but did not confine itself to overseeing foreign relations alone. "Advice and assistance" easily became interference and supervision and, with the passage of time, finally later extended itself over-all activities.

Japanese educational policy during the "protectorate" period began revising the basic Yi pattern of government-controlled system of education. Upon establishment of the "protectorate" in Korea, a great number of Japanese education advisors were sent to the Korean Ministry of Education, their major aims being to pattern the Korean educational system after the famous "Meiji Imperial Rescript" on education of 1890.[3] In order to demonstrate to the Koreans modern educational administrative and teaching methods, Japanese supervisors were dispatched to all public schools.[4] These supervisors were called "Kyokam" in elementary schools and "Hakkam" in secondary schools. They had de facto authority to control all school affairs, disregarding the existence of the Korean principals.[5]

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[1] Lee, op. cit., pp. 525-527.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Annual Report on the Administration of Chosen, 1921-22, p. 84.

[4] Syogo Oda, Chosen Kyoiku Sei-shi (History of the Korean Educational System) (Keijo: Chosen-Shi-Gokkai, 1924), p. 67.

[5] Ibid., p. 85.

2. The Repression Policy and Education, 1910-1919

After the establishment of a Resident General in Seoul in 1905, the Japanese assumed control of Korea within the next five years and finally forced the abdication of the recalcitrant Korean king in favor of his feeble-minded son in 1907. To the Korean people, this meant that the "last breath" was drawn, and Korea had expired! On August 26, 1910, under pressure, the Japanese finally succeeded in annexing the peninsula to the Japanese Empire. Terauch Masatake, Army general and one time War Minister, was appointed as the first Governor-General. Terauch arrived in Korea in July, 1910, to begin his rule in the new territory, and immediately set up a harsh and stern militaristic rule in order to enforce the subjugation of Korea.[1] Shannon McCune* gave his views on the situation:

> The Japanese kept military forces in Korea, in part for defense, and in part for training purposes. The head of the government, the Japanese Governor-General always a military man, could call upon these forces if need be, though he usually depended upon elaborate police systems to maintain law and order. Consequenly, Korea was essentially a police state. Japanese law was made the basis of government and was administered strictly and harshly. Old traditional forms of government were wiped out, as a new and alien force was imposed. The Korean people, losing their old traditions, felt little compulsion to adhere to the new. A rather lawless and very undemocratic situation resulted.[2]

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[1] Partway, op. cit., p. 38.

[2] Shannon McCune, Korea's Heritage: A Regional and Social Geography (Rutland, Vermont: Charles Tuttle Co., 1956), p. 44.

*Dr. Shannon McCune was born in Korea, the son of a Protestant missionary who dedicated his life to mission work and educational cultivation in Korea. Dr. McCune's vast personal knowledge and experiences with Korean people is ably reflected in his book, Korea: Land of Broken Calm. He is currently President of the University of Vermont.

a. Educational Policy. The basic educational goals and policy which the authorities of the Government-General employed in Korea during this period were described in the following section of the Meiji Rescript:

> Ye, our subject, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual facilities and perfect moral powers: furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only by our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.[1]

(1) Educational Ordinance of 1911: With this Imperial Rescript as the foundation of the new educational policy, the Educational Ordinance, No. 229, known as the "Chosen Educational Ordinance" was enacted on August 23, 1911, by the Governor-General of Korea.[2] Its guiding principles of educational policy were based upon the following articles:

Article I:	Education for Koreans in Chosen shall be given in accordance with this ordinance.
Article II:	The essential principles of education in Chosen shall be the making of loyal and good subjects by giving instructions on the basis of the Imperial Rescript on Education.
Article III:	Education in Chosen shall be adapted to the needs of the times and the conditions of the people.

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[1]Japan Ministry of Education, Meiji-igo no Kyoiku Seido Hatatsushi (History of the Development of the Education System Since the Meiji Period) (Tokyo, 1939), p. 12.

[2]Hugh Keenlyside and A. F. Thomas, History of Japanese Education (Tokyo: Neguro-Jinsan, 1938), p. 350. Also, The Japan Year Book of 1937 (Tokyo, Japan), p. 721.

Article IV: Education in Chosen is roughly classified into three types: common, vocational, and special education.

Article V: Common education shall aim at imparting common knowledge and art, special attention being paid to the engendering of national (Japanese) characteristics and spread of the national language (Japanese).

Article VI: Vocational education shall aim at imparting knowledge and skills concerning agriculture, commerce, and technical industry.

Article VII: Special education shall aim at imparting knowledge and skills of the higher branches of sciences and arts.[1]

In accordance with this ordinance, the Government General's major aim in educational policy, as states in Article IV, was to adapt an education in Korea "to the needs of the time and the conditions of the people."[2] The Koreans felt affronted by this ordinance for they resented being made subjects of Japan. Furthermore, Koreans felt they were considered of "low mentality" and in a backward condition.[3] Under such a restricted and discriminatory policy, education during this period was virtually limited to elementary education. "Training Koreans as workers rather than educated men"[4] was the ultimate colonial educational goal. As Shannon McCune expresses it: "The Koreans should be taught to follow, but not to know."[5]

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[1]Government-General of Chosen, Instruction, Regulations and Remarks Concerning Private Schools (Keijo (Seoul), 1915), pp. 1-2.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Underwood, op. cit., p. 192.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Shannon McCune, Korea: Land of Broken Calm (Princeton, New Jersey: Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1966), p. 28.

Table 1 shows only six higher common schools, including one for girls, and two private colleges existing in 1912.

The authorities of the Government-General evidently considered secondary and college education "harmful" for Koreans, so they were trained merely to be useful to the Japanese in order to compensate for the shortage of Japanese labor.[1] Therefore, no serious attempt was made to expand secondary and higher educational institutions.

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS FOR KOREANS AND NUMBER OF STUDENTS THEREOF, IN 1912[a]

Schools for Common Education	1,667
Common Schools	350
Pupils	44,638
Miscellaneous Private Schools	1,317
Pupils	55,313
Schools for Secondary Education	25
Higher Common Schools	6
Pupils	918
Technical Schools	19
Pupils	1,456
Colleges	2
Students	123

[a]Hackwonsa, Korea: Its Land, People and Culture of All Ages (Seoul: Hackwonsa, Ltd., 1960), p. 369.

[1]S. D. Reeve, The Republic of Korea: A Political and Economic Study (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 86-88.

(2) The Segregated School System: Another significant factor laid down in this ordinance was the establishment in Korea of separate school systems for Japanese and Koreans, which also hurt the Koreans' national feelings.[1] The new administration set up a strict discriminatory policy. Under this ordinance, as seen in Chart 1 on the following page, elementary schools for Korean children were called "common" schools, while the schools for Japanese children in Korea were called primary schools. Secondary schools for Korean pupils were called "higher common" schools or "higher girls' common schools," while schools for Japanese pupils were called middle schools or girls' middle schools. Common schools for Korean children had only a four-year course, while that of a primary school for Japanese children offered a six-year course. Similarly, where a four-year course of higher common schools for Korean pupils was provided, there was a five-year course in the middle schools for Japanese pupils.[2] Chart I and Table 2 show the peculiar educational situation which Korea faced, and the segregated educational system during this period.

Table 2 also indicates that almost every Japanese boy or girl of school age was in primary school, while only one out of four Korean children was in common school. In other words, more than seventy-five percent of the Korean children still did not attend schools. The number of Japanese children in middle schools was about seventy percent of the total number, indicating that about two-thirds of the Japanese of middle school age were in schools, while only one out of every twenty

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[1] Underwood, op. cit., p. 192.

[2] K. I. Ouno, Chosen Kyouku Kangken (The Views of Korean Educational Problems (Keijo (Seoul), Korea: Bureau of Education, 1936), pp. 35-38.

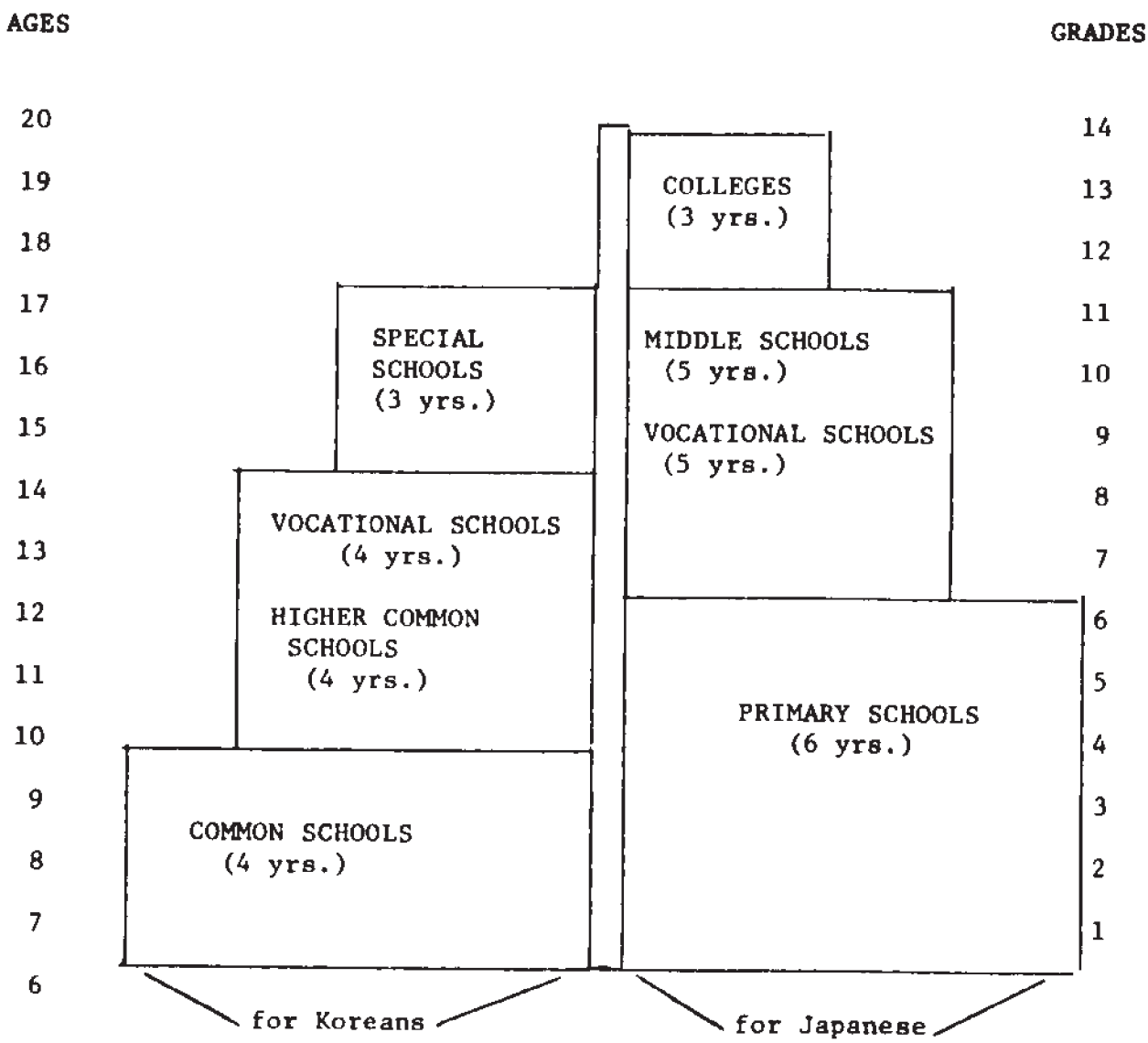

FIGURE I

THE YEARS OF EDUCATION OFFERED
KOREANS AND JAPANESE IN
KOREA IN 1911[a]

[a]Underwood, op. cit., p. 261.

TABLE 2

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF SCHOOLS IN KOREA FOR KOREANS AND JAPANESE, 1919[a]

Kinds of Schools	Number of Schools	Number of Students
1. Common School (Korean)	482	84,306
Primary School (Japanese)	380	42,732
2. Higher Common School (Korean)	5	1,705
Middle School (Japanese)	5	2,010
3. Girls' Higher Common Schools (Korean)	2	700
Girls' Middle School (Japanese)	4	1,105

[a]Lee, op. cit., pp. 188-189.

or thirty Koreans was as fortunate. Richard Werth describes the situation as follows:

> Most Japanese were able to enter secondary schools, while less than ten percent of those Koreans who finished the fourth grade were enabled to have further schooling. In the higher institutions, the three-percent minority actually out-weighed in numbers the Korean students . . . Regarding teachers, the evidence mounts that Koreans were never given a chance to develop leaders and administrators. Among elementary teachers, Koreans out-weighed their conquerors by 3:2, but among secondary school teachers, they were outnumbered 3.5:1. Could figures be obtained for such administrative positions as principals, headteachers, supervisors, inspectors, or chiefs of governmental education sections, they would show that virtually all these positions, even in the smaller schools, were held by Japanese.[1]

[1]Richard Werth, "Educational Developments under the South Korean Interim Government," School and Society, Vol. 69, No. 1793 (Saturday, April 30, 1949), 306.

3. Moderate Policy and Education During the Reform Period, 1920-1926

a. The March 1st Independence Movement. The colonial decade of extreme suppression and repressive bureaucracy had created an undertone of heated discontent under the first two straitlaced Governors-General. The pronouncement of President Wilson's Fourteen Points including the doctrine of the self-determination for the people of small nations had inspired the intelligentsia of Korea at the end of World War I.[1] Exiled Koreans in China and the United States, and Korean students in Japan, discussed their nationalistic desires with fervor. A serious effort on the part of the Koreans to declare their independence was made in the Independence Movement of March 1, 1919. The funeral ceremony for the old Korean King, Kojong, who had abdicated in 1907 under Japanese pressure, brought about emotional crowds of the politically conscious to Seoul as February turned to March, 1919. Leaders and representatives of a number of Protestant, Chondogyo (a native religion) and Buddhist communities met in late February and drafted an eloquent Declaration of Independence, which thirty-three of the leaders signed. With all preparations successfully concluded in secret despite the watchfulness of the state, and with religious communities throughout the country notified, on March 1, 1919. The signers then gave themselves up for arrest. Peaceful demonstrations of thousands of unarmed citizens and students took place in Seoul and many other centers throughout the country. The surprised Japanese, careful not to create a riot by firing into the crowds, replied to the demonstrations with arrests, tortures, and even

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[1]Grajdanzev, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

village burnings.[1]

Throughout the country, aroused students reasserted their demands and protested along with citizens. Largely because of the role of Christianity in education and in the movement, girl students were prominent, and women played an important part in the demonstrations for the first time on the national political stage. The movement marked the first national response to a Western idea, the first proof in centuries that Korean determination could be national in scope.

The Japanese government now realized that severe military rule was not a wise step. The events of 1919 concentrated the attention of Japanese policy-makers on Korea for the first time in a decade. The demonstrations chanced to occur in the period of the victory of Premier Hara and Japanese public opinion, always torpid on colonial matters, was not greatly aroused. But Japan was embarrassed by the international publicity, and her more liberal statesmen and bureaucrats voiced concern. As a result, Field Marshall Hasegawa was replaced in August, 1919, by a more liberal Governor-General, Admiral Saito Minoru, who was sensitive and sympathetic.[2]

b. The Educational Ordinance of 1922. Immediately after the Government-General was reorganized in 1919, greater efforts were put forth in favor of educational development. In 1920, an ad hoc committee was organized to study necessary educational reforms and finally, in

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[1]The Government-General of Chosen, The Chosen Dokuritsu Shiso Oyobi Undo (Korean Independent Sentiments and Movements), Investigation Document No. 10, Information Section (General Affairs Government-General, 1924), p. 102, lists 19,225 as arrested in the March Independence Movement; 1,363,900 as participating; 6,670 killed.

[2]Ouno, op. cit., pp. 93-95.

1921, positive plans resulted, which became the basis for the New Educational Ordinance issued in 1922.[1] This ordinance properly provided more educational facilities and raised the educational standards of Koreans to the same level as the system of education in Japan proper.[2]

c. Integrated School System. Under the New Educational Ordinance of 1922, the completely separate school system between Korean and Japanese was reorganized to permit a limited number of Koreans to attend the public schools for the Japanese. The great improvement of education was to be that the Koreans were "to receive one and the same education despite the language difference."[3] The Korean elementary school was greatly expanded in its enrollment from 20,100 in 1910 to 89,300 in 1919, and raised from four years to six although in certain cases it was shortened again to a five- or a four-year course.[4]

4. Assimilation Policy and Education During the War Period, 1937-1945

The Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910 was indeed merely the first step on the road toward her ambition of building the Empire of the "Great East Asia."[5] The acquisition of Manchuris in 1931 was another historical event of the Japanese expansion. Since Japanese militarism reached its peak during the period following the establishment of the puppet government of Manchuria,[6] the entire orbit of the Japanese Empire,

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[1] Ibid., pp. 111-113.

[2] Ibid., pp. 123-132.

[3] Annual Report on the Administration of Chosen, 1922-23, p. 82.

[4] Ibid., "1924-26," p. 92.

[5] Oliver, op. cit., p. 78.

[6] Lee, op. cit., p. 181.

including Korea, was under the ever-increasing grip of militarism.

In 1937, the key military extremist, General Mimami Jiro, became Governor-General (1937-1942) and complete assimilation was rushed as part of the war effort. The Korean language was dropped from courses and soon forbidden in the schools and in business. In December 1937, "thought control" was introduced and the "thought police" were progressively strengthened. In 1937-38, the Japanese dissolved all indigenous Korean social and political organizations, and even mild political activities were stopped.

In February 1933, the so-called "Army Special Volunteers Act" was promulgated in Korea, military training was introduced into all secondary schools, colleges and the university, and Koreans began to be allowed "by special Imperial grace" to volunteer.[1] Steps toward compulsory drafting were taken, and increasing numbers of "volunteers" were accepted. In 1940, the Asia National Total Mobilization League was organized, but only in January 1944 did a conscription bill for Koreans become effective. In November, 1942, this "progress" toward assimilation had been marked by an "end of colonialism." Korea received the "Imperial grace" of the new administration under the Japanese Home Ministry as a principal unit of local government. Under the administration of Governor-General Koiso (1942-1944), residents of Korea became eligible to represent to the Japanese Diet to which General Abe, the last Governor-General (1944-1945), appointed six. But the sudden end of war had made them unable to take their seats. Korea was then thoroughly incorporated as a subject nation by the Japanese Government-General and

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[1]Pak Kyong-sik, "Taiheiyo Sensor-ni okeru Choasenjin Kyosei Renko (Koreans forced to enter the Pacific War)", Rekinshigaku Kenkyu (Historical Research), No. 297 (February, 1965), 30-46.

every effort was made to assimilate the country into the war effort.

a. Education for the War Effort. In 1937, Governor-General Minami's office announced a decree on the major principles of educational policy which can be summed up in three main points:

1. Indoctrination of "Koudo" principles (Japanese Spirit) for mobilization of Korean people.
2. Political-cultural assimilation for building national unity.
3. Dedication of labor supply for the war effort.[1]

These principles were to be applied to all aspects of Korean education including goals and purposes, administration, and instruction of students, regardless of circumstances.

In implementing the first principle of the indoctrination of "Japanese Spirit" for the Koreans, moral education was placed as a cardinal subject in school curricula at all levels. In order to achieve this goal, first of all, the compulsory acceptance of Shintoism as the national religion was strictly enforced. All teachers and students were ordered to worship Shinto at its shrines which had been built in every school and township in Korea. As a result, a great number of Christian Mission Schools, for example, were forced to close down for refusing to comply.[2]

For application of the second principle, the Government-General rushed complete assimilation through education as a part of the war effort. The artificial historical theory was created that the ancestors of both nations (Japan and Korea) were the same.[3] Through this theory, the "genuine" brotherhood of Japanese and Koreans was stressed. The

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[1]Lee, op. cit., II, p. 339.

[2]Oh, op. cit., pp. 316-322.

[3]Ouno, op. cit., p. 491.

inevitable result was the strict enforcement of using the Japanese language in schools and at home.

Finally, as the following Figure II shows, the names of the elementary and secondary schools and of "common" and "higher common" or girls' higher common" were changed to "primary" and "middle" or "girls' middle" schools after the pattern of the Japanese school system, so that it might eliminate the impression abroad of distinction between the two separate sets of names.[1]

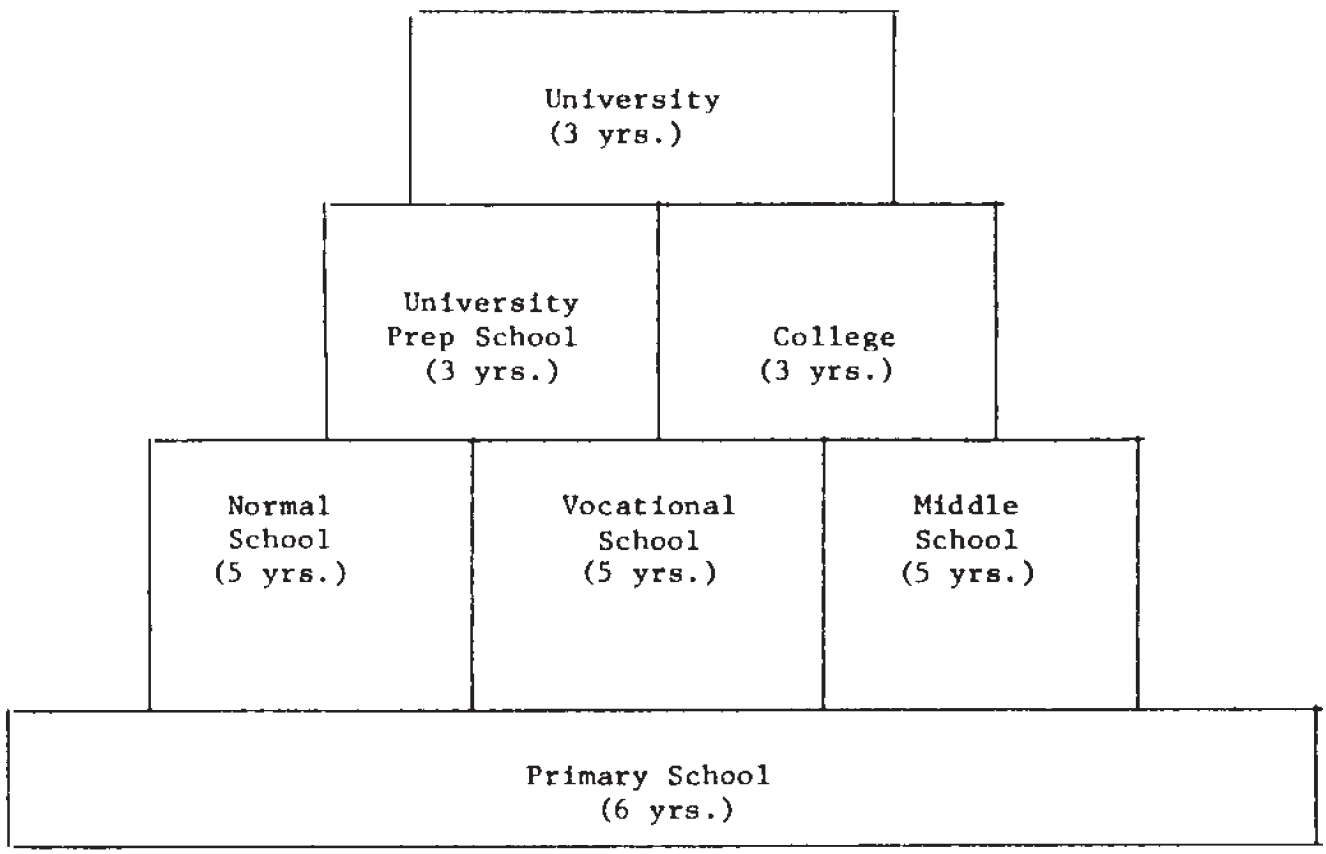

FIGURE II

THE SCHOOL STRUCTURE FOR
JAPANESE AND KOREANS
IN KOREA IN 1937[a]

[a]Hackwonsa, op. cit., p. 345.

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[1]Byung-do Lee, Hankuk-sa Kai Kwan (Outline of Korean History) (Seoul, Korea: Bomoon-Kak Press, 1964), pp. 74-78.

To conform to the third principle, the Government-General established an office in January 1938 to supply student labor-forces for the war effort, and these "student labor services" for secondary and college students became one of the crucial sources for the further recruitment of skilled manpower. In February 1938, as was already mentioned, the Army Special Volunteers Act was inaugurated in Korea, and a severe military training program was introduced in all Korean schools and colleges.

After Japan declared war on the United States and Britain in 1941, the educational system in Korea became, ever increasingly, an arsenal to reinforce the war effort. A complete revision of the Educational Law of 1938 was made. The secondary course was shortened to four years from five, and the university preparatory school and college courses were shortened from three to two years. Both Koreans and Japanese in elementary and secondary schools were to be educated in the same curriculum and in accordance with the same standards that were in Japan proper.[1] This was a gateway for further steps toward a compulsory drafting. In order to fill the manpower shortage at the height of the war, authorities finally began to conscript Korean students into the Japanese military services and into war industry, governmental factories, or coal mines under the slogan of "dedication to labor for the achievement of national goals." School girls were brought to army ordinance factories for general help, sewing army uniforms and making packages for Japanese troops in the front line. Schools as such were therefore, virtually

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[1]The Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, The Japanese Year Book (1941), p. 878.

closed in the last months of the war.[1] Professor Rim describes the situation of Korean schools during this period as follows:

> At both the male and female schools and colleges, students were required to spend so many of their school hours at military drill, air-raid drill, labor service, visiting the shrines, collecting refuse, and viewing war films, that their school work was completely neglected. With their minds filled with Japanese mysticism, their culture replaced by Japanese culture, and their school reorganized as semi-military training institutes, their intellectual development was brought to a complete halt.[2]

This situation was continued until the last moment when Japan finally surrendered to the Allied powers in 1945. With the victory of the Allies, nearly four decades of Japanese colonial rule in Korea was ended. Concommitantly, the educational system which had been for the main purpose of Japanization of the Koreans and used as a means of mobilizing them for war efforts, came to an end.

C. The United States Military Government and Educational Reorganization in South Korea, 1945-1948

1. Political Situation Prior to the American Military Occupation on September 8, 1945

a. Korean questions on International Conferences. The Korean question, formally decided with the annexation of the country by Japan in 1910, was reopened by the Cairo Declaration on December 1, 1943, when the United States, Great Britain, and China affirmed their determination to bring Japan, once defeated, back into its territorial limits existing prior to the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. The Declaration stated that

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[1]Rim, Han-Young, "Development of Higher Education in Korea During the Japanese Occupation, 1910-1945" (unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952), pp. 194-195.

the three signatory governments, "mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course, Korea shall become free and independent."[1] At the Potsdam Conference of July 1945, the three powers reaffirmed the Cairo Declaration and further declared that "Japan shall surrender all her colonial territories and possessions,"[2] implying that Korea, as well as other Japanese colonies, would be free after the war. The Soviet Union announced its formal adherence to the Potsdam Declaration on August 8, 1945, in its declaration of war on Japan, thus raising to four the number of great powers who had an interest in Korea's future.

However, the tragic fate of Korea and her people to be divided into North and South had already been agreed among the Allied powers at the Yalta Conference in February 1945, without consultation with the Korean people.[3] The military occupation of Korea, both North and South, along with the division at the 38th parallel, inevitably came to have administrative and political significance, for Korea was thus sharply divided in political ideology. This was a most unfortunate decision for the Korean people, the consequences of which they would have to suffer for years to come.

2. The United States Military Occupation in South Korea

The United States forces, hastily rerouted from Manila, did not land in Korea until September 8, 1945. Thereupon, Soviet forces which had advanced south of the 28th parallel as far as Seoul, withdrew when

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[1]Cordell Hull, The Memoirs of Cordell Hull (New York: The Mc-Millan Co., 1948), p. 1596.

[2]The American University, op. cit., p. 35.

[3]Fortway, op. cit., pp. 43-44.

the United States forces arrived. Lieutenant General John R. Hodge, a successful army unit commander in Okinawa, had just been appointed as a commander of the United States Occupation forces in Korea.[1]

As the American military forces entered Korea, it was evident that no proper preparation had been made, either at the policy or at the operational level. Philip Taylor pointed out the inadequacy of the U.S. Military personnel for the operation of military government in South Korea as follows:

> . . . There was almost a complete lack of training and preparation for military government for Korea. This is not the place to inquire what dictates of high policy in Washington repeatedly prohibited the study of Korea in Army schools. The fact is that only a few military government officers were given any appreciation of conditions in Korea, and they were trained in the last two classes at the School of Military Government, which began two months after the Japanese surrender. Policies and plans for the occupation of Korea were not available when the time came to act.[2]

The aims of the United States Military Government in South Korea seemingly pursued two major objectives: first, to achieve the establishment of a unified, independent, and democratic Korea, in accordance with the promise of the Cairo Declaration; and secondly, pending or failing the achievement of that goal, to contain Communist expansion and prevent the Communists from taking over the whole of Korea.[3] George M. McCune views the aims of American Military occupany in South Korea as merely military rather than political:

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[1] Ibid., pp. 42-44.

[2] Carl J. Friedrich, American Experience in Military Government in World War II (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1948), p. 356.

[3] E. Grant Mead, American Military Government in Korea (New York: Kings Crown Press, 1951), pp. 44-45.

> . . . Americans, likewise, turned attention to the encouragement of democratization, took up a campaign against Communism, and sought to establish an effective representative Korean administration under Military Government.
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> In the American Zone, occupation tended to develop directly along three lines: (1) progressive relinquishment of more and more administrative responsibilities to the Korean bureaucracy; (2) establishment of a semi-legislative assembly which could reflect Korean wishes and share the burden of policy formation; and (3) suppression of Communist agitation which threatened to weaken the development of democratic institutions.[1]

3. Educational Reorganization

a. Difficult Problems. Upon the arrival of the United States forces in South Korea on September 8, 1945, the Military Government began its educational administration within the basic system left by the Japanese.

On September 29, three weeks after their arrival, the Military Government authorities announced their initial instructions on educational policy in "Ordinance No. 6" regarding the reopening of all schools previously controlled by the Japanese Government-General in Korea.[2] From the beginning of its educational administration, the Military Government was faced with many difficulties, including an extreme scarcity of teaching personnel and instructional materials as well as a complicated multiple-track structure in the educational system itself. In fact, after the defeat of the Japanese in August 1945, the repatriation of Japanese nationals in Korea left the school system in a critical situation because of the serious depletion in the teaching personnel and qualified educational administrators. Almost one-third of the elementary school

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[1]George M. McCune, Korea Today (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 72.

[2]Korea, The Ministry of Education, Kwado-Chongfu-wi Daehanminkuk-Chungfu-we Daehan Munkyofu Samu-inkeso (A Document on the Department of Education under the Interim Government of Korea) (Seoul, 1948), p. 20.

teachers, and the great majority of the college and university (Keijo Imperial University) faculty members were not available at the time of the reopening of the school year.[1] George McCune describes the difficult situation at the time as follows:

> The removal of Japanese technicians and managers was regarded as an urgent political necessity, in spite of the fact that their departure would create a serious problem. Within five months, practically all of the Japanese had been removed. This sudden change, of course, causes a good deal of confusion. It was made much more serious by the extreme scarcity of Koreans who were qualified either by training or by experience to succeed the Japanese. The Japanese at no time encouraged the development of the scientists, engineers, and administrators, nor even of the skilled workers, required to operate the economic establishment in Korea. The public schools themselves, even at elementary levels, suffered from lack of trained personnel, which is not surprising when possible 90 percent of the adult population had no formal schooling. At the technical level, there was a critical shortage of qualified instructors, and in the shops, learning on the job was handicapped by the shortage of skilled workers.[2]

Official sources of 1945 indicates that many qualified teachers were promoted from teaching posts to administrative and higher positions in government,[3] resulting in a great deal of inadequacy and difficulty in the recruitment of qualified teachers.[4]

Liberation indeed made Koreans bitterly resentful of the previous Japanese discriminatory policies. Dr. Don Adams has pointed out that: "The immediate effect of being freed from colonial rule was violent re-

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[1]United States Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK), History of Bureau of Education (Seoul, 1946), p. 4.

[2]McCune, op. cit., p. 93.

[3]UNESCO, Rebuilding Education in the Republic of Korea: A Report of the UNESCO-UNKRA Education Planning Mission to Korea (Paris, France, 1954), p. 26.

[4]Oh, op. cit., p. 384.

pudiation of everything Japanese."[1] The immediate course was the burning and destruction of almost all the Japanese textbooks and written materials.[2] As a result, the lack of instructional materials and equipment became acute. The shortage of classrooms and the inadequacy of the educational facilities, including laboratories were another serious problem in Korean education.

b. The National Committee on Educational Planning. The American military authorities were aware of the difficulty of the tasks which confronted them. On October 21, 1945, they finally inaugurated a broadly stated basic policy, called the "Directive," which presented considerably detailed administrative regulations and policies aimed at the establishment of a democratic educational system. But they did not have a clear-cut idea as to how the policy could be best implemented.[3] The Committee was basically an advisory body for the Bureau of Education of the Military Government, but its role was greatly extended to deal with initiating regulations and making recommendations on educational policies under the direction of the Occupation authorities. The Committee met with a minimum of restraints.

For effectiveness, the Committee was divided into the following ten subcommittees: (1) Educational Purpose and Objectives, (2) Educational Organization, (3) Educational Administration, (4) Elementary Education, (5) Secondary Education, (6) Vocational Education, (7) Higher Education,

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[1]Don Adams, "Problems of Reconstruction in Korean Education," Comparative Education Review, Vol. 3, No. 3 (February, 1960), 30.

[2]Ibid. Also, Lee, op. cit., p. 391.

[3]Ibid., pp. 306-307.

(8) Teacher Training, (9) Textbooks, and (10) Medical Education.[1] Each Subcommittee was a responsible body, assuming such tasks as selection of educational programs and making recommendations to the National Committee. The National Committee normally acted on the issues proposed by each subcommittee.

c. The Purpose and the Objectives of Education. On March 7, 1946, under the direction of the Occupation authorities, the National Committee on Educational Planning adopted the new objectives of Korean education, aimed at respecting the fundamental human rights for developing responsible citizenry.[2] These new objectives of education read as follows:

1. Formation of character which is realized in international friendship and harmony as well as in national independence and self-respect;

2. Emphasis on individual responsibility and a spirit of mutual assistance; enforcement of a spirit of faithful and practical service;

3. Contribution to human civilization by originating science and techniques and by refining and enhancing national culture;

4. Cultivation of a spirit of persistent-enterprise by elevating the physical standards of the people;

5. Cultivation of sincere and complete character by emphasis on the appreciative and creative power of fine arts.[3]

These objectives effectively functioned as the fundamental principles of Korean education and were also applied to the current educational system without major change.

d. The School Reorganization. The school system in South Korea underwent substantial change under the American Military Government.

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[1]Oh, op. cit., p. 383.

[2]Ibid., pp. 401-402.

[3]Werth, op. cit., p. 306.

In implementing the above five educational objectives, the National Committee on Educational Planning adopted the new school structure plan in March 1946, under the direction of the military authorities. This new plan aimed at providing equal opportunity for all and prohibited discrimination on account of creed, sex, social status, economic position, or family origin. The Committee proceeded with its implementation of this ideal in a variety of ways, including: (1) the consolidation of the multiple-track school into a single-track school common to all; (2) the development of comprehensive upper secondary schools; (3) the increase in the number of colleges and universities to make higher education more accessible; and (4) the provision of junior colleges to provide training at the semi-professional level.[1]

Under the Japanese school system in Korea, a multiple system had begun to evolve which consisted of five separate tracks, including (1) academic track for boys; (2) girls' track; (3) normal school track; (4) industrial or vocational school track; and (5) youth school track. The new school system was meant to be a single track with the youth of the country climbing the same school ladder. As Figure III shows, the new pattern of 6-3-3-4 system was basically similar to the structure of schools existing in many parts of the United States. Under the new system, a child went to school at the age of six for a six-year compulsory elementary education. Post-elementary education began in the middle school and lasted for three years. To be admitted into a middle school, a selective test had to be passed. High school education proper lasted for three years. The general high school had an academic bias and was either literary with a language, or social studies. Secondary vocational

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[1] Ibid., pp. 414-420.

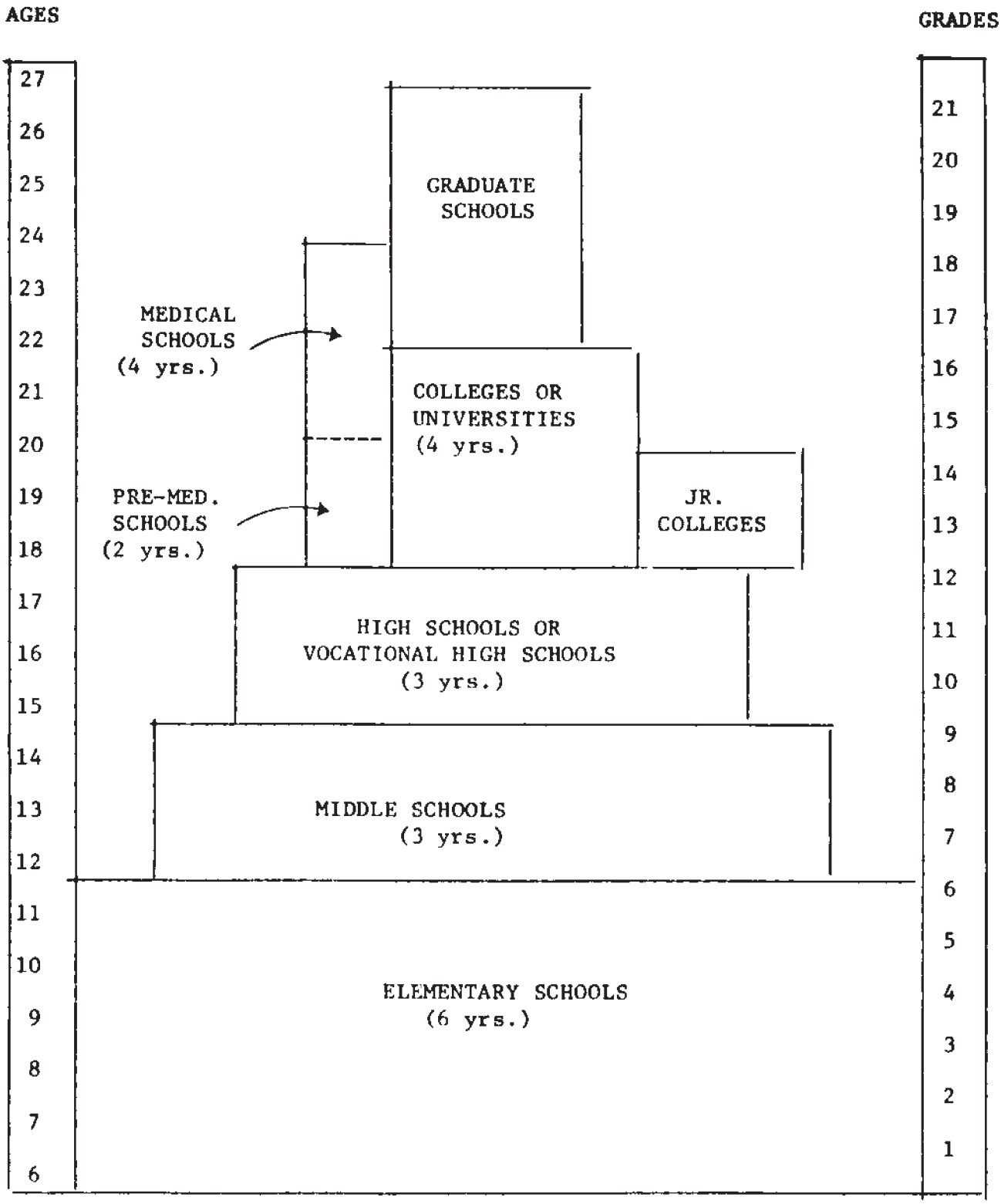

FIGURE III

THE KOREAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM, 1946[a]

[a]UNESCO, op. cit., p. 27.

education was largely concentrated on such fields as agriculture, industry, or commercial studies. The middle school certificate is a prerequisite for admission to any school of secondary level. Higher education began at about the age of 18 and was accessible to students who had their secondary school certificates. An admission test was required for getting into colleges and universities.

e. Revision of Curriculum. Under the guidance of American curriculum experts, the National Committee on Educational Planning adopted the fundamental principles of curriculum for common education (elementary and secondary education) in September, 1946, after a long period of study. The principles adopted by the Committee were formally authorized by the military authorities on October 7, 1946, and read:

1. To strengthen moral education.
2. To improve pupils' basic abilities and expand scientific and technical education.
3. To provide well-balanced education in order to develop the well-rounded personality and character.
4. To provide pupils with education best suited to their abilities, aptitudes, and future career.[1]

On the basis of these principles, elementary and secondary education were basically reorganized, aiming toward the development of the potentialities of each individual. These principles were also aimed at helping him to form desirable attitudes and the discretion necessary for a successful life as a member of a democratic society.

The major changes in the elementary and secondary curricula were therefore not only a revision of the purpose and goals based upon democratic ideals, but were also a replacement of "morals" with "civics,"

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[1]Oh, op. cit., p. 401.

Japanese language with Korean language, and Japanese history with Korean history. Probably the most controversial break with the past curriculum in elementary and secondary education was a replacement of the "separated subject matter" curriculum, by the so-called "integrated" or "broad-field" type of curriculum. Such subjects as history, geography, and civics, for example, were unified into a broad subject called "social studies" which was essentially a new departure rather than a lumping together of the former courses. Another example of such integration was that the subject matter areas of reading, spelling penmanship, composition, and grammar which were usually offered separately as independent subjects, were integrated and simply called "Korean language."

A significant reform in the secondary curriculum took place in the numerous science and mathematics courses, which became respectively, a general science course and a general mathematics course. Korean language at the secondary level, formerly treated as grammar and literature, was now taught to develop reading, speaking, listening and writing skills for use in communication. English began to be taught by the oral method, using such devices as tape recordings, dramatizations of stories and poems, classroom conversations, and the like. Physical education shifted from emphasis on calisthenics and formal drill to group games and organized sports, aiming at the development of desirable qualities of citizenship and character.

f. Vocational Education. Vocational education in the upper secondary schools was carried on mainly through such subjects as agriculture, industry, commerce, fishery and domestic arts. To prepare middle-level industrial workers, vocational education was designed to provide students with fundamental knowledge and skills related to their future occupation. Experiments and practical exercises, including home

projects, were emphasized in schools.

g. Revision of Teacher Education. From the Occupation authorities' point of view, teacher education needed complete redirection. For about two generations of Japanese domination in Korea, instructions for normal school students were that they must be trained in habits of strict obedience to commands and instructions of superiors, and of correctness in their behavior and speech. The regulations for normal schools in 1943 indicated that:

> The essence of the national (Japanese) entity must be clarified, and together with a realization of the Empire's Mission, a keen consciousness of loyalty must be fostered and leadership training for national accomplishments stressed . . . instilling in the students a fervent interest in the teaching profession, faith in the national entity and in the Imperial administrative policies.[1]

Such was the fundamental background of the education of some 40,000 teachers at the beginning of the American Military Government in 1945.

The Occupation authorities recommended that normal schools should be reorganized on the three-year high school (upper secondary school) level for elementary school teachers when necessary in order to provide enough teachers in a time of shortage. Normal school faculties should be free to determine curricular changes without direction from government officials except for maintenance of general standards. The curriculum emphasized liberal arts, the study of child psychology, theory of curriculum, classroom management, and home and school relationships. It provided adequately for observation, participation and student teaching.

The normal schools and teachers' colleges were early assigned by the Department of Education to assist in orienting elementary and secondary teachers in educational philosophy and introducing new teach-

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[1]Ouno, op. cit., p. 264.

ing methods and texts. This responsibility for in-service training was theirs until 1950, when boards of education were established and teacher consultants were trained to work at the local level under the new government of the Republic of Korea. The leadership of this program then became the responsibility of the Department of Education.

"Short session" courses, lasting 20 days (usually in the summer vacation) were one of the major in-service training programs for unqualified teachers and principals at the time. They were carried out by the normal schools and teachers' colleges, sponsored by the Department of Education and aided by the Occupation authorities. The first ones were held in the summer of 1947. These programs included a study of general principles of education, educational psychology, school administration, curriculum and supervision, teaching methods, and principles of pupil guidance. Nearly 5,000 elementary and secondary teachers and principals were trained by these in-service training programs in the summer of 1947.[1]

The reconstruction of the educational system in South Korea was one of the most noteworthy achievements of the United States Military Government. Educational reforms by the military authorities were indeed numerous, such as democratization, modernization, and decentralization of the educational system of South Korea. Among specific reforms designed to carry out these aims were included the provisions of greater equality of educational opportunity through the conversion of the multiple track system, and establishment of the new curriculum and teaching methods. To train for intelligent participation in a new democracy, a new content was introduced, notably social studies at elementary and

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[1]Korea, The Ministry of Education, op. cit., p. 46.

secondary levels.

The 6-3-3-4 pattern of school structure, the foundation of free and compulsory education, and the introduction of democratic education and its atmosphere to school administration and to classrooms--all were reforms that have remained basic to present South Korean education.

III. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW REPUBLIC AND ITS EDUCATIONAL PROVISIONS

On the 15th of August, 1948, after thirty-six years of Japanese colonial rule and three years of American Military Occupation, Koreans in the southern half of the peninsula witnessed the inauguration of the Republic of Korea as a constitutional, democratic state. To the Koreans, who had no democratic tradition, the birth of the Republic represented the beginning of a promising new era of democracy. For the first time in the four decades of foreign domination, Koreans were completely responsible for establishing a new government.

The unexpected and serial political transformations, however, resulted in rapid educational changes. Under the new constitution of the Republic, provisions were set up for the formation of the new educational system. However, the new educational system was not basically changed from the fundamental pattern of education which had been formulated during the three years of American Military Occupation.

A. Education in the Structure of Government

1. The Constitution and its Provisions for Education

The Constitution of the Republic of Korea, which was adopted by the National Assembly on July 12, 1948, was a lengthy document containing ten chapters and one hundred and two articles. The Constitution instituted a system of three independent branches of government: The National Assembly, the executive, and the judiciary. The main provisions of the

Constitution showed some "traces of both the principles of responsible parliamentary democracy and of the American concept of an independent executive."[1]

The general provisions of the Constitution, in part, declared that the Koreans were engaged in the re-establishment of a democratic and independent state. These provisions were determined:

> To establish a democratic system of government eliminating evil social customs of all kinds,
>
> To afford equal opportunity to every person and to provide for the fullest development of the capacity of each individual in all the fields of political, economic, social, and cultural life.[2]

Thus, the Constitution specified that the Republic of Korea "shall be a democratic and republican state" and that "the sovereignty of the Republic of Korea shall reside in the people from whom all state authority emanates."[3] In Chapter II, the Constitution guaranteed the individual's basic rights, freedom, and equality. These were included in Article 9 and read as follows:

> . . . equality before the law, personal liberty, freedom of domicile, freedom from trespass and unlawful search, freedom of private correspondence, and freedom of speech, press, assembly and association, the equality of men and women, and the rights to elect public officials and hold public office.[4]

The Constitution added that, "laws imposing restrictions upon the liberties and rights of citizens shall be enacted only when necessary

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[1]George M. McCune, Korea Today (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 236.

[2]Chairak Kim and Nakyon Kim eds., Moonkyo Bobjon (Educational Code) (Seoul, Korea: Pomon Publishing Company, 1968), p. 23.

[3]Paul S. Dull, "South Korean Constitution," Far Eastern Survey, Vol. XVII (September 8, 1948), 206.

[4]Kim and Kim, op. cit., p. 23.

for the maintenance of public order or the welfare of the community."[1] The Freedom and rights of individual citizens were thus guaranteed. But, as some critics commented, when deemed necessary by ruling powers "for the maintenance of public order or the welfare of the community" meant that all these liberties could be restricted "with the provision of the law."[2]

Among all of the provisions of the Constitution, its most remarkable feature was to clearly stipulate educational responsibility. The educational provision spelled out in Article 16 of the Constitution reads as follows:

> All citizens shall be entitled to equal opportunity for education. At least elementary education shall be compulsory and free of charge. The educational system shall be determined by law and all educational institutions shall be placed under the supervision of the State.[3]

The leaders of the New Republic and the Constitutional framers probably believed that education was an essential element for achieving the democratic ideal of government. Article 16 reflects such a conviction by the use of the impressive words "compulsory and free" and the provision for universal education at the elementary level.

2. The Function of the National Assembly on Education

The Constitutional Assembly was inaugurated on May 31, 1948, after a general election was held under the supervision of the United Nations on May 10 of the same year. The National Assembly, as the supreme lawmaking body, was constitutionally assured an independent posi-

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[1]Nam-jin Kim "Sahoe Kujowa Honbop Jilso (Social Structure and Constitutional Order)", Sasangge Monthly (July, 1961), 50.

[2]Dull, op. cit., p. 207.

[3]U.S. State Department, Korea: 1945-1948, U.S. State Department Publication No. 3305 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1948), p. 81.

tion as one of the three branches of government. It was unicameral and exercised the legislative power exclusively. A four-year term was provided for the members of the Assembly, elected by "universal, equal, direct, and secret vote."[1] The President and Vice-President were elected by the Constituent Assembly for a two-year term. The President, in turn, appointed the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and Prime Minister, both of whom had to be approved by the National Assembly.

The noteworthy functions of the Assembly were to deliberate on and enact all legislative bills regarding educational matters introduced either by the members of the Assembly or by the Minister of Education. The Assembly had power to examine and approve the annual budget proposed by the Minister of Education. A particular interest of the Assembly was to conduct its general or special inspection of the Ministry of Education and to look into the status of its administration. Furthermore, the Assembly was empowered by the Constitution to recommend to the President dismissal of the Prime Minister or any member of the President's Cabinet including the Minister of Education.[2]

3. The Executive Power and Its Control of Education

a. Presidency. The President headed the executive branch of the government, under a system of government similar to that of the United States.[3] The most significant fact presented in the provisions of the Constitution of the Republic was "the power of the Presidential

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[1]Kim, op. cit., p. 206.

[2]The American University, U.S. Army Handbook for Korea, Department of the Army Pamphlet 550-41 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), pp. 212-214.

[3]Dull, op. cit., p. 207.

office."[1] As George McCune pointed out, it was apparent that "the new government did not intend the Presidency to be a passive office."[2] The President, for example, assumed the chairmanship of the State Council, the highest executive policy-making body, and was also the supreme commander of the nation's armed forces. Article 73 of the Constitution gave the President emergency powers, and also the power to issue orders having the effect of law. For example, in time of civil war or other crises, the President was permitted to take the initiative when the convocation of the Assembly was not possible.[3] Furthermore, some powers normally found in the legislature were to be exercised by the executive as presidential powers.[4]

As the head of the State, the President was authorized by law to issue educational ordinances and decrees for implementing his powers. In addition, he was empowered to appoint his Cabinet Members or the State Council Members including the Minister of Education without ratification by the National Assembly. He was vested with supreme authority to conduct the nation's educational policy-making. Such Presidential powers belonged to him under the Constitution.[5]

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[1]G. M. McCune, op. cit., p. 236.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Five issues were categorized in Article 73 of the Constitution of the Republic of Korea.

[4]Sang Hyop Kim, "Hunpob Jongshin (The Spirit of Constitution)," Sasangge Monthly, Vol. VIII, No. 6 (June, 1960), 165-173.

[5]The presidentially responsible system of government, reflected the views of President Rhee, who helped to draft it, and who described in a letter written on July 5th of that year, the division of opinion during the debate on the Constitution between those who wanted the French system of legislative dominance over the executive and those who favored the American system. Urging that the American system ensured stability, Rhee stated that the committee changed its recommendation and decided to keep the premier in name, but to make him an assistant to the president, the real executive head.

b. The State Council and Its Function on Education. As to the State Council, the Constitution declared:

> The State Council shall act as a collegiate body. It shall be composed of the President, the Prime Minister and other Ministers, and shall decide on important national policies which come within the scope of the powers of the President . . .[1]

The State Council, of which the President was chairman, thus consisted of the Prime Minister and Heads of Cabinet Ministers, and was the highest administrative organ of the Republic. The major function of the Council, stipulated in Article 86 of the Constitution, was to assist the Chief Executive in exercising effective administration. The Council deliberated on important educational policies as well as other state affairs falling within the scope of the power and responsibility of the President. Legislation bills on educational affairs proposed by the Minister of Education were practically resolved by the Council before sending them to the legislature for enactment into law.

c. The Local Government and Its Role In Education. Article 109 of the Republic's Constitution provided for establishment of home rules, within limitations, by national ordinance and the administration organization law. The local government therefore exercised administrative authorities over specified local areas under the supervision of the central administrative organs. The local levels of administrative units included nine provinces (do), one hundred and nineteen counties (gun), and one thousand, four hundred and seventy-seven municipalities (myon) throughout the country (South Korea) in 1948. Of these local units of government, the counties later became the local school districts which organized "gun" boards of education for administration of elementary schools.

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[1]John Kie-Chiang Oh, Korea: Democracy on Trial (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1968), p. 18.

Under President Rhee's highly centralized system of government, local government organs were allowed very limited authority. They were all closely controlled by the Bureau of Local Affairs of the Ministry of Home Affairs, which supervised the organization and administration of all units of local governments. Local government bodies, indeed, merely managed their property and performed their administrative tasks within the framework of laws and orders.[1]

Public education in each province as Figure IV shows on the following page, was under the administrative control of the Provincial Governor. Each provincial government had a Bureau of Education and Social Affairs which took direct charge of the educational function of the province. The head of the Bureau was generally not a professional educator but a man supported by a political party. A significant feature in the sense of politically controlled local administration was the appointment of elementary and secondary school teachers by the Provincial Governor upon recommendations from the Bureau's school inspectors. Actually, provincial governors had made many such appointments without the recommendation of the right personnel.[2] Korean educational administration was thus inherently directed to the control of a variety of the governmental units.

d. The Character of the Rhee Regime. Traditional Korean concepts of government were viewed not only as a contractual arrangement between the governing body and the people but as a natural institution designed to maintain a proper relationship among men in a hierarchical social order. Confucian ethics taught that "ruler and subject" represent one

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[1]Dull, op. cit., p. 18.

[2]Oh, op. cit., p. 432.

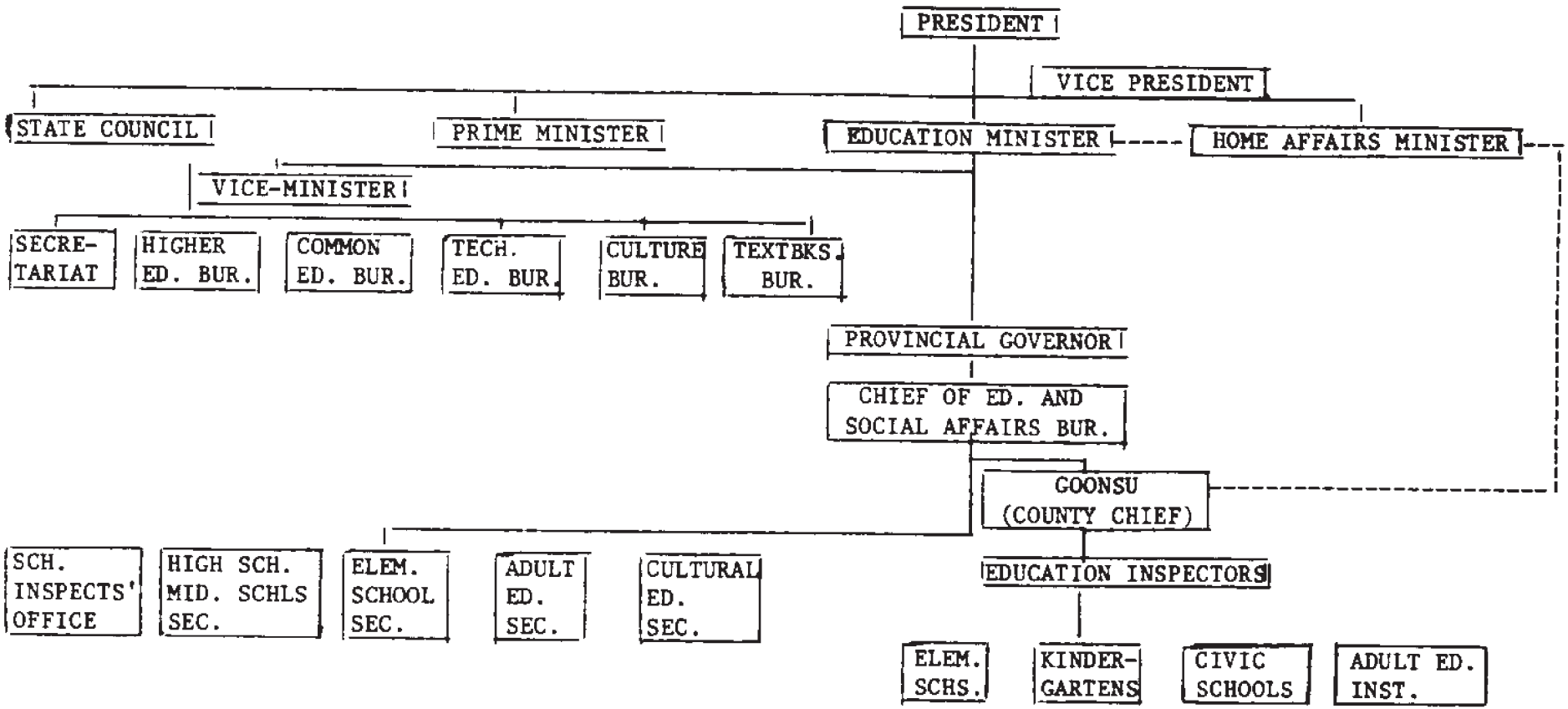

FIGURE IV

ORGANIZATION OF LOCAL SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION IN 1948[a]

[a]Source: Adapted from Hackwonsa, op. cit., p. 376.

of the five natural relationships in the human community.[1] Government was, therefore, not based upon law, but was regarded essentially as a "government of great men"--ideally, "great men" to be respected and followed as standards of wise conduct. The ideal ruler was considered primarily absolute and perfect, and able to indoctrinate willing subjects with the rules of proper conduct.

The Rhee government was perhaps the reincarnation of the Confucian ideal of a traditional Yi Monarchy. When the Constitution of the Republic was being drafted by the National Assembly, Dr. Rhee ordered the Drafting Committee members to change the cabinet-responsible system of government into the presidentially responsible system overnight, despite the fact that most of the assemblymen opposed the Presidential system.[2] But this move was not challenged at the time because of the President's high prestige among the people. Members of the National Assembly respected him as if he were "Father of the Nation." This was the first step toward the establishment of twelve years of an autocratic regime.

As a politician, Rhee saw his first task as that of consolidating his regime. Rhee knew that he faced oppostion from various groups and that his administration had to cope with considerable divergence of views. Whether Korean politics would develop in a "liberal" direction was to depend on how these tasks would be accomplished by the first Korean government, and particularly by Rhee. At the beginning of his administration, Rhee, for example, appeared to scrutinize his appointees for any tendency to develop an independent following within the administration

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[1] See Chapter II, pp. 31-35.

[2] Kwon-Sang Park, "History of Democratic Government in Korea," Korean Journal, Vol. 3, No. 12 (December 1, 1963), 35.

and outside it. Within months of taking office, he initiated the first of the cabinet shake-ups which were to become a hallmark of his administration. Any cabinet member who had shown any indication that he was politically unreliable from Rhee's standpoint, was immediately dismissed. Similarly, any minister who would not readily agree with Rhee at cabinet meetings or in private was abruptly removed.[1]

Rhee was his own legitimacy; only through his was unity conceivable. Any concept of sharing of powers was heathen to his view of political affairs. Persons or groups, including parties, who expressed different views or opinions contrary to "the popular will" were branded as "self-seeking plotters." Those who had not learned the lesson of subordinating opinions to "the great man" were often condemned as Communists.[2] He was a man who wanted to command, and not to be told. The government was indeed a confederation of persons motivated at the top by the sub-personnel's desire for position and at the bottom by the law-officer's desire to climb the ladder upward. Although Rhee's conservative opponents were as anti-Communist as he was, this did not produce political harmony. In fact, the absence of significant ideological differences tended to encourage rather than inhibit quarrels over minor

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[1]Among the very first to go were Foreign Minister, Chang Teksang, Home Minister Yun Chi-Yung, and Agriculture Minister Cho Bong-Am.

[2]Dr. Syngman Rhee's August 1949 speech to the National Assembly, for example, warning against "those foolish men" who hinder unity by striving for political power and self-interest under the protection of so-called parties and organizations of the Communist Party or by seeking sectional rift. Korean Government Office of Public Information, Taetongryong Rhee Syngman Packsa Tamwha-Jip (Collected Speeches of President Dr. Syngman Rhee (Seoul, 1953), p. 4.

issues, as did Rhee's penchant for branding any opponent as pro-Communist or traitor.[1]

Under these conditions, few cabinet members dared to argue with Rhee or even make any positive suggestions. Virtually all decisions in both policy and administrative matters were made by the President himself--the beginning of a vicious circle in which Rhee quickly became so occupied with trivia that he was unable to supervise an orderly process of decision making. The President became overloaded with problems, many of which could have been far more effectively and promptly handled by various ministries.[2]

The Prime Minister, who was appointed by the President with the approval of the National Assembly, was the only one in the cabinet who could have checked this trend, but he chose to remain docile. At the beginning of the Rhee administration, therefore, what might be called "personalism," as opposed to "institutionalism," was established in the Republic of Korea headed by Rhee, who was to become bigger than the entire institution of the Korean government. The differentiation of governmental roles and structures that were constitutionally established proceeded at a snail's pace.

B. The Political Parties and Their Position on Education

Korean political parties, strictly speaking, had not witnessed party politics in the modern sense of the term until the middle of the

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[1]Pyun Yung Tai, Korea: My Country (Seoul, Korea: The International Cultural Association of Korea, 1954), pp. 38-41.

[2]Robert T. Oliver, Verdict in Korea (State College, Pennsylvania: Bald Eagle Press, 1952), pp. 124-142.

1950's when both the ruling and the opposition parties officially nominated their candidates for the presidential election in 1956. Until then, no political party had been organized with the aim of opposition to other parties in the contest for political power. Confusion had followed in the wake of the national liberation in 1945, when those who had no significant experience in democratic politics deliberately continued to form their own political groups without any stable foundations. These political career-seekers were probably more interested in organizing political circles supporting them in the coming assemblies than in the current development of their own political parties. By the time of the new election for representatives to the Constituent Assembly in 1948, there already existed as many as forty-eight political parties and politically active organizations.[1]

In fact, the absence of ideological foundations served to broaden the powers of personal leadership, rather than to strengthen party politics.[2] Candidacy in the early elections was therefore decided not by parties, but by the application of the individual. No primaries were held. About five percent of the electorate voted on the basis of party or affiliation in the 1948 election for members of the National Assembly.[3] Nearly half of the members of the Constituent Assembly, estimated from eighty-five to one hundred and two, were independents, and fifty-five more were semi-independents, belonging to the National Council to Expedite Independence, which did not officially nominate candidates. Only twenty-

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[1]Kwon-Sang Park, "Party Politics in Korea," Korean Journal, Vol. 6, No. 2 (February 1, 1966), 5-6.

[2]Ibid., p. 4.

[3]Chan-Ju-Yun, "The Voting Behavior of Eup Inhabitants," Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. 4, No. 1 (June, 1961), 1-59.

nine belonged to the Korean Democratic Party, which nominated its own candidates. This meant that parties themselves were not important except to a few major cities or to certain groups of people.

By early 1948, the major party organizations of the right, having taken advantage of early opportunities created by the policies of the American Military Government, had been able to develop an effective network of organizations covering the whole country. The political groups which were most influential in the formation of the new government were the National Council to Expedite Independence which was headed by Syngman Rhee, and the Hankuk Minchu-Dnag (Korean Democratic Party) which was largely supported by the rural landlords. The leftist groups, on the other hand, were regarded with disfavor by American military authorities and weakened by the arrest of most of their eminent leaders, who were unable to maintain an effective and comprehensive framework of organization.

1. The National Council to Expedite Independence (NCEI)

Dr. Rhee, upon return from the United States, launched a pan-national unity movement in November 1946, affiliated with over thirty-five political groups and civic organizations which came to form the National Council to Expedite Independence (NCEI) with Rhee as its chairman. NCEI absorbed the Anti-Trusteeship Mobilization Central Committee to become the largest political force at the time, though loosely organized. Rhee, however, not really wanting the Council to be a party, did not permit its leaders to run for election in the name of the organization.[1] Formed at the top as a leadership faction with local roots established as an afterthought, it reflected the society's high degree of centraliza-

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[1]Byung-Wook Ahn, "Korean Politics," Korean Journal, Vol. 6, No. 2 (February 1, 1966), 4-7.

tion and extreme lack of local sources of power. It had no sound programs, ideology, or vested interest of its own, not did it encourage local developments of such. Yet it was too vaguely organized and general in its relationship to Rhee to provide any more definite access to power than his whim dictated.

In 1946 and 1947, NCEI was able to organize an ultimately successful campaign. However, this regime was definitely for the establishment of an independent Republic of Korea. Rhee's political base was now essentially organized. By October 1946, NCEI claimed a nominal membership of one million. The NCEI, along with the Korea Democratic Party, was the chief organization for bringing Rhee to power. After Independence was achieved, its name was changed to the National Society in August 1948, and as such, it continued until the overthrow of the Rhee regime in 1960.

Despite the fact that education was probably not a direct concern of NCEI during the former liberation period, its major interest in the field might be found in several works of NCEI. It was obvious that great attention had been paid to the representatives of NCEI, who occupied the majority of seats in the National Assembly, and to the establishment of the new educational system. As a result, ideas such as "free and compulsory education for all" were considered as possible additions to the Constitutional provisions. When the Constituent Assembly unanimously passed Article 16 of the Constitution, the NCEI members strongly advocated this idea provision for an enactment of Law.[1] Only a fractional minority of the KDP (Korean Democratic Party) criticized the provision, chiefly because of the financial deficits.[2]

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[1] Oh, op. cit., pp. 425-427.

[2] Ibid., pp. 427-431.

With the inauguration of the Republic in 1948, NCEI, under the leadership of President Rhee, had decided to reshape its educational goals on the basis of the fundamental aims of Korean education. As a result, the Ministry of Education hastened to revise elementary and secondary school curricula and textbooks to eradicate Japanese and Communistic elements from the students' life and education. On June 10, 1949, the Ministry of Education adopted a plan to set up a special committee for the study of curricula and textbooks. Thirty members, all prominent scholars and educators, were appointed as members of the committee on May 17 of the following year. The Committee's first meeting was held on June 2, 1950, but it was unable to continue its functions because of the explosion of the Korean War on June 25, of the same year.[1]

However, the Committee's first task was to stress Korean history, Korean language, and civic morality in line with a policy to emphasize nationalism in education. A drive was launched to ban the use of Japanese language in schools, and Japanese technical terms were removed from the textbooks and publications. Extra-curricular activities of students were stressed at all levels of school, and, as much as one hour per week was allotted to civic-moral training as well as anti-Communist teaching.[2] Again, the Ministry of Education impatiently ordered all officials of its bureaucracy to prohibit all student activities which included pro-Japanese and pro-Communist elements.

The politically based principles of education were directly or indirectly implemented in the new Republic's education. This was obvi-

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[1]Hyun-Bae Choe, "The New Role of Korean Education," Korean Report, Vol, IV, No. 4 (April, 1957), 37-38.

[2]Richard C. Allen, Korea's Syngman Rhee (Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1960), pp. 39-51.

ously the reflection of a personal susceptibility of President Rhee, who had fought against these two foes throughout his lifetime. Korean education undoubtedly was practically confined by the chains of political machinery from its inception.

2. The Korean Democratic Party (KDP)

The eminent leaders of the Korean Provisional Government in exile in China, and their supporters, who remained in Korea, organized a conservative right wing party called the "Korean Democratic Party" (Hankuk Minchu-Dang) on September 16, 1945. With the support of the American military authorities, KDP virtually seized the political and economic powers in the post-Liberation period. KDP supported the Rhee and American stand for a unilateral government in South Korea and led an active campaign for the elections. Its campign platform called for land redistribution, nationalization of major private enterprises, and minimum wage and unemployment security systems.[1] On education, KDP strongly held to its stand for complete separation of education from the direct control of the government.

Since KDP was the only stable party, it feared interference by the new government in educational matters. It firmly believed that a politically controlled educational system would prevent millions of youngsters from achieving their original goals of education.[2] KDP vigorously challenged the political appointment of educational administrators and teaching personnel from the highest positions down to the lowest. UNESCO's Education Mission to Korea made the following comments:

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[1] Korean Annual: 1967 (Seoul, Korea: Hapdong News Agency, 1967), pp. 62-63.

[2] Ibid., pp. 62-64.

> In one province, for example, a powerful chief of the Education and Social Affairs Bureau recently obtained the promotions of demotions of thirteen principals, which seemed strangely to correspond with the principals' political affiliations. Active members of the Democratic (opposition) Party were demoted from high schools to middle schools, and there is some reason to believe that political preferences and profession-fortunes were connected in these cases.[1]

KDP also expressed the view that early educational decentralization should receive priority in order to protect it from the politically controlled educational system, and urged the executive authorities to establish school districts and to create boards of education immediately. It therefore advocated a local autonomous sytem of education with its neutrality assured by law, and also insisted that all educational administrative personnel should be recruited from those who were directly elected by popular vote.[2]

3. The Protestant Church and Its Effect on Education

Among a variety of religions, business, labor, and social organizations, that which had the most influence on education was the eminent Protestant Church group. From the beginning of the nation's liberation in 1945, this group was very active, and had great influence on the Republic's educational policy. Although only a fractional minority of less than two million members of the various Protestant Churches, it was able to demonstrate a considerable influence over the remaining twenty-five million people in South Korea. Not only were these groups well-organized in the sense of spiritual unity, but they also demonstrated a

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[1] UNESCO, op. cit., pp. 102-103.

[2] Although Chapter II of the Educational Law, which was promulgated on December 31, 1949, stipulated the establishment of school districts and boards of education, it was delayed to establish these systems mainly because of the Korean War (from June 1950 to July 1953), of financial difficulty, and of the undesirable attitudes of the administrators.

solidity of purpose for establishing their own interests. Furthermore, according to official governmental sources, more than two-thirds of the Cabinet ministers were active members of Protestant Churches,[1] and about sixty-five percent of the representatives to the Constituent Assembly were affiliated with Protestant Churches. President Rhee himself was an active member of the Methodist Church in Seoul.

Christian political elites frequently knelt down before the pulpit to absorb the message of the churches. The voice of the churches, on educatiom policies, had been noted as omnipotent by the educational authorities. Article 61 of the Educational Law provided that a large portion of autonomy be granted to the private (church) schools. Some outstanding features of private education were assured by law: for example, the right to establish private schools, to set up their own curricula, choose textbooks, and conduct religious activities. The authorities did not attempt to place any restriction on the right of religious bodies to private education. Furthermore, the Provision of the Constitution of the Republic clearly stipulated in Article 16: "All citizens shall enjoy freedom of religion. No State religion shall be recognized and religion and State shall be separated." Under this provision, it was made clear that State and Church interests were to be maintained separately, and that the Church should not be interfered with by the State without any legal basis.

One interesting case concerned the salute of the national flag at schools during National Ceremonies. Church groups strongly maintained their position against this ceremony, which was mandatory for all pupils.

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[1]Sun-Kun Han, "Protestantism as a Political Force," Korean Quarterly, Vol. 5, No. 3 (March, 1962), 52-54.

They officially protested to the authorities that this practice might cause children to become "ultra-Chauvinistic" and eventually lead them to idolize the flag.[1] They declared that the salute requirement was illegal and a deprivation of individual freedom and rights which were constitutionally guaranteed.[2] Although this issue created much conflict and controversy between the government authorities and church groups, it remained unsolved.

C. The New Educational System

1. The Educational Law

With the framework of the Constitution of the Republic, Law No. 86 and 178, which together constituted the Educational Law, were promulgated on December 31, 1949. The Educational Law contained eleven chapters and one hundred and seventy-three articles, which primarily set forth the general character of the educational system in the New Republic.

The most significant provisions of this law were those which defined both the general aims of Korean education and the specific objectives of each level of schools (Article 1-4). The Law provided for the establishment of the new school districts and their Boards of Education at County (Gun), provincial (Do), and central levels (Chapter II). This was a remarkable step toward the decentralization of the school system and toward the decentralization. The salient feature stated in this law was the provision of compulsory and free education for all, at least for six-years of elementary education (Article 9-10). Further significant features were the guarantee of maximum academic freedom to produce true

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[1] Ibid., pp. 53-54.

[2] Ibid.

scholarship, and the provision of school taxes (Article 13). This however, was actually far from being realized. Another noteworthy provision was the placing of great emphasis on scientific and technical education (Chapter V). Every provision spelled out in the Educational Law was indeed praiseworthy. There was no doubt that the Law was set up directly by the Koreans themselves in an attempt to solve their own problems.

2. The New Aims and Objectives of Korean education

Considerable thought was given in the Law to shaping the fundamental aims and objectives of the new Republic's education. The legal basis of the general aims of education was preserved in Article 1 of the Educational Law and stated as follows:

> The Republic of Korea's education is aiming at the integration of the individual's character, and improvement of his ability for the effective moral and economic life as a responsible citizen to contribute his initiative idea and good service to the development of a democratic nation; and further, a positive participation of the world community for achieving such common goals as freedom, peace, cooperation, and co-prosperity of mankind based upon the ideal of Hongik-inkan[1] . . . the spirit of the great service for the benefit of mankind.[2]

In this article it was remarkable that the ideal of Hongik-inkan which was "an ancient notion of the general weal" was used to relate a basic principle to the general aims of modern education. However, in the view of many educators, this permitted a regretable vagueness in its practical

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[1]The phrases in the Korean classics Samguk-Yusa (Reminiscences of Three Kingdoms) published about 1080 A.D. The Educational Law defines Hongik-inkan as "assisting all people in perfecting individual personality, developing the ability for an independent life, and acquiring citizenship qualifications needed to serve for the development of a democratic nation and for the realization of human co-prosperity."

[2]Article 2 of the Educational Law: The Korean Government had not officially adopted an English-language version of the Educational Law. The English translation here is the author's free translation based upon the Educational Law written in Korean language.

application to the essential goals of Korean education.

In order to achieve the general aims of education, seven points as specific aims of education were listed in Article 2 of the Educational Law:

1. Development of knowledge and habits needed to maintain good health and to develop an indomitable spirit
2. Development of a patriotic interest in preserving the independence of the nation and advancing the cause of the world peace
3. Development of Korean culture as an aspect of the development of world culture
4. Development of scientific understanding and of desire for pursuit of the truth
5. Development of a high regard for freedom and responsibility together with the ability to participate faithfully, cooperatively, and respectfully in the social life of the country
6. Development of aesthetic feeling and ability in the fine arts
7. Improvement of economic ability as a good producer and a wise consumer.

Although these seven points bare some resemblance to the "Seven Cardinal Principles of American Secondary Education,"[1] they were apparently directed at bringing about the fullest possible development of each individual in accordance with his abilities, interests, and needs, as well as to make him a well-informed member of his society and nation.

However, many of the salient aims provided in the Educational Law were almost entirely new to Koreans. Prior to this, unfavorable conditions had prevented the proper implementation of many excellent aims and goals of education. Many people regarded the political situation as precarious even at that time. It was therefore apparent that disagreements

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[1]Chris A. DeYoung, Introduction to American Public Education (New York, Toronto and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955), p. 185.

about wording would be political in motive.

3. The Power Structure of the Educational Administration

One of the most prominent features of the educational system in Korea was the extent of right control exercised by the central government. By means of such efficient, uniform structure, it was however, possible to achieve a high degree of standardization in schools, with policy and textbooks adapted only to differences between rural and urban conditions. Minimum standards of achievement were, in fact, maintained, but there was little or no room for independent decisions or action at the local level to mold education to local needs. A government official statement outlined the situation thus:

> Educational systems, in the official view, must serve the needs of the country as well as the needs of the individuals. If the system is to reflect closely enough the development and shifts of government policy it must be kept firmly in the direction of the government. In these principles the government should exercise the right of general inspection and care over all institutions of learning, public or private, in order to insure the fulfillment of the national goals.[1]

This policy only perpetuated in the Koreans the long established practice of taking orders and accepting control from the top downward, thus reinforcing a trend which had already been toward increasingly greater centralization of responsibility, with the line of authority descending from the Ministry of Education to the local schools.

a. The Ministry of Education. The provision of the Educational Law provided for those powers and responsibilities of the Ministry of Education which would insure the efficient conduct of the educational system. The Ministry of Education was particularly responsible for exercising administrative control over all levels of public schools.

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[1]The Office of Public Information of the Republic of Korea, Where Korea Stands (Seoul, Korea, 1955), p. 71.

Also, the Ministry was given the authority for controlling public education. Certainly, the most significant function of its responsibility stated in the Educational Law might be summed up as follows:

1. It was responsible for setting up standards for the establishment and abolishment of all kinds of schools, both private and public. (Article 82)

2. It had responsibility for providing boards of education with professional and technical guidance and advice related to education. (Article 15)

3. It was authorized to set up standards for courses of study. (Article 151, 152)

4. It was responsible for the approval and publication of textbooks. (Article 157)

5. It was responsible for providing the budget for the agencies of compulsory education, and the national institutions for higher education and special education. (Article 69)

6. It was directed to set up financial aid to public schools. (Article 158)

7. It was responsible for providing the basic principles of curricula including subjects of study and legal days for schooling. (Article 155)

8. It was directed to prescribe regulations governing sanitation, health facilities, and physical examinations for hygiene and health protection. (Article 89)

9. It was to sponsor, participate in, and advise in in-service training of educational personnel. (Article 9)

10. It was to authorize teacher's qualifications. (Article 77)

11. It was obligated to give technical and professional advice, assistance, and guidance to provincial and local boards of education. (Article 14)

12. It was responsible for the approval of general development plans and specific building plans as submitted by the local educational authorities. (Article 85)

13. It was to schedule a national scale of salaries for elementary and secondary school teachers. (Article 79)

14. It was to issue teachers' certificates of qualification. (Article 79)

In addition, the Ministry of Education was also responsible for preserving the traditional arts and national treasures in order to maintain the nation's cultural values.

In order to carry out the major functions, the Ministry organized five bureaus and the Minister's secretariat, which took charge of the housekeeping affairs relating to personnel, welfare, and accounting. As Figure V shows, the Secretariat and each bureau were subdivided into several sections:

Secretariat and Bureaus	Sections
Minister's Secretariat	4
Bureau of Common Education	2
Bureau of Higher Education	3
Bureau of Technical Education	4
Bureau of Culture	5
Bureau of Textbooks	3

At the top of the Ministry of Education was a minister appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister without legislative confirmation. He was a political appointee, and his term in office was likewise at the pleasure of the President. His responsibility was mainly to enforce in the field of education the policies of his party. The Minister, as chief of the Central education administration, was responsible for formulating national educational policies. A remarkable feature of his power vested by law was to issue educational decrees and regulations for operating the educational system. Furthermore, he was authorized to appoint and dismiss all educational personnel under the jurisdiction of his ministry.[1]

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[1] Oh, op. cit., pp. 428-432.

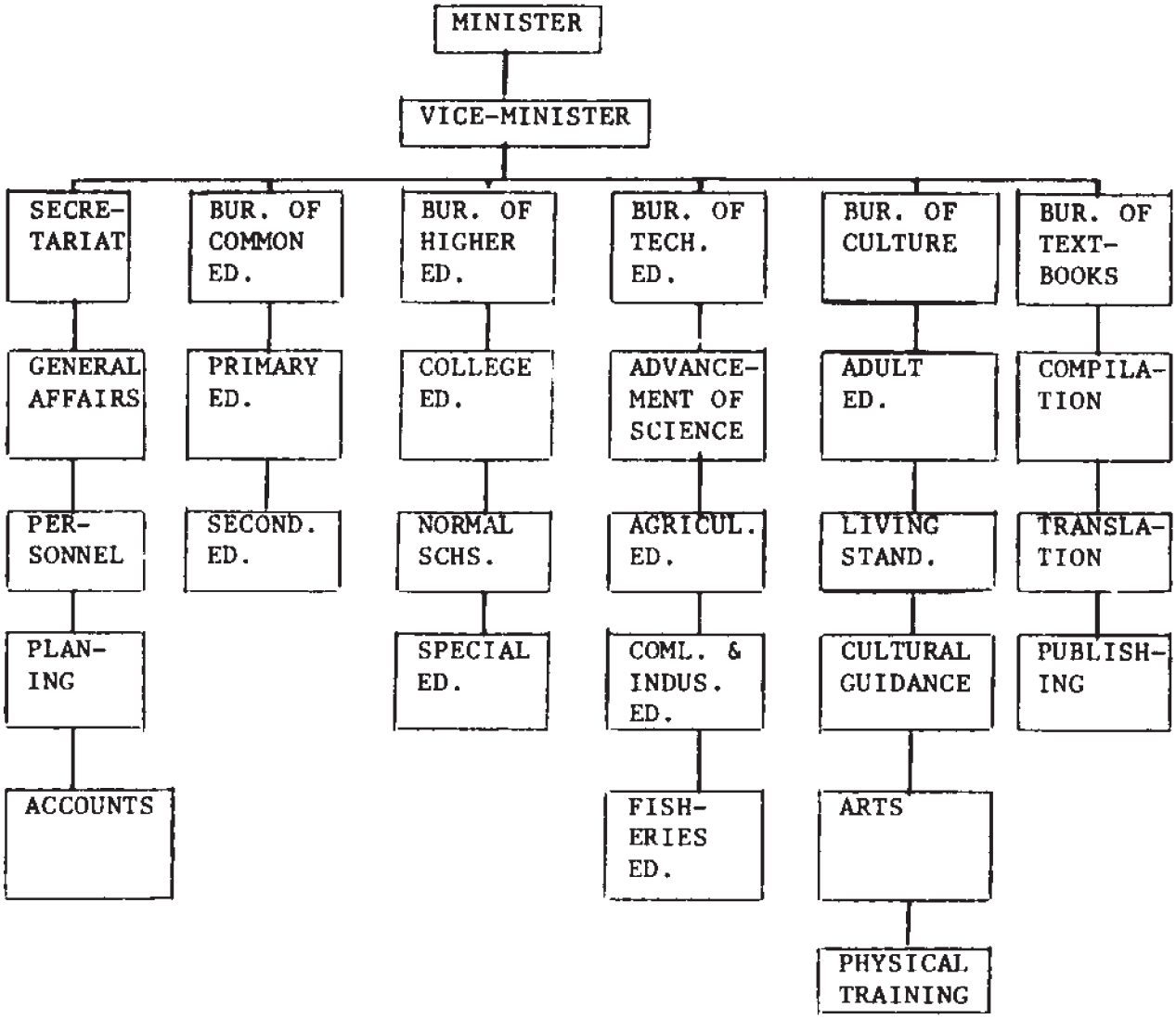

FIGURE V

ORGANIZATION OF THE MINISTRY
OF EDUCATION IN 1948[a]

[a]Source: Adapted from UNESCO, op. cit., p. 100.

The permanent official at the top was the Vice-Minister, a professional civil servant who was appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Minister of Education. His major role was basically to assist the Minister to achieve an efficient educational administration, and, in turn, he was in a position to effect changes and improvements in national education.

Under the direction of the Minister, the chiefs of the Bureaus and Sections were responsible for carrying out their specific fields of operation in order to assist the Minister in the effective implementation of policies. It is interesting to note that these strategic positions were often filled by persons without professional training as educators.

b. The Educational Administration at the Local Level. Local educational administration was exercised in conjunction also with other governmental offices, and this practice had proved to be disadvantageous to educational affairs. The Provincial Governor, a Minister of Home Affairs appointee, was vested with an executive authority to carry out local education policies in his jurisdiction. He was legal educational deputy of the Minister of Education, and as such, was a key figure in controlling public elementary and secondary schools. He executed all Ministry ordinances and insured performance at the local level. The Governor even had direct authority over minor policies, and exercised decision-making powers over internal administration. At the provincial level, the Governor, as previously mentioned, was assisted by the Bureau of Education and Social Affairs whose head was usually not a professional educator. This Bureau had a complete administrative staff, including school inspectors and supervisors who assisted in the governor's surveillance over the local education administration.

The immediate administration at the county (Gun) level was generally under the authority of the Gun-Soo (County Chief). This bureaucrat was especially responsible for transmitting orders from the Governor's Office and interpreting them when necessary. The school operation at the county level was also directed at "second-hand" by the Minister of Home Affairs,[1] who had no such legal authority over educational administration. The Education Mission to Korea criticized such a politically controlled educational system in these words:

> The possible dangers to education of placing its control in the hands of non-education officials, particularly when politically appointed, are apparent. The Mission has received information from many sources tending to show that such administrative ties between education and other governmental functions are actually causing harm to the educational system.[2]

Thus, the arm of the Ministry of Education at the local level was composed of politically appointed governmental officers, who were often linked to political parties.

4. The Structure of the School System

The legal provisions regarding the school structure in the new Republic was preserved in Article 81 of the Educational Law which reads as follows:

> The following schools shall be established in order that all the people, regardless of religion, sex, or social and economic position, may have the opportunity to become educated:
>
> 1. Elementary schools, middle schools, high schools, and colleges and universities
> 2. Normal schools and normal colleges
> 3. Technical schools and higher technical schools
> 4. Civic schools and higher civic schools

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[1]Hakwonsa, op. cit., pp. 375-376.

[2]UNESCO, op. cit., p. 183.

5. Special schools

6. Kindergartens

7. Such other schools as may be needed

On the basis of Item 1 of the provision, a basic school structure of the 6-3-3-4 pattern, which was organized under the United States Military Government, was reaffirmed as the new Republic's school system, composed of six-year elementary, three-year middle, and three-year high schools, capped by a college and university, with a graduate school leading to the advanced degrees.

At the base of the school structure were kindergartens, most privately owned and located in the major cities, but not compulsory. Children from four to five or six years old could attend. The policy of the government was to encourage kindergartens, and the Ministry of Education ordered them to operate on a two-shift basis in order to accomodate as many children as possible.[1] The first six-year course of elementary education was compulsory and free for all children. In 1949, about fifty percent of the children, after finishing their elementary schooling, went on to the middle schools, and approximately thirty-five percent of middle-school graduates went on to the high schools or normal schools. Only a very small percentage of high school graduates were able to pursue higher education at colleges or universities. Furthermore, each school above the elementary level exercised a highly selective system of admission policy; both written and oral examinations were given to all applicants. None of these schools, however, required a final leaving examination.

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[1]Korea, The Ministry of Education, Education in Korea (Seoul, 1958), p. 539.

An important feature of this new school system as Figure Vi illustrates, was that it was far from being the completely single-track system, formed under the American military authorities. It was a somewhat modified single-track system, with a few different lines at the secondary level. For example, vocational schools--agricultural, technical, commercial, and normal--were organized separately from general academic high schools. Students in the former, like in the British modern school and the German Realschule, were placed at a certain disadvantage when competing with general academic high school graduates at college entrance examinations, for example. However, graduates of these schools could go on to either liberal arts colleges or professional col-

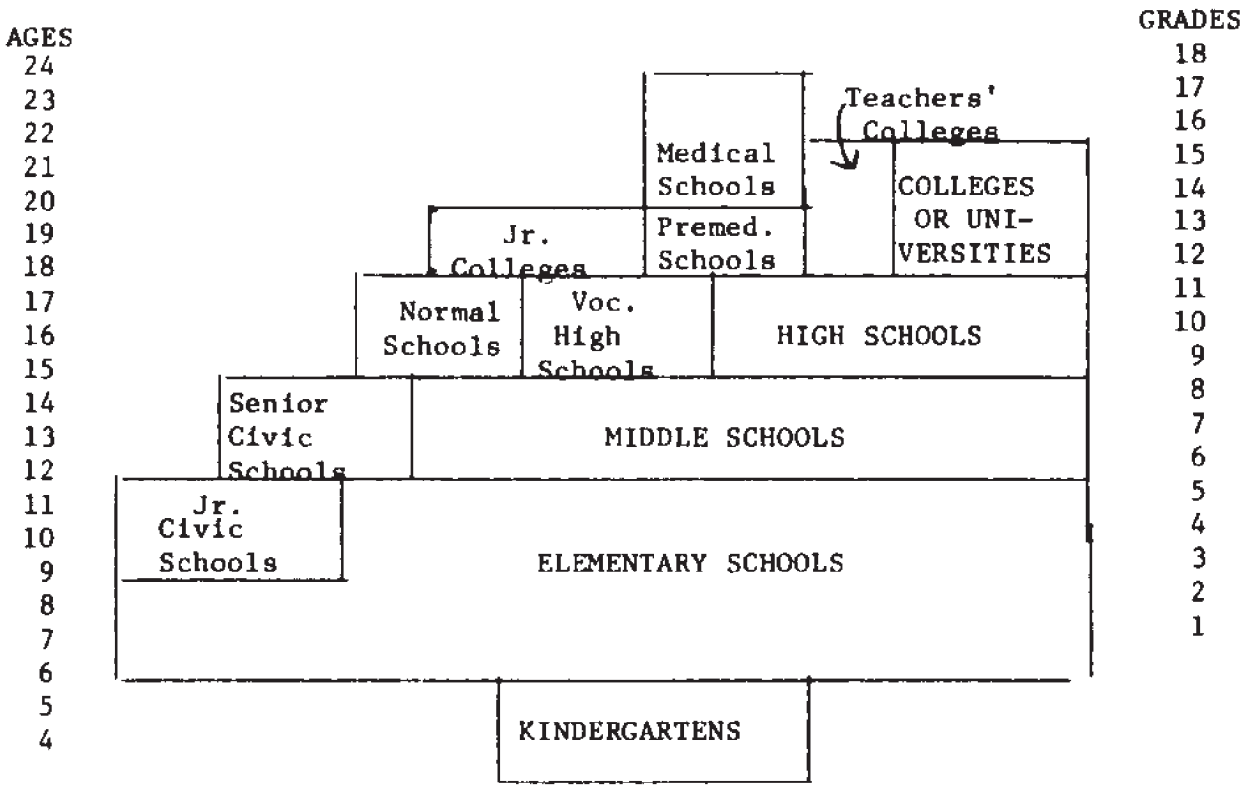

FIGURE VI

THE NEW SCHOOL STRUCTURE
UNDER THE FIRST REPUBLIC
OF KOREA IN 1949[a]

[a]Source: Adopted from Hackwonsa, op. cit., p. 327.

leges. As a prominent native scholar declared, this structure contained "defects born of necessary adjustments of the school system to the realities of the nation."[1]

5. The Financing of Public Education

The basic assumptions underlying Korean public education had a profound effect upon the expenditures for the public schools. Financing the system was to be the joint responsibility of the central, provincial, and municipal governments. Article 63 of the Educational Law directed that elementary schools were in part financed by the national treasury and in part by means of an education tax levied by the provincial and municipal governments. In actual practice, however, the central government at the time bore only some fifteen percent of the total expenses and local bodies, ten percent. These revenues were obviously far from those needed for even minimum expenditures. The balance, therefore, was raised by the Parent-Teachers Associations (PTA's) which were originally organized as an emergency measure to guarantee teachers a minimum living allowance during the Liberation period. These PTA's were financed by "voluntary contributions," so a child whose parents could not afford them did not, in fact, attend school. Table 3 gives a breakdown of estimated income and expenditures on elementary education for the fiscal year 1949 as supplied by the Ministry of Education.

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[1]Hackwonsa, op. cit., pp. 378-380.

TABLE 3

TOTAL ESTIMATED OPERATING INCOME AND EXPENDITURES FOR ELEMENTARY EDUCATION[a]

Estimated Income	Won[b]
From National Treasury	39,131,145,100
From city and Gun administrations	27,144,922,000
PTA contributions	186,253,637,100
TOTAL	252,529,704,200
Estimated Expenditure	
Expenses of city and Gun school district	787,704,200
Personnel expenditures for elementary school teachers	173,280,000,000
Expenses on classrooms of elementary schools	78,462,000,000
TOTAL	252,529,704,200

[a]Korean Report, IV, op. cit., p. 38.

[b]The official money exchange rate between U.S. dollars and Korean won was one to five hundred in 1948-58.

This table indicates that about seventy-four percent of the total expenditure for elementary education was contributed by PTA's. The national treasury was also a source for salaries paid to teachers and for subsidies granted to local governments whose revenues were insufficient to meet expenditures.

Financial support of secondary schools (middle and high schools) were met largely by tuition fees and other levies upon students, since only part of the need was met by subsidies from the national treasury and revenues or contributions of provincial and muncipal governments. This meant that such a heavy financial burden was placed on the parents that secondary education was not available to every competent student.

In the case of public secondary schools, one half of the teachers' salaries was taken care of by the national treasury and the other half by the provincial government. However, all other expenses were met by levies from the students.

The financing of national and other public universities and colleges were primarily the burden of the national treasury. Tuition and entrance fees were collected from students but they met only five percent of the overall expenditures. Private colleges depended more heavily on levies from students, since average revenues of the foundations were very limited. The Educational Law of 1949 provided that the national treasury would subsidize private colleges, but the actual subsidies to these institutions were nominal.

Under these circumstances, Korean colleges and universities in 1949 depended upon supporting associations, and this imposed heavy levies on parents. Faculty salaries were so low that virtually all teachers had to have other sources of income. This was a very unsatisfactory state of affairs and could hardly fail to reduce the efficiency of such faculty members in their teaching.

IV. THE MAJOR POLITICAL EVENTS AND THEIR EFFECTS ON EDUCATION DURING THE POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD, 1948-1950

A. Democratization Policy and Educational Reform

With the establishment of the New Republic in 1948, the government official policy was to orient its system towards that of democratic countries, and to build social institutions and practices in terms of democratic values. However, one of the great difficulties in attaining democratization of the country was that few people in Korea had any idea of what the democratic way of life implied in actual practice. The people had no opportunity to learn about democracy in either theory or practice in the past. Furthermore, increased ideological hostilities between the Republic in South and the Communist regime in North were threatening the Republic's political stability. The government's top priority was given to the diffusion of "political democracy" against the Communist challenge and its propaganda from North. As a result of such an emergency, the government authorities demanded democratic improvements of the country through education. They were firmly convinced that education is an important prerequisite of this goal.

1. Policies on the Extermination of Illiteracy and the Strengthening Compulsory Education

One of the most overwhelming problems facing Korean education and the government authorities was the high rate of illiteracy which embraced about seventy percent of the total population of twenty-five million people at the time of Korea's independence in 1948. The main cause

of this illiteracy was the indifferent attitude of the people toward universal education. Educational leaders and political elites were concerned with this problem because the nature of the country had been drastically changed and re-oriented towards democratic and industrial society. They were strongly convinced that illiteracy had fostered a great deal of obscurity, poverty and social diseases, and hindered the nation's modernization. These leaders further emphasized that in a democratic society a good citizen should be able to read with understanding such materials as newspapers, bulletins, advertisements, tax notes, and letters, and to write an ordinary letter. In doing so, at least six years of schooling are essential to such goals.

During the post-independence period, elections in Korea were conducted by means of write-in ballots. The voters had to write in the name of the candidate for whom they wished to vote. The high rate of illiteracy thus made it impossible to conduct elections which had the effect of maximizing the voter's freedom of choice among candidates. The write-in ballot system therefore, strongly demanded from each individual voter's skills for reading and writing of a basic language. In order to solve this urgent problem several different strategies were discussed among many eminent educational and political leaders. As a result, the idea of compulsory and free education was devised by these leaders. The compulsory education idea at the elementary level was not entirely new to the Korean education. This system was introduced by the Japanese colonial authorities as early as in 1942 when World War II was at its peak for manpower preparation. This system was formally adopted by Korea in 1946, during the American military occupation in order to raise the literacy standards. However, the state of the nation's economic condition prohibited the full extension of compulsory education to the total

school age population. Subsequently, a bill for the compulsory education system, as was previously described was enacted by the National Assembly to legislate it into the Constitutional provisions in 1949.[1]

a. The Rapidly Growing Enrollment. The compulsory educational system adopted by the Republic in 1949 contained a universal and free elementary schooling of six grades enrolling children from six to eleven years of age. This was accompanied by a vastly increased elementary school enrollment. As is seen in Table 4, the enrollment increased from 1,424,796 or 46 percent of 3,097,284 of the school age children in 1945 to 2,844,321 or 86 percent out of 3,342,015 of the school age children in 1950. This figure represents that the enrollment rate early in 1950 was increased almost double from that of 1945 over a period of five years. For two years period between 1948 and 1950, it was increased about 19 percent of the enrollment.

TABLE 4

THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN ENROLLED AT ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS[a]

Year	Number of Enrollment	Number of School Age Children	% of Enrollment to the School Age Children
1945	1,424,796	3,097,284	46%
1948	2,158,443	3,221,342	67%
1950	2,844,321	3,342,015	86%

[a]Adopted from the Ministry of Education, Annual Survey: 1958 (Seoul, Korea, 1958), p. 21.

[1]See Chapter III, pp. 76-77.

Such a vastly increased elementary school enrollment was resulted not only to need a great number of teaching and school facilities but also directly affected to change the secondary and higher education programs.

b. The New Plan for the Improvement of Compulsory Education. Substantial progress was made in developing compulsory education after the new educational system had been launched in 1948. The school programs were reorganized and satisfactory strides made in revising curricula and teaching methods. Teachers' salaries were raised substantially in order to develop quality instruction. But there were a number of important improvements yet to be made before a proper standard of education was attained. Such problems as a shortage of classrooms, the recruitment of qualified teachers, the lack of instructional materials, free distribution of textbooks, and school sanitary and health programs needed immediate solutions. Solutions, however, were no easy tasks and such accomplishments undoubtedly required many years of tireless efforts.

In order to solve these urgent problems, the Ministry of Education set for the Five Year Development Plan in 1949. This plan has included its extensive and well-arranged programs containing several principal points:

1. The development of a sound health and sanitary program to counteract malnutrition and disease by which children suffered.

2. The construction and repairing of school buildings and teaching facilities and equipment.

3. The revision of teacher training programs for the improvement of teachers' quality.

4. The revision of textbooks written in Korean language at all levels.

5. The new program to meet the rapidly growing elementary school enrollment

6. Introduction of the basic vocational instruction for elementary school children.

7. Implementation of democratic ideals in compulsory education for the preparation of good citizenship.[1]

During the first year of the program period (1949-1954), a remarkable progress had been made. Though the government was unable to finance these programs, the contributions of the Parents-Teachers Association and educational grants from various foreign agencies made the programs financially possible.[2]

c. The New Aims of Compulsory Education. The principal aims of compulsory education in the New Republic were to provide the fundamental education necessary for civic life. In carrying out this goal, the specific objectives, as were defined in Article 94 of the Educational Law of 1949, were set up in focusing on the fullest development of individual child based upon his own ability. It was hoped that he would then contribute these talents to the society and the nation as a responsible citizen. The new aims of compulsory education stipulated in the Educational Law imply such meanings mentioned above, and read as follows:

1. Development of the child's ability to understand and to speak correctly the basic Korean language which is necessary in his daily life.

2. Development of the child's character and personality, sense of responsibility and ability to cooperate in the improvement of relations among individuals, groups, and nations toward harmonious life.

3. Development of the child's ability to observe and to deal intelligently with daily natural phenomena.

4. Development of the child's ability to lead independent life by providing training in fundamental skills likely to be useful in his future occupation and his daily activities.

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[1] Kyong Hyang Sinmoon (Daily Newspaper), March 21, 1950, p. 2.

[2] See Chapter V, pp. 149-150.

5. Development of the child's ability to understand and to deal with quantitative relationships which are necessary in daily life.

6. Development of the child's ability to appreciate music, art, literature, and other things which make daily life joyful and peaceful.

7. Development of the child's daily health habits.[1]

In fact, Korea urgently needed a fundamental change in the child not only a command of the fundamental processes or tools of learning, but also the child's concept of himself, of his relationship to his nation, and of the relationship of his nation to the rest of the world. These fundamental changes can only be brought about by a well-planned education in which the majority of children are engaged in compulsory education.

d. The New Direction of Curriculum. One of the important pivots around which the whole educational policy revolved was training for citizenship. National aspirations which permeated the whole country during the post liberation period were crystallized around such ideas as freedom and democracy. As a result, elementary school curricula needed to be revised in order to meet the basic needs of individual children as well as the new demands of the national goals. Heavy emphasis was therefore placed upon the necessity for preparing prospective democratic citizens, who needed to face their problems with self-reliance and initiatives, and to conduct their lives without unnecessary demands upon their fellow members.

In carrying out the new direction of elementary school functions, as is seen in Table 5, such fundamental subjects as "social life" and

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[1]These principles were preserved in Article 94 of the Educational Law as the fundamental goals of compulsory education in the Republic of Korea.

science courses were taught through the first six grade levels.[1] The remarkable changes in the contents of "social life" clearly showed and encouraged the spirit of national consciousness on the basis of democratic ideals as an independent and sovereign nation.

TABLE 5

TIME ALLOTMENT TABLE FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM[a]

Subject	1st Grade %	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Korean language	25-30	25-20	27-20	20-23	20-18	20-17
Arithmetic	19-15	10-15	12-15	15-10	15-10	15-10
Social Life	10-15	10-15	15-12	15-12	15-12	15-12
Science	10- 8	10- 8	15-10	15-19	10-15	10-15
Health	18-12	15-12	15-10	10-12	10-12	10-12
Music	12-10	15-10	8-10	8- 5	8- 5	8- 5
Art	10- 8	10- 8	8-10	7-10	10- 8	10- 8
Field Work	-	-	-	7- 8	7-10	7-10
Extra-curricular	5- 2	5- 2	5- 8	5- 8	5-10	5-11
Total (100%)						
Total Hours per Year	840	875	945	980	1,050	1,080
Weekly Average	24	25	27	28	30	31

[a]Hakwon-sa, op. cit., p. 385.

[1]Social studies and science were offered for 4th or 5th through 6th graders in elementary schools during the Japanese colonial and American military occupation periods.

However, certain elements of "nationalism" were sometimes seen, such as, anti-Japanese and anti-Communism, particularly in the history and civic textbooks for upper levels. These texts were rewritten in such a way as to bring out the history of the nation's struggle for emancipation from "the evil hands of Japanese aggressors" and for "the possible dangers and destructive way of Communism" to individual freedom and world peace.[1]

The basic policy and criteria for the elementary school curriculum, both public and private, were set forth by the Ministry of Education. Local leaders in education were merely authorized by the law to select a few optional courses among such simple "daily-living" training courses as homemaking, gardening, and working with tools, which were categorized by the Ministry. The schools located in rural areas usually taught courses such as "gardening" or "homemaking," while in most urban schools, courses dealing with "working with tools" were taught. Thus, courses were designed to meet the local needs.

e. Revision of Textbooks. Although Korea had a phonetic system of alphabet consisting of only 24 letters, all textbooks were written in both Korean and Chinese language characters. As a result, school children were burdened with learning of thousands of Chinese ideographs which require years of study. In order to reduce the children's heavy burden and to eliminate nationwide illiteracy, the Ministry of Education took a resolute step toward the republication of all elementary school textbooks and reduced the number from almost 2,500 to about 500 Chinese char-

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[1]As was described above, such impressive phrases as "democracy and freedom," "world peace," or either "anti-Japanese" or anti-Communism" are often found in revised textbooks: Kongmin (Civic or Community Life) and Kuksa (National History).

acters. However, the consequences of this radical first step resulted in many difficult problems. Elementary school graduates could hardly read newspapers, official documents, tax-bills, or magazines. The Ministry of Education was well aware of this problem and set up a special committee in the Ministry on March 24, 1950, for the study of the exclusive use of Korean alphabet for all publication in the country. As a result of the sequential study, the committee recommended the Five-year plan for the elimination of Chinese characters from all publications and written materials in the country.[1] Finally, the government issued a presidential decree on the ban of the Chinese characters by January 1955, but this plan came to nothing because of the outbreak of the Korean War on June 25, 1950.[2]

f. Teacher Education. The major policy of the Ministry of Education on elementary school teacher education, under pressure of both parties' representatives to the National Assembly and parent groups, was directed to raise the minimum standards of teachers' quality and to increase the number of teachers to solve the urgent problem of teacher shortage. In accordance with the substantial progress having been made in developing compulsory education since 1945, both the classroom and teacher shortages resulted in jamming over a hundred children in a worst case, into one classroom in most urban schools. It was therefore indispensable that a double-shift-system was provided to accommodate all children enrolled at elementary schools throughout the country. The total number of children enrolled at elementary schools was reached 2,844,321

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[1]Koh Min Woo, Chung-Kuko Munjewa Worisangwhal (Chinese Character and Our Living) (Seoul, Korea: Kyong-woo sa, 1951), pp. 4-7. (Mimeographed.)

[2]Ibid., p. 7.

early in 1950. This number represented approximately 86 percent of the total elementary school age children.[1] For this enrollment, there were 30,886 classroom teachers, corresponding to the ratio of one teacher to seventy-seven children. Classrooms were limited in size to one teacher for sixty children. To implement this legal ratio, about 12,500 additional elementary teachers were needed to cover the teacher shortage. In addition, according to the Ministry of Education, there were 13,789 unqualified teachers who did not meet the minimum requirements for qualification. The Ministry authorities also indicated that, if all children attended schools, there would be a cumulative shortage of over 20,000 teachers.

In 1949, there were seventeen normal schools for elementary school teacher training throughout the country, and these schools had produced about 2,400 teachers each year for the elementary schools. The Ministry of Education set up a "professional upgrading system" for unqualified teachers while they continued to hold teaching positions. The in-service training program was therefore vital for unqualified teachers. The Ministry conducted this in-service training program and provided two sessions a year during the summer and winter school holidays. Each session continued a total of 120 hours of instruction within 20 consecutive days. Training programs in the provinces were encouraged and might be set up by previous permission of the Ministry, but few, if any, had been started.

In order to raise more effective service, the Ministry of Education set up a plan for the compulsory periodic "rating" of teachers by their principals which was later called a "teacher-merit-rating system." The legal basis was provided through the Local Public Service Law. The ob-

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[1]See TABLE 4, p. 91.

jectives of this system were to "conduct proper personnel administration and enhance the efficiency of education."[1] The Korean Teachers Association protested that it discriminated against teachers who were very active in the association movement. Finally, the teachers felt it was impossible to apply the system objectively.[2]

g. Establishment of Civic Schools. In early efforts to promote the literacy program of the nation, attention by the government was focused primarily on the needs of adults. Very soon, however, children who had missed opportunities to receive elementary educations began to attend literacy classes because they, too, wanted to learn to read and write. In time, experience showed that the teaching procedure most appropriate for adults were not appropriate for children. Accordingly special classes for children were organized which made use of activities, materials, and methods better adapted to their abilities, interests, and age levels. This was an initial stage toward the establishment of the civic schools for the basic education of unfortunate children and youths. A foundation was thus established for the development of a civic school system which prepared children and youths to keep step with the expanding cultural pattern. On December 31, 1949, the legislature took a step toward the enactment of a bill for the establishment of civic schools which was proposed by the Ministry of Education for the legal provisions of the Educational Law. For the first time, this kind of institution was created as a part of a promotion of the nation's literacy in the Korean history of education.

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[1]Hyun-Chill Kim, "Kyosa Soongjin Moonje (An Issue on the Promotion of Teachers' Status)," Munkyo Wolbo, Vol. III, No. 3 (March, 1953), 21-23.

[2]Ibid., pp. 23-24.

(1) The Aims of Civic Schools: Article 143 of the Educational Law of 1949 clearly defines the aim of civic schools:

> The aim of the civic school shall be to teach general education and to provide civic-social education for those who are over the compulsory attendance age, and those who have not had any elementary level of education.[1]

The major aim of this school was thus to provide not only the basic education such as reading and writing, but also to provide citizen training program for children and youths who had missed these opportunities.

(2) The Basic Programs of the Civic Schools: The civic school as a formal institution had been divided into two main units: the first unit was for children 12 to 17 years of age and consisted of a condensed six-year course offered in three years; the other unit was directed at youths and consisted of a one-year course concentrated on such basic skills and knowledges as a fundamental citizen training program. Both divisions were to emphasize areas of Korean language, basic arithmetic, and civic courses. A few special courses were also provided for preparing basic vocational skills and practical experiences.

In 1950, 1,852 civic schools were already existent throughout the country. Most were attached to the local elementary schools. About 120,000 pupils were enrolled at the children's division for three-year programs and 140,384 pupils were taking a short-term program at the youth division.[2]

These schools were opened from early afternoon till late evening, and used the same facilities and material as the elementary schools. The majority of the civic school teachers were also elementary school teach-

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[1]This is the author's unofficial translation. See also, Hackwonsa, op. cit., pp. 383-384.

[2]Hackwonsa, op. cit., pp. 383-384.

ers who wanted to earn additional salaries. The character of civic schools were therefore something like an evening division of the elementary schools.

The civic schools were basically public institutions operated by the local administrative units and the students' tuition and fees were free. These schools were the responsibility of each provincial government with approximately fifty percent of the financial aid coming from the national treasury.

The functions of the civic schools were extremely limited and sporadic though their legal objectives and programs were virtually radiant. In fact, the number of civic schools had been gradually declining since the formal compulsory education was initiated shortly before the Korean War broke out on June 25, 1950.

2. Democratic Orientation and Reorganization of Secondary Education

a. The Secondary School as a Major Mobilization Center for Democracy. The major educational agency for illuminating democratic ideas to successive generations of citizens had come to be the secondary schools. The government authorities had seen that the secondary schools were key institutions for producing useful citizens in democratic society, such as technologists, school teachers, civil servants, agriculture assistants and supervisory workers of various kinds. The middle and upper ranks of business consisted almost entirely of secondary school graduates, and these peoples were also the backbone of public administration of the country.

The Ministry of Education gave the following reasons for the emphasis on secondary education in fulfilling such a goal of democratizing education:

> By the time youth reach secondary schools, their loyalties and commitments to democracy and its processes have been at least intuitively established. The home and elementary school, as well as the entire community, have provided training by precept and example in the principles, values, and behaviors appropriate to a certain aspect of democratic education. It remains for the secondary school, however, to raise these institutions to a level of reason and maturity that will assure their permenance. This assignment falls primarily on the high school for two reasons: first, adolescence is the period of development most conducive to such instruction; and second, the high school is the last level of the school system virtually all youth will experience.[1]

b. Conflicting Concepts of Teaching Processes. The basic assumption for the revision of secondary education was to provide learning experiences for students which would help them acquire democratic attitudes and habits based upon their interests and abilities, and as well, to achieve democratic progress of the nation. To facilitate these new demands, it was therefore essential for the secondary schools to focus on the fact that all phases and aspects of learning procedure be based on democratic principles and methods. Nevertheless, the teaching procedures used in the schools were not much differentiated from that used in traditional education. For example, in the societies of the Yi and Japanese colonial periods, teaching consisted of the unequivocable acceptance of specified fields and practice without logic or evidence to support their validity. Under this procedure, the "accepted" point of view was presented for mastery. An underlying assumption was that, inasmuch as the teaching contents represented basic agreements that had been reached by the nation regarding its political structure, they were not subject to question

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[1]This description is a part of an official statement delivered by the Ministry of Education on the event of discussions on the issue of "Democratization of Education" held at the National Secondary School Teachers Association in Seoul on December 11 and 12, 1948, sponsored by the Ministry of Education.

by students. Consequently, indirect and comparative studies were a waste of time and might weaken loyalties.

The study programs permitted only noncontroversial matters. Students were allowed to study the comparison of idea and social and political practices, but ruled out consideration of such controversial subjects as "competing economic systems" and "the strengths and weaknesses of democracy and communism." The Ministry of Education further explained that the reason behind this exclusion of two-sided issues from school study was that secondary school students were too young to face such conflicts without endangering their commitments to democracy.[1]

In fact, the secondary school faced the challenge of teaching all young people genuine respect and appreciation for learning principles and practices without destroying such basic elements of democracy as the toleration of controversy. Consequently, to live in the democratic society, the students had to receive much instruction from the secondary schools.

c. Some Controversies over Revision of Secondary Education. With the traditional respect for learning, Koreans held that intellectual development was the primary purpose of secondary education. Thus, it was clear that the more capable adolescent youth should be identified in elementary school and sent through secondary school where finer screening would select the most gifted for admission to college. In accordance with this premise, rigid, competitive entrance examinations commonly called "the examination hell," were exercised to select top brilliant talents for college education. As a result, this made the examination the end goal of all education; the traditional system returned.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 6-8.

The ideas of progressive education or education for "life adjustment" called by Koreans as "new education," which had been drastically introduced to Korean education during the American military occupation period, was overwhelmingly favored by the leading liberal educators and such a kind of group known as "progressive educational reformists" during the post-independence period. The leaders of these groups under the boost of some liberal political elites, vigorously challenged against the over-simplification of the traditional view on the responsibility of secondary education in terms of narrowly defined intellectual tasks.[1] The major challenge over the secondary school's intellectual role had centered on the agreement that such functions as the teaching of social proficiency, physical well-being, and emotional stability had been reduced when over-emphasis was made on the training of the "mind" in aiming at the preparation for college and the professions. The "mental training" versus "life adjustment" quarrel and the "mind" or "practical" training arguments were therefore examples of the bitter verbal battles that had been fought for over a few years during the post-liberation. The advocators for this new movement had paid their fullest attention to considering students' background--his abilities, aptitudes, interests, and motivations. Of course, priority was still given to intellectual development. They further stressed that in carrying out these innovations, the programs of the secondary school had to be fluid and flexible in order to keep harmony with the conditions in social life for which students were being prepared.[2]

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[1] Oh, op. cit., pp. 408-414.

[2] Ibid., pp. 491-494.

The conservative educators and leading parents' groups, however, openly attacked the "new educational ideas," saying that it did not fit the Korean values of education. They sharply argued that the new education could destroy the sanctions of mental disciplines and intellectual traits. In support of their position, they pointed to the wave of juvenile delinquency and the radicalism of youth which they attributed to the new "permissive education."

Secondary education in Korea, therefore, did not represent a merging of old and new, pre-war traditionalism and post-war progressiveness. Rather, these two attitudes stood side by side and continued to contend with each other.

d. The Structure of Secondary Education. Secondary education covered the six-year programs, which were divided for administrative purposes into a three-year middle school enrolling pupils at the level of the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades, and three-year high school, enrolling pupils at the level of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades. This pattern was set forth during the American military occupation period, and it was to become a fundamental secondary school structure which was re-inforced by the Republic's Educational Law of 1949. Middle schools at the time were more likely of general or academic type. High schools were of two main types: general or academic and technical or vocational. The latter group of high schools embraced four major specific categories: agricultural, commercial, engineering or technical, and normal schools. There were 609 middle schools with an enrollment of 291,649 pupils and 316 high schools with 123,627 pupils throughout the country during the early part of 1950.[1]

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[1]Korean Education Association, Daehan Kyoyuk Yonkam (The Yearbook of the Republic of Korea's Education: 1961) (Seoul, Korea: Kyoyuk Shinmun-sa, 1961), p. 348.

The alleged reason for retaining this structure was that such a division would prevent pupil dropouts due to poverty. It would guarantee at least three years of middle schooling for possible dropouts. In addition, the division of middle and high schooling was an ideal system determining pupil's aptitudes as well as his normal development with more homogenous peer groups. In order to avoid an extremely large school system particularly in urban areas, it seemed wise to retain the separated systems for the effective operation of school. It would be helpful to those pupils who were living far away from the school, particularly in rural areas, since the transportation facilities were so poor. Even so, there were bitter objections against the merger into one unified secondary school structure and also against shortening the duration of study courses from six to five years. This was of course done in order to reduce the parents' economic burden. The 3-3 pattern was reaffirmed by the legislature partly to improve the quality of education and partly to keep pace with international standards.[1]

e. The New Objectives of the Secondary Education. Against the background of its historical heritage, and in the light of new forces that were changing educational emphasis, the new goals of secondary education were to provide democratic foundations for the adolescent and youth. Another goal was to aim the maximum development of the individual's quality and efficiency, necessary to himself and useful to the country. In compliance with this, the general goal of secondary education, the Educational Law of 1949 set forth the following objectives for middle school education:

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[1]Korea Central Education Research Institute, Hankuk Chung-dung Kyoyukwi Chaekin (The Reconstruction of Secondary Education in Korea) (Seoul, Korea: Paeyong-sa, 1962), pp. 12-13.

1. To cultivate the character and knowledge necessary for a responsible member of the democratic society and his nation by developing and extending what was achieved in elementary school education

2. To cultivate the knowledge of, and skills in, occupations necessary for the society; the respect for work and proper conduct; and the ability to choose a future course suited to the pupil's aptitude and ability

3. To cultivate the pupil's self-governing ability both in and out of school, right emotion, and sound personality

4. To develop physical strength and sound mind by protecting and training the pupil's body and spirit.[1]

On the basis of the objectives listed above, it can be best understood that the primary targets of the middle school were perhaps in relationship to the various human traits and capacities for which education was prescribed. Intellectual development, as was previously described, had always been a basic goal of middle school education, since refined mental ability was basic to all other objectives. But particular emphasis was placed on social proficiency, including both civic and vocational preparation, that had grown out of the concern for group life, self-government, and economic efficiency in the democratic society. Similarly, the promotion of physical development and well-being and emotional stability were also essential goals of middle school education.

The goals of the high school as stipulated in the Educational Law of 1949 did not much differ from those of the middle school. However, the objectives of high school were to give more advanced general and specialized areas of vocational education for fostering responsible junior citizenry and forming a foundation of advanced research for those who continued their education after middle school. The following objectives were set forth in Article 105 of the Educational Law:

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[1]These articles are unauthorized author's English translation from Article 101 of the Educational Law of 1949.

1. To cultivate the character and skills necessary for a responsible member of the democratic society and his nation by further developing and extending the results of middle school education.

2. To cultivate an understanding of the nature of the society and his nation, and to develop a capacity for sound judgement.

3. To provide the pupil to realize the mission of his nation, choose a future career suited to his ability and aptitude, cultivate his general culture and vocational skills, and develop his health and sound mind, which are necessary in contributing his talent to the nation and his society.[1]

f. Changing Emphasis on the Secondary School Curriculum. The functions of secondary education in Korea were traditionally determined by forces outside the school. They were often determined by moral, social, and political values held by the government authorities or particular groups of political partisans at a specific time. As change had characterized social and political patterns in Korea, so too had the functions of secondary schools undergone modification. Particularly, during the post-independence period, political forces engaged in the struggle for the democratization of the country had pressed a reappraisal of the objectives and curricula of the secondary schools. In assuming these new roles, the Ministry of Education, upon the basis of the recommendations of the Curriculum sub-committee at the Special Committee on the Secondary School Reorganization (SCSSR), revised the secondary school curriculum in particular emphasis on the following major areas: (1) social studies, (2) humanities and arts, and (3) to some extent, sciences with the idea of establishing a well-rounded and flexible curriculum.[2]

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[1] An unauthorized author's translation.

[2] Ibid., pp. 57-100.

(1) Emphasizing the social studies: In the revised curriculum, social studies including history, geography, civics, and moral training courses bear perhaps the heaviest responsibility for carrying out the development of democratic education. History and civic courses generally were concerned with providing an academic background to support the more practical social and civic problems and in dealing directly with such problems as democracy and citizenship training. The emphasis on social studies in the secondary school curriculum is seen in Table 6, which indicates courses taught at each grade level of the middle and high schools early in 1950.

TABLE 6

COURSES IN SOCIAL STUDIES TYPICALLY OFFERED IN KOREAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS[a]

GRADES	COURSES MOST FREQUENTLY OFFERED
7th	Selected people and nations Geography Korean History Social Life
8th	Korean History Civics Social Studies
9th	Civics Orientation Social Studies
10th	World History Modern History
11th	World Geography Civics (Government)
12th	Contemporary Problems Moral Education

[a]Source: Adopted from Korea Central Education Research Institute, op. cit., pp. 60-64.

In fact, traditional social studies courses had been heavily criticized for neglecting history of the nation and its government. The nation's common heritage as a force in contemporary problems was also neglected in such subjects as economics, anthropology and international problems. In the high school, there had been an increasing recognition of the necessity for training future voters for intelligent participation in democratic processes. In assuming this additional role, the educational authorities thought that one agency for teaching pupils the principles and processes of democracy was "student government."[1] The Ministry of Education encouraged all middle and high schools to organize student governments, autonomous student bodies, under the guidance of each individual school authority. As a result, it was well-recognized that pupils learn shared responsibility by actual experiences in self-government, although practices differed widely.[2]

As Tables 7 and 8 show on the following pages, the allocation of social studies, including practical arts and home life and special activities represent between 24.9 percent and 34.2 percent in the middle school and 26 percent in the high school. Furthermore, since the international problems were becoming of an important area, wider attention had been given to the history and the cultures of the people of various countries. Many high schools had added a course in world geography, which surveyed the economic, cultural, and governmental characteristics of different countries.[3]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 77-84.

[2] Ibid., pp. 77-80.

[3] Central Education Research Institute, op. cit., pp. 57-64.

TABLE 7

NUMBER OF PERIODS PER WEEK AND PERCENTAGES OF A TOTAL STUDENT PROGRAMME, WITH MINIMA AND MAXIMA ALLOWED, FOR SUBJECTS OF STUDY IN MIDDLE SCHOOLS[a]

Subjects	First Year		Second Year		Third Year	
	No. of Periods	Percentage	No. of Periods	Percentage	No. of Periods	Percentage
Korean language	3-5	8.7-13.1	3-5	8.7-13.1	3-5	8.7-13.1
Mathematics	3-5	8.7-13.1	3-5	8.7-13.1	3-5	8.7-13.1
Social Studies (General social life, Korean history, world history, geography and current topics)	4-6	11.8-15.8	4-6	11.8-15.8	4-6	11.8-15.8
Science	3-5	8.7-13.1	3-5	8.7-13.1	3-5	8.7-13.1
Music	2-3	5.9- 8.7	2-3	5.9- 8.7	2-3	5.9- 8.7
The arts (Drawing calligraphy and manual work)	2-3	5.9- 8.7	2-3	5.9- 8.7	2-3	5.9- 8.7
Physical training (including hygiene)	3-4	8.7-11.8	2-3	8.7-11.8	2-3	8.7-11.8

TABLE 7--Continued

Subjects	First Year		Second Year		Third Year	
	No. of Periods	Percentage	No. of Periods	Percentage	No. of Periods	Percentage
Practical arts and home life (preparation for business & industrial life)	5-7	13.1-18.4	5-7	13.1-18.4	5-7	13.1-18.4
Foreign language (English)	3-5	8.7-13.1	3-5	8.7-13.1	3-5	8.7-13.1
Special activities	3-5	8.7-13.1	3-5	8.7-13.1	3-5	8.7-13.1

[a]UNESCO, op. cit., p. 50.

TABLE 8

NUMBER OF CLASS PERIODS PER WEEK OF REQUIRED AND ELECTIVE SUBJECTS IN THE GENERAL OR ACADEMIC HIGH SCHOOL[a]

Subjects	First Year	Second Year	Third Year
Required Subjects:			
Korean: Korean and Sino-Korean	3	3	3
Social Studies: social life in rural Korea, world history, geography, current topics	5	5	5
Science: physics, chemistry, biology, geology	5	5	---
Mathematics: algebra, analysis and calculus, geometry, analytical geometry	5	---	---
Physical education: physical training, health military drill	5	5	5
Foreign language. continuation of the language elected in the middle school	3	3	3
TOTAL required subjects	26	21	16
Elective subjects[b]			
Korean language (with special study of Chinese characters)	2	2	2
Sciences	---	---	5

TABLE 8--Continued

Subjects	First Year	Second Year	Third Year
Elective subjects*--Continued.			
Mathematics	---	5	5
Foreign Language (a second language if offered)	5	5	5
Music	1-3	1-3	1-3
Arts (fine arts, calligraphy, handicraft)	1-3	1-3	1-3
Psychology	---	---	5
Vocational subjects or special activities	3-5	3-5	3-5
TOTAL of entire programme	39	39	39

[a]Ibid., p. 53.

[b]*To be chosen in such a way that if added to the number of periods of required subjects, the total periods per week should not exceed 39.

(2) Strengthening Humanities and Arts Courses: The Special Committee on Secondary School Reorganization had described the vital essentials of the humanities and practices as democracy to pupils' life in these words:

> It had been widely recognized that literature bears an especially heavy responsibility for helping pupils understand and appreciate the events, values, hopes, and ambitions of the nation that form the fabric of democracy. It holds the potential, if properly organized, and well-taught, of both conveying knowledge and stimulating loyalties to the ideals that have given man freedom. Through the poetry, for example, pupils may obtain the ideas of freedom and democracy and will develop their own initiative discretion on rights and obligations. Many pupils who have difficulty with abstract concepts gain vital understanding of the ideals and spirit of democracy through the arts. Others who are adept at verbal learning benefit from the reinforcement that comes through active experiences in art, music, and sports.[1]

On the basis of this description, considerable concern had been evidenced for greater attention to the humanities and the arts. In general, the educational authorities, in spite of demands for additional emphasis on science in the secondary school program, had recognized that the lack of understanding and cooperation among people cannot be resolved through scientific discoveries and technological advances alone. Consequently, the conviction was held that greater emphasis was needed in secondary schools on training to develop democratic principles to guide sound human behavior through such subjects as humanities and arts as well as social studies.[2] As a result, as seen in Tables 7 and 8, the humanities and arts course including such courses as Korean language and literature, foreign languages (English, Chinese, or German), music, and fine arts were offered. Nearly fifty percent of the total subjects taught at both

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[1]The Ministry of Education's Official Statement, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

[2]Korea Central Education Research Institute, op. cit., pp. 92-95.

middle and high schools were in this area. Approximately, seventy-five percent of high school pupils had chosen to emphasize the humanities and arts courses from the elective subjects during the period of early in 1950.[1]

(3) Improving Science Education: Since the post-independence period, there had been a rapidly growing feeling on the part of a great majority of educators that it was necessary to improve science education for both levels of secondary and higher education. Indeed, science is most frequently identified not only with the great technological advancements geared to economic developments, but also with the democratic principles to which science has long been integrally related through the procedure it offers for the discovery of truth--the scientific methods.[2] This point was stressed by the Special Committee on Secondary School Reorganization that recent scientific discoveries emphasize the importance of every citizen's knowing more about both the method and the application of scientific knowledge to the affairs of men.[3] The Committee further described that the extension of the benefits of freedom to people in underprivileged areas and the solution of hunger problems are all dependent to some degree upon the use made of science.[4]

In carrying out this aim, the development of science education was one of the crucial important assumptions for the revision of middle and high school curricula. The Special Committee on Secondary School Reorganization had launched the re-evaluation of the entire science

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[1] Ibid., pp. 64-65.

[2] Ibid., p. 65.

[3] The Ministry of Education's Official Statements, op. cit., p. 14.

[4] Ibid., pp. 14-15.

teaching programs of both middle and high schools early in 1950. As a result, it was found that science education in the secondary schools was the most neglected area because of a total lack of science teachers.[1] The Committee further commented: The special programs for science teacher preparation were extremly limited and they were out of date. The teaching methods for science courses employed by many teachers were concentrating more on memorization than on intellectual efforts. Furthermore, most teachers were inclined to follow the textbooks blindly, in spite of advice against automatic learning.[2] The Special Committee, however, recommended some important points for secondary school science education to the Ministry of Education on June 7, 1950. The Committee urged such an approach in these words:

1. More time should be allocated in science courses of both middle and high school curricula. (Currently, science courses including mathematics were taught approximately between 20 and 25 percent of the total subject time offered at both middle and high schools.)

2. In-service training programs for science teachers at both levels of middle and high schools should be provided to improve their knowledge and techniques for the promotion of quality of education.

3. The science textbooks of both middle and high schools should be revised to meet the needs of up to date science education.

4. Adequate science teaching aids including laboratory facilities and science libraries should be provided in cooperation with the United States Office of Economic Cooperation (OEC).[3]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 15-16.

[2] UNESCO, op. cit., pp. 45-46.

[3] OEC provided educational aids to the Ministry of Education for the development of Korean education as a part of U.S. general economic aid to Korea. Its official name of this agency was changed with "the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency" (UNKRA) during the Korean War period. See The Korean Annual Report, 1953, p. 216.

5. A special research allowance for science teachers should be provided as an incentive program for better instructions.[1]

(4) Orienting towards "Life Adjustment" Education: There had been a growing tendency among many educators and parents of pupils that Korean secondary education should be directed toward a pupil's capability of earning a living as a responsible member of society and toward functioning as a prospective citizen in a democratic state. The eminent advocators for this new education firmly stressed:

> The function of "life adjustment" education covers those adaptations that human beings must make in order to live in groups. It includes preparation of citizenship, both civic and economic; political knowledge; attitudes and behavior conducive to "worthy home membership"; respect and acceptance of others; skills in working with other members of community; and preparation for making a living.[2]

The concept of this movement, however, was not entirely new to Korean education, but more emphasis was intended to be placed on the "well-rounded" education for life preparation rather than on the rigid intellectual drill aimed at college preparation or personal prestige gained by scholarly achievements. In implementing the basic ideas of this new movement in both middle and high school curricula, an increasing attention was directed to emphasize on such subject areas as vocational, practical arts, and home making as well as science and the social studies.

g. Reorientation of Secondary School Teachers on the Basis of Democratic Principles. One of the emerging necessities for secondary during the post-independence period was the provision of a democratic orientation program for secondary school teachers and administrative personnel. The education of these people was carried out under the

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[1]The Office of Public Information of the Republic of Korea, Korean Report (Seoul, Korea, 1950), pp. 41-42.

[2]Korea, The National Education Association, Educational Yearbook: 1966-1967 (Seoul, Korea: Paeyong-sa, Publisher, 1967), p. 181.

Japanese school system. The Japanese system of education during the pre-war period, as was mentioned earlier, required all students to be heavily indoctrinated in spirit of the traditional morality and Japanese nationalism. Both the Confucian family ethics preached in homes and the Samura (warrior) spirit of the state ideology taught in the schools were centers of Japanese education.[1] The Japanese education strictly emphasized the three principles of "obedience" to superiors, "filial piety" to parents, and "loyalty" to the Emperor or the state.[2] In the light of their educational background, it was indeed essential for all secondary school teachers to be reoriented in the democratic concept of education: its philosophy, teaching methods, classroom management, and teacher-student relationships. The educational authorities realized that unless the quality of teachers would be raised, there could be little hope for the improvement of democratic education. As a result of this judgment, the Ministry of Education, under the assistance of the Committee on the Secondary School Reorganization, set up an extensive plan for the reorganization program for teachers.

Orientation programs for teachers were initiated at Schools of Education in the three national universities and one private women's university since March 1949. Under the direction of the Ministry of Education, and also financed by the Ministry, the university authorities assumed the responsibility for the operation and development of this program. The intensive programs were held during summer and winter school holidays; the duration of the programs was a total of twenty days

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[1]Shin Nakada, Nippon Kyoikusi (History of Japanese Education), Educational Series III (Tokyo, Japan: Ojano-Misu Book Co., 1961), pp. 276-283.

[2]Ibid.

and included six-hour periods of instruction per day. The major courses offered were heavily concentrated in such necessary fields as philosophy of education, educational psychology, the principles of counseling and guidance, the basic principles of curriculum organization, and democratic school administration.[1] Some difficult problems, however, had to be decided since the programs were unable to accomodate all applicants selected by the local schools because of the extremely limited facilities and teaching personnel. This program was finally replaced with regular short- or long-term of inservice training institutes operated by various colleges and universities for the purpose of raising unqualified teachers' standards throughout the country. The major emphasis placed on the national plans for the expansion of teacher education and in-service training programs were truly gratifying evidence of the nation's awareness of emerging problems in this field.

In order to cope with the acute teacher shortage, two emergency programs were put into operation: first, training of new or prospective entrants, and second, in-service training programs for raising qualifications. Considerable expansion of teacher training facilities was necessary to meet the new demands for more qualified teachers within the limited time span.[2] The legislature passed a bill for the increase of the permanent teacher-training institutions on December 21, 1949. The legislature also urged the executive authorities to aim for increasing the adequate output of additional qualified teachers due to the

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[1]Hae Chang Lee, Moon-Kyo Hangjong Ilgo (A Review of Educational Administration) (Seoul, Korea: Kyoyuk-sa, 1950), p. 24. (Mimeographed.)

[2]Ibid., pp. 25-26.

rapid growth of the secondary school enrollment.[1] As a result, two major types of secondary teacher training institutions were legally authorized: a two-year teachers' college for the middle school teachers' training program and a four-year teachers' college for the training of high school teachers. These institutions were indispensable for the secondary teachers' programs since the secondary teachers obtained their qualified status in accordance with their training at these formal institutions.

There were three government-operated four-year teachers' colleges at Seoul and Kyungpuk, National universities and Kongju college. These institutions increased their facilities and faculty members, and doubled the student enrollment. Also, additional departments were newly set up at each college by early in 1950. The Ministry of Education also encouraged private colleges and universities to establish teachers' training institutions upon their own campuses, either at the departmental level or at two to four-year college levels. As a result of this policy, the teachers' training colleges and institutions were beginning to mushroom rapidly. Three four-year colleges, five two-year colleges, and six two-year institutes were established, and their total enrollment had already reached 3,856 students by May 1950.[2]

Although the principal burden of teacher training at the secondary level fell on the teachers' training institutions, the liberal arts and professional colleges and universities also turned out large numbers of secondary school teachers. Since most of the secondary school teachers

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[1] Ibid., p. 26.

[2] Ki-Soo Han, Choong-dung Kyowon Yangsong Moonje (Problems of Secondary School Teacher Education) (Seoul, Korea: Chonwang-Sa, 1950), pp. 18-20. (Mimeographed.)

were subject-matter centered in their teaching, the teachers' mastery of knowledge in certain specialized fields was still regarded as a key element for successful teaching. On the basis of this assumption, the Ministry of Education set up short-term in-service training programs at each teachers' college in the national universities. This was necessary for the promotion of the liberal arts and in order to improve the quality of college graduates so that the minimum standards of the formal qualification might be met. These liberal arts and professional college graduates were therefore vital sources for the recruitment of secondary school teachers in the country.

h. The Role of Secondary School Teachers in the Political Communication. The secondary school teachers in Korea, unlike elementary school teachers, confined their primary interests not solely to the classroom-teaching, but included a variety of political activities in the communities. Their political behavior and classroom-instructions, for example, had significantly affected their opinions on which political ideas were then presented to the students and parents. Secondary teachers were indeed in a good position to convey political messages from the local political elites to the community people, particularly in the rural areas where only a few adults of education were to be found. The realization of secondary teachers' potentials as effective intermediaries depended in large measure on their status in the countries; namely, the higher and more secure their status, the more likely they were to play constructive roles as communicators of political ideals. Whereas lawyers, physicians, and other professional workers tended to incline their activities in large cities, many school teachers worked in small towns where their contributions to the rural benefit were apparent to all.

Since the post-independence period in 1948, the secondary school teachers were frequently committed to such roles as political communicators by giving political education under the pressure of the local and provincial government officials.[1] Like other civil servants, school teachers were prohibited from the partician political activities by law, but in practice, they often found themselves using their influence with parents of their students in favor of the government propaganda and political discrimination. In view of this fact, most secondary school teachers were not natives of the communities to which they were assigned to teach. Therefore, they were repeatedly replaced particularly during the period when national elections were held, by those who were born in the communities where they resided and those who were not barred from the civil service rules. Furthermore, as the size of the teaching force grew, teachers were increasingly able to handle the respectful attention of the government by well-organized pressure maneuvers.

3. Implementation of Democratic Ideas and Decentralization of Educational Administration

One of the salient features of educational changes during the post-independence period was the decentralization of educational administration, permitting schools to reflect, more precisely, the will of the people to enlist their support. The establishment of school districts (county and city) and their boards, and also the school boards at the provincial and national levels were truly a step toward democratization

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[1]Shortly after the Yasu-Sunchon Communist rebellion late in October 1948, political indoctrination had been a central theme at civic or social study courses in the secondary schools throughout the country. Local and provincial school inspectors regularly set out on a round of inspection and importuned school authorities or teachers for providing both special lectures and debating teams for dissemination of government political propaganda. See also, The American University, op. cit., p. 141.

of the educational system. The major educational responsibilities were now placed firmly upon local people for their own needs. This new innovation, however, was not approached until the new local autonomy system was exercised in 1952. The authority at the provincial and national levels were not exercised although the legislature formally passed the bill for the creation of school districts and their boards in 1949.

a. Advisory Functions of Boards of Education. The Korean Democratic Party (KDP),[1] as was mentioned earlier, overwhelmingly favored supporting their interests in the decentralization of educational administration from the tightly controlled government system. The members of the KDP at the Standing Committee on Education in the National Assembly formed an alliance with some leading scholars and citizens outside the Assembly with a boost given by a handful of influential groups of educators who strongly protested against the previous executive policy that had dangerously used education as a key instrument for political expansion. KDP's position against the tightly centralized system by the hands of politically appointed officers apparently expressed in the following statement:

> An educational system, controlled by an entrenched bureaucracy recruited from a narrow ruling party group, which reduces the chances of promotion on nation's education. The politically oriented system of national education provides no opportunity for investigation and research, and which refuses to tolerated criticism, deprives itself automatically of the means of progress. The hierarchical structure of the system which had been controlled by the political appointees actually hinders the development of nation's economy and modernization. The educational system, therefore, should be decentralized and establish boards of education for which all officials must be directly elected by popular votes.[2]

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[1]KDP had played as the nation's only active political party against the government-ruling party during the twelve-year Syngman Rhee's administration between 1948 and 1960.

[2]Sukchin Lee, "Chongdang Chong-Chiwa Kyoyuk (The Party Politics and Education)," Korean Report, Vol. II, No. 7 (July, 1951), 123-124.

The executive authorities, however, opposed the idea on the establishment of boards of education. The Ministry of Education explained, for example, that a national guidance and control system was necessary in view of the social conditions. Local citizens were not prepared to accept responsibilities for education and their indifference might permit education to fall into the hands of special interest groups. Local control involving local financial responsibilities would place too heavy burdens on individual communities. Local Boards of Education would be less experienced than the Ministry of Education and more likely to reverse educational reforms. Consequently, educational standards would tend to go down.[1] KDP and some leading citizens and educators were firm in their desire to see Boards of Education established. The Ministry then presented its case for appointed rather than elected boards. In time, the National Assembly passed a law which provided for the creation of school districts and their boards at central, provincial, and local levels, and contained various modifications from the initial proposal drawn by the Ministry of Education.[2]

Unfortunately, the major function of these boards was advisory in character, and there was no provision made for any policy decision-making, particularly at the central and provincial levels. Chart VII on the following page illustrates the channels of the bureaucratic structure of educational administration.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 124-126.

[2] Oh, op. cit., pp. 439-442. See also, Hackwon-sa, op. cit., pp. 375-377.

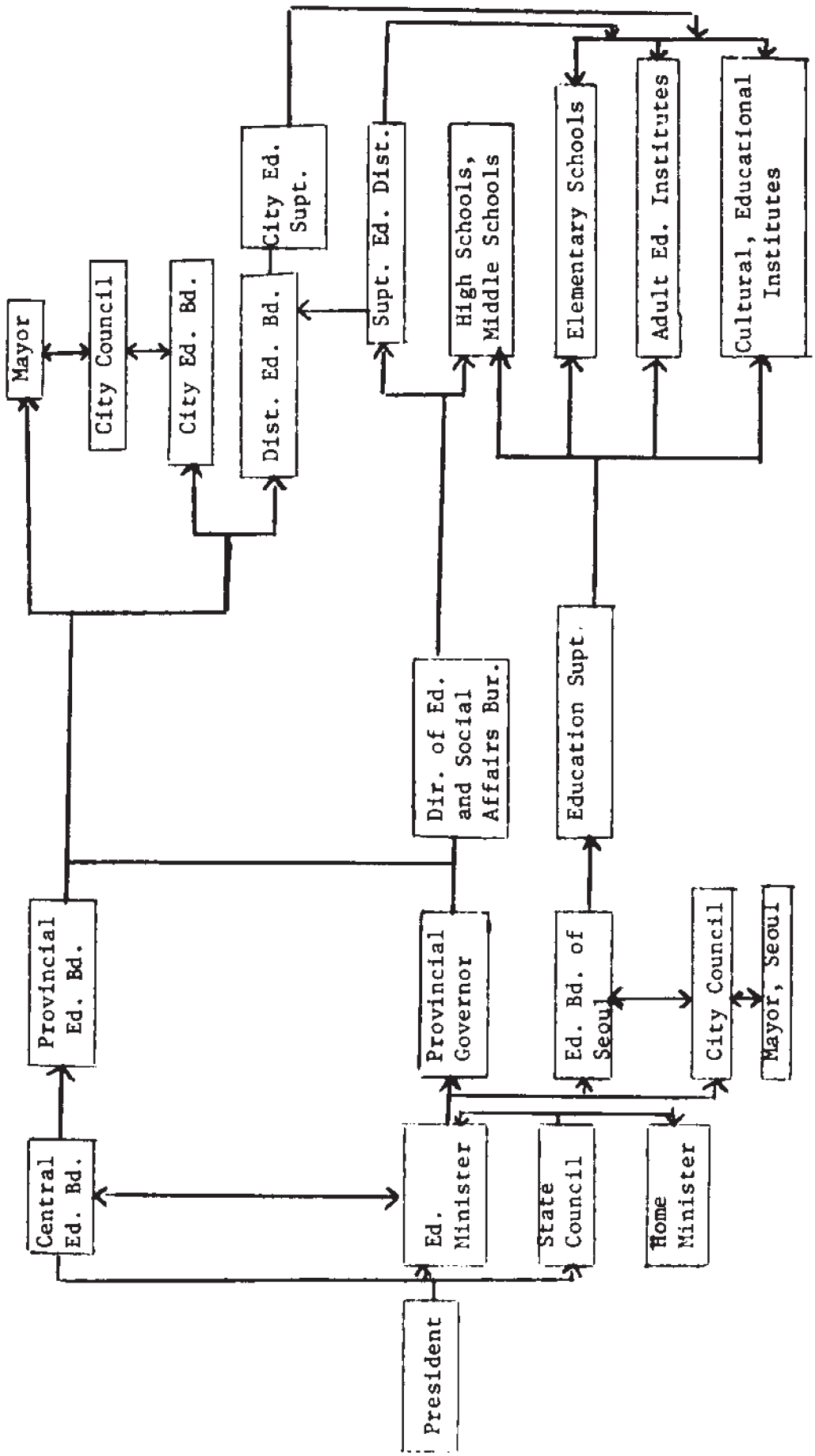

FIGURE VII

THE BOARDS OF EDUCATION AND THE CHANNELS OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN 1950[a]

[a]Hackwonsa, op. cit., p. 376.

b. The Central Board of Education. This board of education consisted of 30 members of prominent scholars and educators, of whom 10 members were represented one from the Seoul City and the other nine from each of the provincial boards of education. The rest of the 20 members were directly appointed by the President of the Republic upon recommendations of the Minister of Education.[1] The members of the Central Board served a four-year term and directly elected the chairman and the vice-chairman of the board within the members. The major functions of the board were to study educational policies and the national system of education in order to make recommendations to the President and the Minister of Education.

c. The Provincial Board of Education. The provincial board was composed of representatives from each Gun and city school district within the province and appointees by the provincial governor. They served a four-year term. The provincial governor automatically became the ex-officio chairman of the board. The Provincial Bureau-chief of Education and Social Affairs was nominated by the governor to become one of the two vice-chairmanships of the board; the other was elected by his board's members. The principal role of the board, like the Central Board, was to serve in an advisory capacity to the provincial governor on his major policy-making. The provincial governor was therefore obliged to refer to the provincial board for approval of any revisions or changes that he wished to make in the board's recommendations.

d. The Local (Gun and City) Boards of Education. The Gun, city including the Capital City of Seoul Boards of Education was first established in July 1952, two months after the first local autonomy election

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[1]The Educational Law of 1949, Articles 15 and 16. See also, Hackwon-sa, op. cit., p. 375.

was held in the Republic. There were 140 Gun and 27 City and 1 Special (Capital) city school districts throughout the South Korea in 1949. The chief roles of these school districts were to establish, maintain, and operate public schools within the framework of authority delegated to the districts by the educational law. In carrying out this duty the Gun or city school district, through its governing body, the board of education and the professional staff headed by the superintendent of schools had responsibilities within limitations imposed by the Educational Law. The Gun or City Board was composed of those members who were represented from each township (Myon) or wards (Ku), and the Gun-Shief (Gun-Su) or the City-Mayor (Sichang) automatically became as an ex-officio chairmanship of the board.[1]

The Gun or City board was the quasi-policy making and appraisal-determining agent in the school district. Its chief task was to select a competent superintendent of schools who acted as its chief administrative officer. The board's notable function was supervision of school instruction and transference of teachers within the district. In addition, the city board was relatively free from the authority of the city government in exercising school administration than that of the Gun board in matters affecting the board's own finances. Furthermore, the city board was authorized to control all-over matters of middle and high schools while the Gun board's authority was limited to the elementary schools. Therefore, secondary schools located in the Gun school district were directly subjected to the Provincial Bureau of Educational and Social Affairs.[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 273-275.

Although the local school districts were given considerable autonomous power by the law, they were, however, firmly subjected to the primary supervision of the provincial governor, and the secondary supervision of the Minister of Education, and in certain cases, of the Minister of Home Affairs. The board's superintendent and all his staffs were virtually political appointees recruited from the local or central party channels.

B. The National Security Policy and Its Effect on Education

The establishment of the Republic of Korea did not assure a political peace, but rather, it brought a deeper political rift to the natural rivalry between North and South Korea. Only three weeks after the establishment of the Republic of Korea in the south, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was inaugurated in the North on September 6, 1948. Since this time onwards, the hostile feelings on each side had been increasing just as if they were the sworn enemies of the old days. As a result of this political tension, the government was urged to tighten its girdle of "the national security policy" from the beginning of its new administration. The overpowering fact of the national security policy, however, unnecessarily imposed serious restrictions on the movement of the civilian population and on the elaboration of educational development.

1. "Thought Control" Policy and Creation of the Student Defense Corpos

a. <u>The Trend toward Autocracy Fed by the Political Tension</u>. As was predicted by political leaders and military experts, immediately after the main unit of the American troops were withdrawn from South

Korea in late August 1940,[1] Communist inspired guerilla warfare broke out. On October 19, 1948, only after two months from the establishment of the Republic, a regiment of South Korean army revolted against the government and seized the port-city of Yosu, in the southermost part of the country. As soon as the rebels took over the city, they established a people's committee and tribunals which executed some 500 local officials and policemen.[2] While these armed rebels controlled the city of Yosu, another rebel force of 12,000 soldiers pushed on to take over the city of Sunchon, about twenty miles north of Yosu. The South Korean government troops elaborated to restore these two cities and took nearly two weeks to put down all the rebel forces. The government estimated that a total of 1500 deaths (including civilians) had been caused by these rebellions.[3]

Before the memory of these bloody incidents was obliterated, another communist-controlled rebellion broke out on the island of Chiju, about 100 miles from the southwest coast of the Korean peninsula, early in March 1949. The government sources indicated that these revolts originally began in the Communist cells of a small delicately trained group of soldiers sent by the North Korean regime to overthrow the South Korean government. Approximately 50,000 civilians were inspired to join the revolts. Young students were very active in the movement of the rebels. As a result, more than 13,000 people were killed by firing from both sides.[4]

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[1] New York Times, October 26, 1948, p. 4.

[2] Ibid., October 27, 1948, p. 16.

[3] Ibid., November 12, 1948, p. 9.

[4] Ibid., April 29, 1949, p. 7.

Under the cloak of political settlement, the government pushed to tighten its security rules and pressed to restrict individual rights and freedom formally guaranteed by the Constitution.[1] During the months after these revolts, freedom of speech had been almost stamped out by the new security rules. Newsmen were frequently arrested. The United Nations Special Committee was reported that 89,710 people had been arrested during these incidents, of whom 28,404 were released and 21,605 turned over to the prosecutor's office. Eighty percent of these people were declared guilty.[2] Between October 1948 and May 1949, the government authorities closed down seven important newspapers and one news agency. All publications known as abetting of inclined to left were burned up, which was similar in many cases to that which had been exercised during the Japanese colonial days.[3]

While an entire country was being plunged into a state of agitation by the guerilla warfare and the rumors of imminent invasion from the north, the mass student-strikes and classroom boycotts of high schools and colleges mushroomed and continued to stir up the school authorities. The student strikers strongly demanded that the authorities

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[1]The individual citizen's rights and duties were stated in Chapter II of the Constitution of the Republic, which spelled out the basic rights and freedoms. These included equality before the law, "personal liberty," freedom of domicile, freedom from intrusion and illegal search, freedom of personal correspondence, freedom of speech, press, assembly and association and the rights to elect public officials and hold public office. See Chapter III, pp. 58-59.

[2]The United Nations General Assembly Official Records (GAOR), 4th Session, Supplement No. 9 (A/936), p. 28. See also, Lawrence K. Rasinger, The State of Asia (New York: McMillan Co., 1951), p. 149.

[3]Voice of Korea: The Freedom of Speech, December 15, 1949, p. 2.

allow them political activities and participation in policy-making at schools without interference. As a result of such disorders, the government ordered the closing of public high schools including fifteen normal schools and colleges in such major cities as Suwon, Kunsan, Inchun, Masan, and Seoul. This took place in November 1948 and lasted for over two weeks.[1] The government later announced that these student violations were one of the most serious offenses that the school authorities had brought to their attention. Furthermore, these student strikers were evidently influenced by the Communist guerrillas, and had been connected with the Yosu-Sunchon incidents.[2]

b. Organization of the Student Defense Corps Urged by Political Tension. The major political turmoil and social chaos were evidently caused by three factors: (1) the facts of the internal Communist rebels, (2) spreading rumors of the North Korean invasion, and (3) students unrest on campuses. This in turn resulted in the formation of new government policies on education. Immediately after the army revolts were put down in April 1949, the first Minister of Education, Dr. Hosang Ahn, who was a graduate of Jena University in Nazi Germany, initiated a plan for the establishment of the Student Defense Corps in public and private secondary schools and colleges throughout the Republic.[3]

On April 30, 1949, the Corps was founded in accordance with the Education Ministry Ordinance, which contained detailed descriptions of the Corps' basic objectives, structure, regulations, and administration. The major objectives of the Corps as stated in the Ordinance were to in-

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[1]Byung S. Choe, Hankuk Sahoe-e Itssosowi Kyohoewi Sa-myong (The Role of Christian Churches in the Korean Society) (unpublished B.D. Thesis, Hankuk Theological Seminary, Seoul, Korea, 1954), pp. 48-49.

[2]Ibid., p. 49.

[3]Hackwonsa, op. cit., p. 397.

fuse patriotism into the hearts of young students and to promote their ideological unity in view of an emerging necessity of the nation's defense strength. In carrying out these principal objectives all corps assisted the physical and moral as well as the intellectual development of students in line with the national purpose, educational values, and individual needs.[1] From the beginning of its foundation, the Corps' major functions, however, had remained closely related to the political chains apart from its original aims stated in the Ordinance. Donald Partway, a member of the UNESCO's education mission to Korea, notes:

> In a country at war, it is to be expected that male students, both at secondary schools and at the Universities should be required to do some military training. But no real connection with defense, the Student Defense Corps' objective is, no doubt, to exercise some supervision over "out of school" activities, and to put across a degree of government propaganda.[2]

In many cases, a strict refinement of both physical and moral descriptions were excessively emphasized to take parts of the government policy. As a pro-governmental newspaper's editorial statement keenly pointed out, "The Corps' ultimate goal sought by the government might be aimed to investigate the thought trends of students in particular."[3] Another foreign scholar who had observed the main stream of the Corps activities critically exposed that "the Student Committees (Student Defense Corps) were set up in schools to report students who were leftists or did not clearly support President Syngman Rhee's regime."[4] Although this viewpoint might be somewhat exaggerated in drawing its central point of aims, it was ob-

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[1] The Republic of Korea Government's Annual Record-1949 (Seoul, 1949).

[2] Partway, op. cit., p. 146.

[3] Seoul Sinmoon (Seoul's Daily), May 14, 1949, p. 1.

[4] G. M. McCune, op. cit., p. 243.

vious to note that the authorities had endeavored to focus on the students' thought control and to fit their activities in accordance with the government direction. Although the Corps' program strayed far from its original purposes, its organization clearly resembled that of military units whose structure was highly centralized. The Corps' supreme commandant was the President of the Republic. The Minister of Education held a position as Central Commandant of the corps, who had an authority to control over all matters of its administration. The provincial governor was entitled as the commandant of the local unit whose position was solely responsible to carry out its central policy, while a school principal assumed the position as the head of its school unit. Each unit of the Corps had an advisory committee which consisted of ten members who were appointed by the President at the Central and provincial levels to advise on its major policies. At each school level, the guidance committee was organized to give proper guidance to students in each extra-curricular activity area. The principal and all faculty members automatically became the chairman or full members of the committee. A remarkable thing to note was that all extra-curricular activities programs were carried out in the structure of the corps except such few groups as YMCA, YWCA, and in Catholic and Buddhist student organizations which were independently governed by the students themselves. The Corps' major programs were therefore integrated into the extra-curricular activities. Such categories as literature, fine arts, athletics, industrial arts, manual arts, recreation, religion, civic training, mass communication, and moral training were highlighted along with military training.

The Corps was regarded by many critics as an organ for political indoctrination, though the government authorities stressed that it was

a vital organization aimed at supplementing formal educational experiences and necessary for individual enrichment and for national survival.

2. The National Security Law and the Ban of the Student Political Activities

Alarmed by the cruel events of political turmoil caused by the Communist agitation, the government rapidly submitted the so-called "Bill of the National Security Law" to the legislature and passed with a vigorous protest by the opposition (KDP), then promulgated on December 1, 1948. The Law contained 22 articles and was aimed at outlawing Communism and prosecuting Communist activities in the name of security. But many critics expressed that the bill was so vague and broad in definition as to encourage utilization of the judiciary by the executive authorities to exclude political foes.[1] Furthermore, KDP's Assemblymen condemned that "in order to retain power and increase the chances for survival of the regime, a hasty resort to police state methods was obviously adapted by the Rhee's backers, though they explained that the new law was aimed solely at the eradication of Communists."[2] Article 2 of the law, for example, stipulated that any individuals and groups who detected or collected "national secrets" or aided and abetted such acts for the purpose of "benefiting the enemy" should be punished by death or the penal servitude for life depending on the case of offenses. The national secrets were broadly defined in Article 4 of the law that any facts referring to "documents, photographs, information on political, economic, social, cultural, military and otherwise, which were required to be kept secret" had to be considered as aspects of committment. Article 6 also provided

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[1]Chung, The New Korea, p. 39.

[2]Ibid.

that "anyone who benefited enemies by agitating the people's minds in diffusing false facts" would be punished by penal servitude for not more than five years. Indeed, each word of these provisions was so tightly provided that everyone was virtually subjected to fall into the meshes of the National Security Law.

The rapid political upheaval in Korea automatically attracted the attention of other nations. On December 22, 1949, the United States Department made the following comments on the creation of the National Security Law in Korea:

> This is an internal matter of Korea on which we have no comment . . . . But we are disappointed to note that the majority of Rhee's party and the opposition Democratic Party did not reach a settlement of this issue (a Bill of the National Security Law) in the Assembly. We hope that this legislation will be implemented so as to counter the threat of Communist subversion and that it will not hinder the continued development of democratic institutions and processes in the Republic of Korea."[1]

This comment, however, as many foreign observers witnessed was apparently not shared by Rhee's regime and his followers.

This roundup of the National Security Law directly affected educational policy. Dr. Hosang Ahn, the first Minister of Education, on December 7, 1948, ordered the heads of all educational institutions to file detailed personal histories of all staff and teachers with a view to firing those who were sympathetic to Communism or those who were inclined toward the left-wings. He further stated that "all administrative staff and teaching personnel who are Communists or who do not make their beliefs clear will be excluded from any position in the educational field."[2] As a result, a great number of prominent college faculty members and administrators were pressured to leave their responsible posi-

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[1] Ibid., p. 41.

[2] G. M. McCune. op. cit., p. 243.

tions immediately.

It had been demonstrated in the past two decades that students in many of the developing countries were a crucial element for either developing nationalist movements or political reforms.[1] Student political activities in Korea, however, appeared to be an exception to the prevailing rule until the April-Student Revolution which caused the toppling of the autocratic Rhee regime in 1960. Their activities had no influence upon the cause of national politics. Rather, any student activity that went on was a result of political events. Often, however, students docilely marched in the hundreds of demonstrations, because they were sponsored by Rhee regime to give the assertion of support of the government policies.

It would not be necessary to detail about the student political organization or its movement, but it might be helpful to understand the scene of the student political activities given by a brief background of these group activities.

There were primarily two types of student organizations which sought to play political tasks: the student government and private student political groups. The leaders of the student government under the heading of the Student Defense Corpos were selected by the free elections, but these elections were usually practices in factional contents and vote-buying. Occasionally, some student government leaders profited from boodles given by ambitious faculty members who desired appearance of student support for their assumptions to become college top administrators.[1]

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[1]Hwi-Min Kim, "Minchujuiwa Jilso (Democracy and Order)," Samchulri (Monthly Magazine), Vol. VI. No. 1 (January, 1950), 56-58.

With practices of this sort going on, the student government leaders had little support and were so mistrusted by the students that the organizations were unable to represent the student effectively in national politics. The private student political groups also proved unable to represent the students. Without any legal processes, funds were received from professional political careers in return for public expressions of "student support" by mass demonstrations for the ambition of the political leaders. The corruption within the private organizations thus brought a disunity and weakness when dealing with national political scenes.[1]

The only exception to these ineffectives of student groups was the National Unification Alliance, a group composed of socialist and anti-American students organized in November 1949. Its primary objective was to eliminate foreign influences and urge the National Unification by Koreans themselves through North-South negotiation. This group's ideological objective was favored by the middle-of-the-roaders and left-wing sympathizers for its nationalist position. The group's particular emphasis on the political theme was shown in condemning the Rhee government's inefficiency of economic policy on "foreign scapegoats." "Nationalism" was a strong force and a unifying factor in its organization and also gave its leaders a strong goal greater than their own personal desires. The group formally supported campus strikes, violations and street demonstrations. By these activities, it was attempted to gain a hold on the national scene as the voice of a large portion of Korean students who were extremely nationalistic and who were also indignant at the necessity for South Korea's dependency upon the United States' government. This group's leaders were, therefore, widely spread

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[1] Ibid., pp. 66-68.

and also associated with Communist support.[1]

The government authorities announced that "students must study and must not play a role of politics."[2] The ban of student political activities on and off campus, of course, was based largely upon the newly adopted National Security Law of 1948. The government authorities arrested a number of this group's leaders and the leaders of the former private student organization immediately. The conservative leaders among these groups were soon released, but the officers of the radical student groups and Korean Unification Alliance were tried and sentenced to long prison terms.[3] Indeed, these student movements gave a great impetus to the government authorities to extend its open suppression on academic activities. As a result, even ordinary academic circles which had been formed to study such problems as their major academic fields were banned. These organizations were primarily academic in purpose and a very little was known to join the mainstream of student political activities. Any direct entry of these groups into the arena of national politics actually hampered the other student political organizations in strengthening their unity. They were therefore inhibited from taking any direct involvement to participate student political activities on the national scene. Nevertheless, the Ministry of Education at last came to close down all college academic circles including such genuine religious activities as YMCA and student parades on the event of Christmas festival, particularly after the Yosu-Sunchon rebel incidents on October 19, 1948.

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[1] Korea Times, May 8, 1950, pp. 10-11.

[2] Ibid., p. 12.

[3] Ibid., May 18, 1950, p. 6.

Some private organizations, however, such as the Student Association for the United Nations, were authorized to continue, but were also prohibited any political activities. A great many student organizations remained dissolved until the armistice was concluded in 1953.

V. THE KOREAN WAR AND ITS EFFECTS ON EDUCATION 1950-1953

A. The Military Action and Educational Sufferings

On June 25, 1950, when the North Korean Communist forces invaded in the South, the new Republic of Korea and its educational system were only three years old. However, the South Korean educators attempted to build a truly democratic system of education designed ultimately to meet the needs of the Korean people. The most elaborate educational programs were destroyed by the cruel war itself and also interrupted by inadequate domestic policy. But the South Korean people had acquired a variety of educational experiences, all of which were necessary for the reconstruction of a modern Korea during the three-year period of the war.

1. Political Conditions

a. Prefiguration to Korean War. On January 7, 1950, Dean Acheson, Secretary of the United States, speaking to the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., outlined the "defense perimeter" of the United States in the Pacific as including the Aleutians, Japan, the Ryukus, and Philippines.[1] This view was also expressed by General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander of the United States Army in Japan in 1949. Aware of these views, Koreans knew that the available American forces in Japan would be too small to play a significant role in a short war. Both the United States and the Soviet Union were informed of the unpreparedness

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[1]U.S., The State Department Bulletin, January 23, 1950, p. 15.

of South Korea's defense forces. The Soviet Union appeared to count on a relatively quick and easy North Korean victory, assuming that only Republic of Korea forces would have to be faced.[1] This calculation seemed to be realistic in the light of the condition that existed in the spring of 1950.

The war was preceded by two proposals for reunification put forward by North Korea on June 7 and 19, 1950. Shortly after the general elections of May 10, 1950 in South Korea, the North Korean regime launched an appeal campaign for a nationwide election to set up a united national assembly as a step toward national unification. The Communist appeal, issued in the name of the "Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland," contained a proposal calling for a south-north political negotiation somewhere along the 38th parallel for laying down conditions and procedures for a nationwide election.[2] The South Korean government, quizzed by the Northern authorities, simply reasoned them to be a part of another Communist propaganda campaign designed to embarrass South Korea. The propaganda offensive soon was found to be a Communist disguise to divert world attention from the preparations for an impending invasion to the South Korea.

Meanwhile, the South Korean government had been feeling uneasy about the bellicose attitude of the North Korean Armed Forces along the 38th parallel and the unusual propaganda for the peaceful unification proposals. The South Korean government, with a unanimous approval of the National Assembly, at last resolved a formal request to the United

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[1]Allen S. Whiting, China Crosses the Yalu (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960), p. 40.

[2]Survey of International Affairs, Documents No. 1149-1150, p. 471.

States that American forces be kept in South Korea until the security forces of the Republic were capable of maintaining order.[1] However, the United States decided to withdraw the U.S. Army units stationed in South Korea in accordance with the recommendations comprised in the United Nations General Assembly Resolution of December 12, 1948, that the United States and the Soviet Union "must withdraw their occupation forces from Korea as early as practicable."[2] While American occupation troops were almost completely withdrawn from South Korea (except only U.S. military advisory groups) by early in 1950, the North Korean regime increasingly kept its vigilant eyes on an advanced chance that the South Korean defense forces were unable to resist against the North Korean military strength.

b. Outbreak of the War and Military Action. At dawn on Sunday, June 25, 1950, the North Korean Army unleashed an all-out invasion across the 160-mile demarcation line. About ten well-trained Communist divisions, spearheaded by a large number of tanks overran the South Korean defense lines which were manned with light equipment.[3] The heavily armored Communist troops, after only three days of combat, occupied the capital city of Seoul on June 28, and continued to push the siege of the major cities and important areas of South Korea. The government of South Korea evacuated from Seoul to Taejon, Taeku, and finally to Pusan

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[1]The United States Department of State, A Historical Summary of the United States-Korean Relations: with a Chronology of Important Developments, 1834-1962 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1962), p. 74.

[2]U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, The United States and Korean Problem: Documents 1943-1953 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1953), pp. 26-27.

[3]Walt Sheldon, Hell or High Water: MacArthur's Landing Inchon (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1968), pp. 23-24.

on the southern tip of South Korea on August 18.

(1) U.N. Intervention: The North Korean Communist invasion, the first full-scale military action since the end of World War II, shocked the world, and the United States promptly brought the matter before the U.N. Security Council. The Council immediately called for an emergency session on June 27, 1950, and resolved that all member nations unanimously condemned the aggression as a "breach of peace." The Council insisted upon the immediate cessation of the hostilities and withdrawal of the North Korean troops from the South Korea.[1] The Security Council, two days later, recommended that U.N. member nations should assist to stop the Communist aggression and restore peace and security in South Korea. On July 7, 1950, U.N. Security Council formed the unified units of U.N. forces comprised to fight the communist aggressors. Thus the United Nations' "police force" was organized under the leadership of the United States. President Truman, in accordance with the U.N. resolution, appointed U.S. General of the Army Douglas MacArthur as the Supreme Commander of the U.N. forces. Under an agreement signed by the South Korean government and the U.N. command, the South Korean ground, air, and sea forces were promptly placed under the U.N. command, which still remains unchanged today.[2]

The U.N. forces, which had been forced to retreat to a small scale figure of "Pusan Perimeter," swiftly built up a strong offensive line and dramatically restored the capital city of Seoul on September 28

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[1]The Soviet delegate who held veto-power from the United Nations Security Council was absent from the emergency session for some months in protest against U.N. decision against the entry of the Communist China that the Council was able to adopt the Korean resolution.

[2]Robert Leckie, Conflict: The History of the Korean War, 1950-1953 (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1962), pp. 47-48.

and continued to march on across the 38th parallel in hot pursuit of the fleeing North Korean troops. As soon as the North Koreans were on the verge of defeat and had been pushed back almost to the Manchurian borderline, a strong "Volunteer Army" of Communist China intervened in the War. The first Chinese attack came on November 2, and General MacArthur announced that "an entirely new war had just started."[1] The U.N. forces pulled back and Seoul fell again to the enemy in early January 1951. The South Korean government fled back to Pusan again where it had stayed previously for almost three years, though the Communist drive was thrown back beyond the 38th parallel in a month.

(2) The Settlement of Armistice: By the time when the front-lines became almost fixed along the 38th parallel without much change in favor of either side early in 1951, the Soviet UN delegate, Jacob Malik, suggested that a negotiated settlement of the conflict would be possible. The Soviet Union's initiative was given a prompt response by the United Nations, which authorized its military top commander in Korea to negotiate a truce with his counterpart on July 10, 1951.[2] When the truce negotiation reached almost its decisive stage in April 1953, President Rhee, however, stated that his government would never accept any armistice agreement, and, rather, the South Korean troops would launch a northward military drive alone to rid all Communists from the northern territory.[3] The South Korean National Assembly declared full support of Rhee's position, while the government escalated the nationwide demonstrations to

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[1]Trumbull Higgins, Korea and the Fall of MacArthur (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 80.

[2]Tim Carew, Korea: The Commonwealth at War (Cassell, London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1967), p. 238.

[3]T. R. Fehrenbach, This Kind of War (New York: MacMillan Company, 1963), pp. 645-646.

protest the armistice talks. Meanwhile, President Eisenhower sent Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, as a special emissary to negotiate with Rhee for acceptance of the truce terms. President Rhee finally vowed to accept a truce when President Eisenhower agreed to sign a mutual defense treaty between the United States and South Korea.[1]

The armistice agreement was signed on July 27, 1953, by delegates of the United States representing the 16 UN member nations, North Korea, and Communist China. The South Korean delegate was not included. The battle was immediately stopped at 10 A.M. of that day, along the entire 165 miles of frontline across the peninsula. In compliance with the armistice agreement, both sides pulled back two miles each from the newly set up demarcation line, creating a four-mile demilitarized zone, which remains unchanged today. The three-year period of bloody fighting was thus brought to an end without any solution of Korea's unification.

2. Educational Damages Aggravated by the War

The Korean War, as one could imagine a country in a war, inevitably brought about severe damages to all aspects of the country. When the Communist troops occupied the almost entire territory of South Korea, among many things, schools and colleges were closed due to military action in the Republic had been enormous. Many parts of the country were destroyed, particularly those areas which became battlefields during the war. Even when the buildings themselves were not completely destroyed, the equipment and other facilities were heavily devastated. School buildings were very easily laid under requisition for the replacement of army barracks during the military operation. Furthermore, in such cities as Pusan and Taeku, for example, few schools or colleges functioned normally,

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[1] Ibid., p. 647.

even though these cities had never been captured by the Communist forces. The number of school plants and teaching facilities had often been burned down accidentally when occupying forces were too large to be accommodated.[1] A great many North Korean refugees were also accommodated in the school buildings since the government was unable to contrive an appropriation bill for refugee relief.[2]

As a result of the three-year war, according to the Ministry of Education sources, about one-quarter of school buildings and classrooms were totally destroyed and another 20 percent of them were half damaged while over 80 percent of the existing laboratory equipment was lost or burned by bombardment. The UNESCO Education Mission estimated it in a little different figures, but further details were given:

> . . . The extent of destruction of the educational plant in the Republic of Korea shows that of 42,478 classrooms for all schools, colleges, and universities that existed before the war, 10,018 or 23 percent were totally destroyed, 4,976 or 11 percent half destroyed, and 13,971 or 30 percent suffered other damages. Available reports also indicate that of the classrooms that were not destroyed, 4,454 are at present occupied by the armed forces, the police, or refugees, so that only 26,429 are actually available for school use.[3]

The war period was also remarkable in that a serious shortage of teachers was caused by the war. Many of the teachers were killed or missing when the Communists cruelly swept through major cities and towns in South Korea. A great many teachers were also made to serve military duty when the Conscript Law was passed in 1951. As a result, the Ministry of Education indicated that about 32 percent of college faculty members were unable to return to their posts when the armistice was concluded

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[1]John Benben, "Korea and Education," Education (Monthly Magazine), Vol. 76, No. 10 (June, 1956), 621.

[2]Ibid.

[3]UNESCO, op. cit., p. 83.

in 1953.[1]

The war greatly reduced the number of students from elementary schools through universities. Approximately 22 percent of reduction was attributed to the total enrollment of elementary schools while 32 percent of secondary and 46 percent of college and university enrollments were reduced during the three year wartime period.[2] It was indeed not only heavy damage and destruction of school buildings and equipment, but also was the tragic actuality of human loss that a great many young school children, students, and teachers had disappeared overnight, and could not be replaced to any great extent in the near future.

B. The Wartime Education

1. Establishment of Refugee Schools

The Korean War, as was previously mentioned, set back the educational system and hindered the steady growth of a modern education in South Korea. But regardless of other shortcomings, an extraordinary evidence of the widespread desire for education was demonstrated during the wartime. Every effort was made by the people to restore the continuation of their education. When the government of South Korea twice evacuated its capital at the height of the wartime confusion, millions of internal refugees were scattered in a small area of "Pusan perimeter" which was the only place in South Korea that had not been overrun by the Communists. According to the government source, the number of internal refugees who were wandering around this area was estimated to be as many

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[1]Hackwonsa, op. cit., p. 380.

[2]Ibid., pp. 25-26.

as 5 million.[1]

In spite of the many demolished school buildings and damaged equipment in the war-zones, hundreds of thousands of young children and students fled with their parents to this overcrowded area. The government, under the cooperation of foreign agencies for economic aid, provided some assistance for the parents and charitable organizations, in order to establish "temporary refugee schools" for urgently needed wartime education.[2] Although the government was unable to subsidize a sufficient amount of money, the parent groups and various social institutions were genuinely devoted to their earnest efforts to the preparation of youngsters' education. Refugee school camps, mostly clay houses, tents or temporary barracks built mostly by parents' own hands, were furnished with no desks or chairs, but with straw sitting mats on the dirt floor used even during the worst part of the winter.[3] A foreign educator observed and described this wretched plight as follows:

> One might see a class of schools in an unheated and windowless classrooms, sitting on the bare floor for there were no desks; school children crowded into tents and abandoned half-ruined godowns' a science class in the crypt of teachers struggling to construct a temporary classroom; and evening class lit with a few flickering candles in a bitterly cold basement; the devotion and enthusiasm, despite the bitter cold of his windowless lecture room, of an underpaid teacher.[4]

But with the coming of warmer spring season many schools started holding classes outdoors near hovels (huts) into which the children could run for shelter if rain fell. With great financial assistance from major

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[1]The Korean Reconstruction Bank, Hankuk Kyongche Yoram (Economic Review): 1945-1955 (Seoul, Korea, 1956), pp. 331-341.

[2]Oh, op. cit., pp. 453-454. See also, Sang-Man Park, op. cit., pp. 158-159.

[3]Ibid., pp. 454-455.

[4]Reeve, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

foreign economic agencies as the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA), the United States' Armed Forces Assistance in Korea (ARAK), and the United States International Cooperation Administration (ICA),[1] the number of refugee schools had increased to 54 elementary schools with enrollment of 48,992 children while 64 middle and high schools with 21,327 enrollment were built around the refugee camps by the end of the war in July, 1953.

The consolidated wartime universities were organized by the Ministry of Education in the four major cities of Pusan, Taekon, Kwanju, and Chonju in February 1951 to ensure the continuation of higher education. These consolidation universities were, however, concentrated primarily on education of those who had been evacuated from the war-zones and who enrolled at colleges and universities before the outbreak of the war in June 1950. These universities were temporary in nature, and operated by the Wartime Committee on Higher Education, which was composed of members represented by each college and university.[2] Corresponding with the general call for the war mobilization of the country in what was considered a time of national emergency, a military training program was imposed in the general academic curriculum. A number of military officers were attached to these universities in assuming military training programs. One Seoul newspaper's editorial statement pointed out that "as could be expected in a wartime country, these consolidated universities had been so far well functioned for the recruitment of army officers

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[1]See Chapter VI, pp. 185-186. Dr. Don Adams presents a detailed information on "Role of Foreign Aid Agencies." See Don Adams, "Problems of Reconstruction in Korean Education," Comparative Education Review, Vol. 3, No. 3 (February, 1960), 31-32.

[2]Oh, op. cit., p. 452. See also, New York Times, June 22, 1951, p. 8; a more detailed information of the Committee on Higher Education is available from the book: Park, History of Korean Education, pp. 148-150.

since the military academy in Seoul was lost by the war."[1]

There had also been a remarkable trend of political education provided by such carefully devised programs as military training and a variety of the Student Defense Corps' activities. The curricula offered at these universities seemed to be more emphatically focused on such areas of moral education (instillation of patriotism), military techniques, life habits, and physical fitness. In carrying out these concentrated programs, these universities offered the two-hour academic program, on week-days, and a three-hour strict military theories on indoor-training on Saturdays. After completion of the fourth year, all male students were planned to be conscripted as cadet corps members or other military personnel without further formal military trainings.[2]

2. The New Educational Policy for Wartime Needs

a. Organization of Screening Committees for Purification of Teachers. As soon as most parts of the South Korean territory were restored from the enemy's seizure in March 1951, the South Korean government immediately set up the screening committees in the towns and cities throughout the country. The Committees were organized in five-man units consisting of the town's chief or city major, the local school administrator, the school principal, the local police chief, and one represented from a leading citizen.[3] The representatives of the anti-Communist youth groups and the Homeland Reserve Corps were also consulted. After preliminary screening, the teachers had to meet the approval of an eight-man board of examiners on the provincial level headed by the governor

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[1] Seoul Sinmun (Seoul's Daily), July 13, 1951, p. 2.

[2] Ibid., p. 2. See also Sang-man Park, op. cit., pp. 168-169.

[3] New York Times, June 8, 1951, p. 3.

as its chairman and the rest of its members were represented from the District Public Procurator's Office, the Bureau of Educational and Social Affairs, the Provincial Bureau of Police, and some eminent citizen organizations. The major role of the screening committee was to find out whether or not each individual teacher had remained in the area where the enemy had occupied; had ever held any responsible position offered by the Communist administrators. As a result of the Committee's judgment, approximately a quarter of the total elementary and secondary school teachers had lost their certification and had to leave their teaching posts. This event brought about an extreme scarcity of teachers, and all schools faced difficulties in replacing teachers.

The National Assembly's special session for the national emergency affairs held in the wartime capital city of Pusan in early May 1951 also raised an issue of the security of teachers' tenure. At a special session of the Assembly, which was seated by nearly two-thirds of anti-Rhee members, the security of teacher tenure was vigorously debated. The Assembly also strongly protested against the decision made by the Screening Committees. The Legislature's unanimous opinions were to attribute its total responsibility to the failure of the government policy which could not protect them for evacuation. Most teachers, like other government officials and general citizens, indeed, had no opportunity to escape from the enemy's occupied zones to the southermost tip of the "Pusan Perimeter" which the government of the Republic of Korea had retained as her last shelter during the wartime.[1] Most leading Assemblymen strongly emphasized this issue. It also had to be recognized the inevitable circumstances of teachers in the war. Most parts of the country

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[1]Matthew B. Ridgeway, The Korean War (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1967), pp. 33-34.

were swept away by the spearheaded enemy forces within a few weeks from the outbreak of the war on June 25, 1950.[1]

On May 21, 1951, the Assembly passed a resolution against the executive policy and took a further step to make strong recommendations for the administrative authorities to renounce the Screening Committee's decisions. Finally, the authorities determined to consider the Assembly's resolution that all teachers were reinstated in their original posts immediately, except for those who had voluntarily participated in the Communist activities. But a large number of teachers were actually expelled from schools.

b. The New Educational Goals. In a month following the installation of the capital city of Seoul early in March 1951, Dr. Paik Nackjun, then Minister of Education, issued an Education Ministry Ordinance No. 19, which contained a new educational goal. The new "wartime" objectives of education briefly stated in the Ordinance stipulates: "We must recast all our educational ideas and practices because of the new situation the war has created for us."[2] The particular emphasis of the Ordinance upon the new aims of education was that "education, therefore, must be evolved in harmony with the major social changes affecting the people, and in turn, education must propel the right direction of social changes."[3] In carrying out these new objectives of "the wartime education," according to the Ordinance, the New Educational policy was primarily aimed at

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[1] Ibid., pp. 33-36.

[2] Park, op. cit., pp. 147-148.

[3] Ibid.

the principal theme of "learn to live."[1]

In assuming a responsible task, a specific objective was presented as the general goal for each individual student--from an elementary school child through a college student. "A student--a skill basis" was designed as a specific objective for a student to obtain a particular skill or technique by which he might be able to contribute to the nation and to meet his own needs.[2] In order to achieve this aim, the school had to be responsible to provide a sufficient guidance program for a student to concentrate on a single subject-matter areas without comprehension. This objective might be far apart the widely recognized theory among many scholars that a school should provide a "well-rounded" educational program for a "wholesome" development of the individual student based on his ability.[3]

However, it can be fully realized that in a consideration of the wartime situation this objective perhaps was more realistic to the situation of Korean society for a quick-achievement of the given of goal in a particular short period.

In order to increase the students' learning efficiency and their practical experience, the programs of the Student-Defense Corps, under which the various extra-curricular activities were undertaken, were strongly emphasized to achieve a successful approachment of this goal. The extra-curricular activities were therefore considered to be a core

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[1] Ibid., p. 132. See also, Hankuk Kyoyuk Shipyon-sa Kanhang-hoe (The Society for Publication of the Ten-Year History of Korean Education), The Ten-Year History of Korean Education (Hankuk Kyoyuk Shipyon-sa) (Seoul, Korea: Pungmun-sa, 1960), p. 145.

[2] Ibid., pp. 159-160.

[3] V. T. Thayer and M. Levit, The Role of The School in American Society (New York and Toronto: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1966), pp. 142-143.

area in the total school programs to fit a wartime education. For example, male students were repairing tables, chairs, even rebuilding temporary school buildings while the female students were knitting woolen-goods or tailoring children's wear and selling them for the support of the schools.[1]

In achieving this goal, the school activities were extended to workshops in the factories, business circles or on the farms in the hope of utilizing practical experiences and putting them to use by assigning students in accordance with their interests to the types of techniques they were learning.[2] In fact, this kind of a new educational program was assembled closely in the initiative stage towards "on-the-job-training" prevailing in the vocational or technical schools in many parts of the Continental Europe today.

C. The National Defense Policy and Military Training Programs

Military training programs in Korean education are not entirely new, and rather, they traditionally have had a strong linkage with the general academic fields of education. When the country was faced with national crises during the war periods, the government authorities promptly attempted to merge various military programs in the curricula of the public educational institutions. Immediately after the Korean War broke out on June 25, 1950, the government authorities made haste to initiate a wide range of military training programs in the secondary schools and colleges in order to provide the substantial wartime necessities. As the war became more intense, the authorities hurried to build military strength

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[1] Park, op. cit., p. 127.

[2] Oh, op. cit., pp. 456-460.

and began to devote their entire efforts to the establishment of various types of military institutions.

1. The War Mobilization Policy and the Reorganization of the Student Defense Corps

On June 30, 1952, the Commander of the United Nations forces in Korea, General Ridgway, gave an address to his Communist counterparts,[1] in which the General indicated his willingness to negotiate with the Communist side for truce talks. This came as a complete shock to the government of the Republic of Korea. The unexpected reversal came at a time when the United Nations forces were advancing toward the 38th parallel, and the unification of Korea had seemed only a matter of time. To President Rhee, such a peaceful negotiation with Communists for Korean armistice could hamper the earlier accomplishments of the nation's unification. He believed that such a proposition was an even greater danger than the Communist troops, and publically blasted the move as an appeasement.

Apart from the United Nations policy, Rhee moved quickly to appoint five provincial governors in the Republic of Korea; he now began to direct them to rule in his name over liberated areas of the north in the midst of the war. But the United Nations immediately concluded that the government of the Republic of Korea had no authority to rule north of the 38th parallel. The United Nations General Assembly decreed that

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[1]On June 23, 1953, through the channel of a radio broadcast, Jacob Malik, the Soviet delegate to the United Nations, expressed the conviction that the Korean War might come to an end through the armistice conference. On June 25, the Communist China's People's Daily (Jen-Min Piao) gave approval of the Malik's proposals. Five days later, General Ridgway indicated his acceptance of the Malik's proposals to negotiate for cease fire. Finally, the Communist side agreed to accept the General Ridgway's reply for formal talks. See The Republic of Korea, Towards Triumph: Korea and the United Nations (Seoul, Korea, 1952), pp. 21-23. (Mimeographed.)

the government of a unified Korea should be determined by the general elections throughout entire Korea under the supervision of the United Nations. President Rhee bitterly opposed this ruling on the basis that the legitimacy of Korea had been already approved by the United Nations when the first general election was held on May 10, 1948 (under the supervision of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCOK).[1]

Notwithstanding the basic assumption of the United Nations for a peaceful settlement, the South Korean government continued to urge the arming of various youth groups and voluntary high school seniors and college students for the creation of the new student voluntary army division. At the news of General MacArthur's forceful resignation from the top post of the United Nation's forces in the Far East, President Rhee was amazed and expressed his opinion in a speech made at the dedication ceremony for the foundation of the Student Voluntary Army Divisions in these impressive words:

> . . . Our honorable friend, General MacArthur's removal from the top post of the United Nations forces, whose views on expanding the war have always been admired by our unsparing praise, seems

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[1]On November 14, 1947, the U.N. General Assembly (UNGA) resolved to hold general elections throughout the Korean peninsula by May 1948, and created the U.N. Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCOK) to supervise the elections. UNTCOK arrived in Seoul in January 1948, but the North Korean authorities denied the Commission for an access to North Korea. On February 27, 1948, UNGA, in response to the Commission's recommendations, ordered that the election be conducted in "such parts of Korea as are accessible to the Commission." The general election for the Constituent Assembly members thus was held on May 10 in South Korea, and it was claimed that 100 seats were reserved in vacancy for the prospective representatives of the northern half of the nation. On December 12, 1948, after the establishment of the Republic of Korea in the South, UNGA declared that the Republic of Korea was the sole legitimate government of Korea. But this UN resolution did not clearly claim that the Republic of Korea was the only legitimate government for the whole of Korea. See The U.N. General Assembly Official Records on U.N. Temporary Commission on Korea, Report, Part I and II (3rd Session, Supplement 9, 1948; a/575/Add.3), p. 3.

> a portent that the United Nations does not intend to fight the war to finish . . .
>
> This is a right time to crush down the enemy deep into the north, and we must not miss this opportunity for accomplishing the nation's unification by our own hands. This is indeed a supreme order for you as sons and pillars of the nation who are solely assuming heavy responsibilities on your shoulders, to fulfill the nation's important mission. Forward and fight gallantly until the last moment that Taekugki (the national flag of the Republic of Korea) waves on the peak of Mt. Packtu.[1]

It was easily recognized that the aged Rhee's life long desire was indeed expressed in this speech. But many of Rhee's political foes gregariously criticized the Chief Executive's ardent war effort, by saying:

> Every drop of oil for operation of war vehicles is supplied from the U.N. forces' comissariat. How could Rhee himself always be so enthusiastic about the "military drive up northward?" Is it possible for South Koreans alone to assume this task until the enemy is totally smashed up? This is a way Rhee often contrived to coax his political opponents' protests. In order to stick his forces in the mud of his power, Rhee himself is using what is perhaps the best tactic open to him of "escalation of war." It is because the fighting is going on that there is no room to resist the executive's abuse of power.[2]

Whether or not such a drastic criticism was true, one thing, however, was clear that President Rhee did not hesitate to take any means to attain his political goals.[3]

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[1]Korean Annual Report, 1952, pp. 51-52.

[2]This criticism was commonly prevailing among political critics during the period when President Rhee frantically proclaimed martial law to attempt the dissolution of the National Assembly in June 1952 in order to extend his presidential term for devising re-election while he ordered all middle and high school and college students to make "street demonstrations of the popular will" for supporting his policy on opposing the armistice negotiation.

[3]With Rhee's term as President due to expire within a few months his opponents continued to dominate the National Assembly which under the Constitution would elect the next President in 1952. The majority of his opponents in the Assembly determined to defeat Rhee in the 1952 election. This fact directly caused that Rhee was so engrossed in his own plans for re-election and too incensed at his Assembly opponents, whom he openly denounced as "pro-Communists." The fears of many Assemblymen by Rhee's threat to dissolve the Assembly and his continuous persecution strengthened Rhee's personal desire. See also, McCune, Korea: Land of Broken Calm, pp. 158-163.

Since the Republic of Korean army assumed a greater proportion of the front-line on the battleground, the government authorities had been too absorbed in the war. As a result of the government's utmost war effort, this directly affected education in providing the needs of warfare. The Ministry of Education forged ahead to reorganize the Student Defense Corps which were founded in all secondary schools and colleges in 1949. In carrying out the new roles of the Corps, the Ministry of Education ordered all administrative heads of high schools and colleges to follow the principles of the new directive, which was designed to reorganize the Corps as an integral part of the educational system, issued by the Ministry on March 21, 1951.[1] According to the directive, the central aim of the Corps was to impose a minimum standard of the military training program into regular curricula of high schools and colleges. In order to achieve this goal, the following objectives were set up to provide the basic military techniques and knowledge to all students.

1. To develop a strong patriotism among high school and college students as the substantial human resources for the nation's defense plan by the increasing number of brilliant students choosing to go to military institutions or to remain in the armed services.

2. To achieve an enrichment of the educational program through the merger of general studies and military arts.

3. To approach a transformation of the prevailing social attitudes to bring about a higher esteem for the military services.

4. To improve students' good habits (orderliness, cleanliness, alertness, and responsibility) and virtues (bravery, cooperation, obedience to the laws, and mutual assistance).

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[1]The Ministry of Education Directive No. 16, March 21, 1951.

5. To foster students' physical strength and sound mind through military drills.

It was compulsory for all students to receive a minimum of 360 hours of military training for high school students, consisting of a program carried out over a three-year period and a four-hour training per week for college students. In addition to the weekly four-hour training sessions all college male students were required to take 12 weeks of a specialized field training at the military bases during their senior year. After completion of the fourth year, 24 weeks of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps and active duty followed. In undertaking this program, reserved military officers were dispatched to all high schools and colleges. The programs for military drill in the Corps, for example, scheduling, instructional contents and methods; and instructional equipment and facilities, were charged solely by these officers under the direction of the Ministry of Defense.

The structure of the Corps was not basically changed but its variety of programs, which were integrated in the regular extra-curricular activity program, was crystallized around the military training program as a core of the Corps activities. The Corps' principal change from the existing structure was therefore under a bias towards the emphasis on the military training. Its basic structure was more likely modeled after that of the military units consisting of platoons, companies, and battalions in each school unit. Each school corps was also functional as a branch of the provincial and the national Student Defense Corps (NSDC). The President of the Republic automatically became the Corps' Supreme Commander in Chief and the Minister of Education served as the Central Commander of the Corps, while the local units of the Corps had as their top staff the same men as the former corps. The Corps were

thus reorganized in terms of a highly centralized and hierarchical structure in which every performance was carried out by strict orders from the top to the bottom. All high-echelon Corps were advised by each guidance committee which was composed of members selected from both key government officials and military staffs as well as from school faculty members. All student extra-curricular activities were, like that of formers, carried out within the structure of the Corps. Students were obligated to pay dues that supported the Corps activities were, like that of formers, carried out within the structure of the Corps. Students were obligated to pay dues that supported the Corps activities financially.

2. The War Effort and Establishment of Military Training Institution

By the end of 1951, after 18 months from the outbreak of the war, the Republic of Korean troops, along with the United Nations forces, had suffered over 200,000 combat casualties including dead, wounded, captured, or missing in action.[1] This heavy loss brought about a crucial shortage of military-manpower in maintaining the significant role of ground combat. When the armistice talks began early in 1953, a revitalized and expanded South Korean Army was manning 70 percent of the frontlines in countercharging against the enemy's offensive position.[2]

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[1]The Republic of Korea, Towards Triumph: Korea and the United Nations, p. 20.

[2]The Korean Research and Information Office, Guide to Korea (Seoul, Korea, 1959), p. 19.

Moreover, the fact that the South Korean government had firmly endorsed a possibility of the national unification only through the means of military solution further required more strength of both quantiative and qualitative armed forces. Under such circumstances, the nation estimated a continuation of full-scale war and it was vital to provide a new type of military education and training programs.

This is not the place to deal with the details of military education program, since this field is not directly in the category the author is now seeking to approach in his study. However, it would be worthwhile to examine a few selected examples of military educational programs, in view of the educational values and its influence on the many aspects of Korean society.

Modeled largely after the United States pattern, the framework for a variety of military educational structures was initiated even prior to the Korean war in 1950. Hampered by the war, but in the later period of the war, the military training institutions mushroomed and expanded to the stage that more than twenty of the institutions are now in existence, offering approximately 170 different courses of instruction. Nearly a half-million Korean youths had been trained in these institutions during the three-year period of the war.[1]

The three service academies, serving the Army, Navy and Air Force, respectively, were the nation's most important educational institutions for the training of military officers. The Military Academy, patterned largely after the United States' West Point, first founded in 1948, and authorized by the National Assembly to extend the accomodative capacity of 800 cadets when the Korean War broke out in 1950. During the wartime,

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[1]Hackwonsa, op. cit., pp. 213-214.

both the Naval and Air Force Academies were founded in compliance with the emerging necessity of well-trained officers, with approximately 320 cadets at the Naval and 260 at the Air Force Academies.[1] Like the Military Academy, these institutions were modeled after U.S. counterparts, and provided a well-balanced four-year training program. Each of these three academies was designed to offer a higher standard of college education leading to a baccalaureate degree in science. These collegiate institutions therefore provided theoretical and practical training as well as specialized field training for prospective officers in their professional careers. Qualifications for the entry and their academic standards were very high. William F. Gutteredge, a distinguished authority in the field of military education programs, gave an impressive comment in this regard that "the system adopted from West Point has apparently no parallel at any school elsewhere in Korea or the Orient."[2] A large percentage of professional military officers in Korea were academy graduates, and indeed, these institutions had greatly influenced the idea of modernism upon the attitudes and behavior of the military elites since the beginning of their foundation.

The most significant formal education provided for officers at the top level in the Korean military establishment was arranged at the three (Army, Navy, and Air Force) Commands and Staff Colleges. The regular course offered at each was an eighteen month period for the Army and Navy while a twenty-month duration of program was provided for the Air Force at the College. Especially, social science courses along with

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[1] Ibid.

[2] William F. Gutteredge, "Education of Military Leadership in Emergent States," Education and Political Development, ed. by James S. Coleman (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 448-449.

the military science courses were strongly emphasized in the curricula of the institutes. For example, such courses as "the state and international society," "Communist power," "free world economic dynamics," and "political theories" indeed called our wide attention.[1] These social science courses occupied nearly 40 percent of the total instruction offered at these institutes. Over 2,000 officers had graduated from these colleges since their institutions late in 1951. Although the percentage of the graduates of the institutes was relatively small, it was apparent that these graduates had played a key part of the continuing processes of the Korean military elites. Many leading cabinet positions and other high ranking government posts, particularly after the May-Military Coup d'Etat in 1961, have been seated by these Command and Staff Colleges' graduates. These institutions had apparently provided a substantial exposure of important policy matters as well as the professional military strategic officer training. Furthermore, from the importance of various programs offered at these institutions, it can be clearly realized that the kinds of attitudes such as intense anti-Communism, nationalistic patriotism, maintenance of the basic armaments for defense and the idea of military solution for national unification were normally cultivated and fostered in these institutions.[2]

The Korean Army Information School established in the middle of 1951, was another noteworthy institution for the training of officers and men in mastering the knowledge and skills in the fields of military communication. By the end of the Korean War in July 1953, over 2,500 officers and men had completed one or more the different programs offered

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[1] Yukkun Sinmun (The Army Weekly), July 18, 1952, pp. 7-8.

[2] Ibid.

at this school.[1] The programs included a variety of theory and practical training dealt with the operation of modern communication facilities and equipment. The trainees, after their completion of programs, had contributed their valuable skills not only to the armed services but also to the offices, businesses, industrial firms, or schools as middle level technicians. These technicians were practically useful pillars of the nation's transforming society from conventional agriculture to modern industry.

There were also a large number of important military educational institutions which were set up during the wartime period to meet the adequate skilled military personnel. Such a major institute as the Merchant Marine Academy, which consisted of training men to operate the vessels carrying on the waterborne trade of the Republic. This institute sprang up during the wartime when a great need for transporting not only military equipment but also civilian cargoes from the coast to coast of the peninsula developed a parallel need for nautical techniques. This institution had tremendously contributed maritime technicians and mariners who would develop Korean ocean navigatorships.

In compliance with the war needs, the Ministry of Defense had established over 30 different military training institutions for various middle level military technicians during the war-period. For example, Army Chemical Schools for training Army servicemen in chemical warfare tactics under the direction of the Defense Ministry was an outstanding example of the military training program. The Women's Army Corps was also a remarkable example of how many young women had opportunities to train themselves in the Army training institutes. The Corps were originated

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[1] Ibid.

to provide women clerks, typists, telephone and teletype operators, radio broadcasters in psychological warfare operations, and basic nurses' training in the Army Camps. The Army Boys Corps were other enormous institutes for training of junior level military technicians. The Corps' members were selected among youths between 16 and 20 years of age who had finished the minimum equivalency of middle school education. Under the cooperation of the Ministry of Education the Corps' instructions were offered at technical high schools. The Corps' members received an eight-week period of an advanced training program at the Army professional institute after the completion of a sixteen-week phase of the general or basic training at the various technical high schools.[1] These numerous junior technical trainees, too, would become prospective contributors in the coming of a modern Korea.

Indeed, one of the most constructive results of the war, despite the countless horrors of combat, was the tremendous buildup of armed forces whose skills would be greatly contributed to the nation's economic deveopment.

D. The War and Its Consequences in Education

Although the unprovoked Korean War created hopeless conditions in all aspects of Korea, it, however, evidenced that the people of Korea had acquired substantial important experiences which were necessary for the reconstruction of a modern Korea. In the confrontation of hardship in the war, the people endured awful sufferings and misery, but by working through these problems, bettered themselves and Korea. The three-

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[1] Ibid., pp. 8-9.

year duration of war obviously brought about a remarkable social change in transforming the people's traditional concepts and attitudes on social values. This social trend required a new form of education to meet the demands of an emerging society. A gigantic military establishment as a result of the war and of inevitable political phenomena, directly hindered the nation's economy from a steady growth,[1] but a variety of the skilled human resources was secured through the military installation which was transferrable to civilian sectors.

1. Transformation of the People's Behavioral Pattern

As a gift of the national liberation from the Japanese colonial rule in 1945, democracy was imported by the American Military occupation authorities, which was accompanied by a new Western tide of ideas, customs, and a way of thinking. Korean intellectuals welcomed this new doctrine that they knew would be a covenant of the ideal guiding principle in the on-coming Korean society. Theories of government and the economic system as well as school structures were newly adopted while people rapidly began to turn over their traditional way of living. Costumes, entertainment habits, women's hair styles, and even speeches so quickly changed. Aged people were scandalized at the frequent use of foreign words (English) in newspapers and magazines. Schools taught about principles of democracy--freedom and equality--but nothing was emphasized on a responsible and constructive way of cooperation in fact. Students enjoyed hearing what John Locke advocated in his belief: "sovereignty

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[1]According to the government source, approximately sixty-five percent of the national budget was annually spent for the national defense expenditure and a maintenance of over 600,000 of active servicemen during the wartime period. See the Republic of Korea Economic Planning Board, The Economic Yearbook (Seoul, Korea, 1964), p. 43.

rests with the people who at times have the rights to abolish and reconstruct government."[1] Student demonstrations followed and daily roamed the streets aimlessly, but merely added confusion and chaos to the college communities. The National Assembly members sat down in the comfortable Assembly-hall chairs and spent all day long condemning, accusing and reproaching of one another without any purpose of proceedings. It was now on everybody's lips" freedom and equality. All spoke of freedom of speech and of assembly, but there was little understanding as to what these concepts meant. A well-known native scholar lamented that "this is a tragic phenomenon of a backward nation happening normally in a transitional stage."[2] Without democratic experiences, as was mentioned earlier, and with only few words from Christian missionaries, this liberal idea was lauded and "freedom," as it was, indeed became the post-liberation period's universal password.

What has changed in the Korean society most significantly caused by the war was not only the material "things," but it was in the non-material aspect of the social pattern that the changes have rapidly been most noticeable. In the first place, the war had stimulated the people of South Korea to urge the awakening of their own national consciousness and also re-evaluate their self-interests. In the early period of the war, hundreds of thousands of refugees were forced to leave their homes and swarmed around the "Pusan perimeter" seeking safety. Those who returned to their homes, when the war moved northward, found only destruction and misery on which to rebuild their living. This painful experi-

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[1]NEA's Educational Policies Commission, The Education of Free Men in American Democracy (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1941), p. 48.

[2]H.M. Kim, op. cit., pp. 57-68.

ence caused the people to make an epochal change in their behavior and in their attitudes on the concept of social value systems.[1] Koreans now had to determine their choices: where to go, and what to fight for. In this regard, the Korean people had vigorously struggled for freedom and sovereignty against both domestic and external aggression. Perhaps for the first time in its recent history, the Korean people had reached the conclusions that the creation of abundance and security for the masses of its people was of prime importance. In approaching this aim, both harmonious efforts and cooperative searching were essential not only in theory, but in fact. Although many eminent Koreans did not agree that the citizen was a pawn of the stage, they now emphasized that an individual citizen should be subordinated to the national authority through this intellectual cooperation. The former President of the United States, Harry S. Truman, made an impressive comment:

> Korea has become a testing ground in which the validity and practical value of the ideals and principles of democracy which the Republic is putting into practice are being matched against the practices of Communism which have been imposed upon the people of North Korea. Moreover, the Korean Republic by demonstrating the success and tenacity of democracy and resisting Communism will stand as a beacon to the people of northern Asia in resisting the control of the Communist forces which have overcome them.[2]

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[1]Lester Crow points out: "That social or environmental factors affect the personality and behavior even of young infants are evidenced in the results of studies of their behavior. Investigations of the changing or of the persistence of reactions. . . seemed to indicate that environmental as well as biological factors are responsible for a person's personality and behavioral tendencies. The interaction between the personality and environment continues as a personal experience in the world around him." See Lester Crow and Alice Crow, Educational Psychology (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1963), p. 194.

[2]Robert T. Oliver, 50 Facts on Korea (Washington, D.C.: The Korean Pacific Press, 1950), p. 11.

A second notable change caused by the Korean War was the transformation of the ancient economic concepts by which the people of South Korea were evolving from a basically agricultural economy to an industrial stage. During the war, a tremendous contribution had been made by the people in changing the traditional contempt for technical works or craftsmanship. "We would rather choose to die of hunger than live in a shameful condition,"[1] was deeply rooted into the people's way of living in the traditional society of Korea.

In the past, education was to the majority of Korean people a means of avoiding technical and manual or "blue collar" jobs, which was largely left to the lowest classes and to the prisoners. Even after the nation's liberation in 1945, economically affluent people including local landlords and higher officials of the government were engrossed in the education of their children in the academic high schools and the liberal arts colleges where the competition for entrance was extremely high, and where the programs concentrated exclusively on the training of scholars. In this unique atmosphere, a great portion of students were neither interested in becoming good engineers or practical artists nor concerned about their futures as professional technicians. People now realized that more useful works had been done during the war by the sons of blacksmiths than by hundreds of those who had superficial knowledge with liberal arts degrees. People began to believe that industry was one of the most effective means of raising standards. Technical education and industrial training programs received greater attention, and technical schools were turned into producing units where students could earn wages.

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[1]This is a typical Korean maxim which had persisted in the Korean society as a monument of "heavenly rule." That was why an overwhelming majority of common people in Korea were engaged in agriculture. See Shannon McCune, op. cit., pp. 82-99.

The third change was the fact that within the society an ideological conflict had developed between the older and younger generations. The central concern of the traditional Korean society was the preservation of the moral code, which constituted the basic "dominance-submission" pattern of the social structure. This doctrine was predominant in the intrafamily relationships between the older and younger members of the family. Since the moral principle was rigidly practiced, there has been little room for the younger members of the family or of society, to translate their creative thinking and even their constructive ideas into action without a good deal of the patriarchal permission in advance. Following the age-centered ethical code, the younger members were strictly required to pay their supreme filial duty to parents and their genuine obedience to the older members of the society or the state. A remarkable influence of the traditional morality was also apparent in the political climate of the country. Professor Hahn-Been Lee has pointed out:

> A recent study on the social background of the political leaders showed that the elites of cabinet ministers, National Assemblymen, and other higher officials of the Rhee regime as a whole had predominant characteristics: they were mostly sons of landlords and former government officials of the Yi Dynasty, and their mean age at the time of active service was 54.3 years.[1]

The impact of this principle thus has affected every aspect of the Korean society. This traditional moral code is indeed one of the major problems that the Korean society has faced since the nation's liberation in 1945.

During the three-year period of the Korean War, a dynamic ideology was born out of the vast socio-political upheaval. This ideology first took the form of a demand by the younger generation for recognition of their social status. When the Korean War broke out in 1950, hundreds of thousands of the Korean youth went gallantly into the Army and fought

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[1] H. B. Lee, op. cit., pp. 94-95.

for freedom and the salvation of the country. The destiny of the nation faced with the calamity of war indeed rested solely on the tireless exertion of the youth, whose meritorious deeds had been rendered through military service, refugee rescue works, and manufacturing works for increasing industrial and farm products. In the light of their distinguished services the youth had been widely recognized by the old generation as the pillars of the nation and patron saints. From this time onward, a remarkable change for the ideological identity of the youth's status had been made not only in the urban society but also in the rural communities. The younger generation had now begun to break away the traditional social pattern and challenge the dominance of their parents' generation on decision-making processes. The supremacy of the age group was still accorded overt respect, however, the Korean youth had become an ever more voiceful force in most decisions affecting every aspect of the Korean society. Decision making processes, both within the family and on the national level, thus, have been shifting from a patriarchal and non-egalitarian patterns to a more democratic with an equal basis between the older and younger generations.

The impact of this change has been apparent in the field of education when the new ideological forces challenged the authoritarian methods of teaching and administrative processes. Teachers at the elementary and secondary levels eagerly introduced the democratic methods of instruction to their classrooms and accepted the idea of the pupil-centered learning performance. At the elementary and secondary schools, a new idea was born to abolish the "military" type of disciplinary system and was ready to replace it with the guidance-counseling system. Whips were no longer carried by the teachers to classrooms, and new provisions were set up to guarantee rights of the pupils. At the colleges

and universities, the growing tendency was noticeable in the faculty-student relationships, which swiftly shifted from authoritarian to one in which the teacher acted as a guide to the student's own discovery of knowledge. The leading student at the Student Defense Corps now frequently became participants in the faculty's curriculum-organization committees and contributed their own ideas and interpretations of students' opinions and demands. For the first time in the recent history of Korea, the voice of students carried greater weight in the process of college policy decision-making. As a result of these sudden changes, however, as was anticipated, classroom disorders and campus disturbances were often created by the students. Teachers were hardly able to manage their classrooms and to control their students without using heavy punishment. The lack of student's self-discipline, inadequacy of student's guidance, and the carelessness of educational planning were in fact all emerging problems faced in schools at the time. These facts had caused radical forms of student activities to develop the uncontrollable revolutionary forces in the early part of 1960.[1]

2. The Military Contribution in Education

The continued threat by the North caused the South Korean government to maintain an elaborate military establishment. In order to preserve a regular Army of over 600,000 men, the conscriptive system was formally adopted when the legislature passed "The Military Service Law" in June 1951. Under this law, all male citizens were required to serve a three-year duration of military duty at the age of twenty. The maximum draft age was forty years as stated in the law, but it was actually ex-

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[1]The authoritarian g(ernment of Syngman Rhee was toppled by the students' revolutionary forces, so-called "April-Students' Revolution" late in April 1960. See Chapter VII, pp. 256-264.

tended to forty-five years of age because of the war.[1] As a result, hundreds of thousands of youths were conscripted in a short period from all parts of the country in enhancing the strength of the Army. While a great number of military men were recruited, an extensive military training had given Korea a vast reservoir of armed forces whose skills and talents which were transferrable to civilian life. All experiences acquired in the military service later contributed to the building of a modern Korea. Samuel D. Berger, former Ambassador of the United States to Korea witnessed the Korean Armed Forces' contribution to civilian development:

> Our military relations have done far more than produce one of the most highly trained and effective military forces in the Republic of Korea. For a modern military force consists not only of fighting men, but requires a great range and variety of professions, vocations, and skills. Doctors, surgeons, and nurses are needed, as are lawyers and engineers, experts in communication, transport procurement, supply, budget and fiscal matters, and planning. Men must be trained as pilots and navigators, as drivers, motor and airplane mechanics, welders, crane and bulldozer operators, metal workers, and radio and telephone repairmen, and in scores of other occupations.
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> The thirst of Koreans for education and training is one of the happiest memories I have of my three years' stay in Korea. Korea may be an underdeveloped nation in an economic and industrial sense, but the Koreans are not an underdeveloped people.[2]

One of the most significant roles in education carried out by the military forces was a campaign against illiteracy within its own

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[1]Article 6 of the Military Service Law stipulates that the Republic of Korean males may be conscripted at the age of 20 for a normal term of 2 years in the Army or 3 years in the Navy or Air Force. The maximum drafting age is 40 years, but it may be extended to 45 in cases of wars or other national emergency.

[2]This is a part of an address delivered by Samuel D. Berger, former American Ambassador to South Korea, at the Conference and Symposium on "Korean Culture" sponsored by the Brooklyn Center of Long Island University, New York, on May 7, 1966. See Korea, The Public Information Center, Korea: Seen From Abroad (Seoul, Korea: The Korean Information Service, Inc., 1967), pp. 40-68.

Army units. A great number of the Army men who had been conscripted, particularly from the remote areas or mountain villages, had no opportunities to receive an elementary education. Many among those were unable to read or write, even as much as their own name. In order to solve this emerging problem, the Ministry of Defense set up an advisory committee called "General Education Committee" on December 7, 1951, in coordination with the Minister of Education. The Committee consisted of nine members, three of whom were selected from the Ministry of Education, three from business circles, and the remainder from its own Ministry.[1] Its key role was to review general education programs within the Ministry and to make legal recommendations to the Minister of Defense or in special cases to the President of the Republic on such matters as instructional content and methods, textbooks, teaching personnel, and budget. A sufficient budget for the Army's general education program was approved by the National Assembly in January the following year. The Army had successfully conducted this program as well as its own specialized training programs. This general education program extended from the first grade up through the college level. Many thousands of soldiers had learned to read and write and had received the Army's fourth grade certificate. In the middle and high school levels, hundreds, by passing the general education tests provided by the Ministry of Education,[2] had received the secondary school graduate equivalency certificates. In higher education, in order to secure specialists and qualified instructors for military instruction, the Ministry of Defense selected a great number

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[1] Yukkun Shinmum (Army Weekly), March 19, 1954, p. 4.

[2] The Ministry of Education conducted the qualifying tests for both middle and high school graduate equivalency for those who had no formal educational experiences. These were held once a year at the Ministry of Education.

of officers to enroll at one or more departments related to his specialized field in the regular civilian colleges for further academic works. The Defense Ministry also requested the Ministry of Education on February 17, 1952, to grant its full cooperation in granting them special admissions. This was a step which later developed into the regular Reserved Officers Training Corps, which in 1957 was set up in colleges and universities. Furthermore, to encourage those who wished to continue their higher education while in the military services, the Ministry of Defense permitted servicemen to take evening courses at regular colleges or universities in the Capital City area. In view of the successful evening education program in the Seoul area, the General Education Committee in the Ministry of Defense studied a way to give equal opportunities to servicemen stationed in other metropolitan areas throughout the country. As a result of such a general education program, hundreds of prospective servicemen were able to earn college degrees from numerous higher educational institutions.

The Korean military activities in education had been dramatic in variety and magnitude. These educational activities had extended far beyond the Army Camps, for example, to such activities as building schools and in conducting literacy campaigns for thousands of villagers. Also Korean educational military authorities had supplied a large number of tents to villages and often distributed free instructional materials as well as free textbooks, notebooks, and pencils.

A large number of military units had established fraternal relationships with schools and organized youth groups along with communities in giving free medical treatments and providing sports, music concerts, films, or recreational activities. Furthermore, another admitable action contributed by the servicemen was to provide numerous types of

scholarship funds in order that poor students might continue their education. The funds for scholarships were collected largely from the servicemen's voluntary contributions. This author was unable to find the correct source of the total amount of the fund or how many students had been so far benefitted by these scholarships. However, according to the "Korean Report on the Defense Ministry," a considerably large number of students were covering their schooling expenses with the aid of these scholarships for their further education.

VI. THE POLICY OF ECONOMIC REHABILITATION AND ITS EFFECTS ON EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT DURING THE POST-KOREAN WAR PERIOD, 1953-1960

With the conclusion of the armistice agreement on July 27, 1953, the uppermost emerging problem faced in the Republic of Korea was the reconstruction of the rubble and smoking ruins of war. In carrying out this arduous task, the government gave its top priority to the policy on economic rehabilitation while the great proportion of its efforts were concentrated on efficiency in education for preservation of skilled manpower as a means of economic rebuilding. The foreign economic aid, however, had played an important role in developing these projects, since the Korean government was unable to meet the necessity of adequate funds for assuming its goals.

A. The Policy of Skilled Manpower Development and Strengthening Vocational and Technical Education

For the first time, the government of the Republic of Korea, since its independence in 1948, began to fix a new direction in which educational policy was determined as a part of over-all economic policy. Previously, education was viewed by the authorities as well as many citizens merely as a wastage, but there was now increasing tendency to recognize it as a vital means of the nation's modernization. The authorities were gradually convinced of the fact that human resources development was also a vital component of education's contribution to the economic growth. Under the growing integration of education and economic

progress, the Ministry of Education, at the first hand, thereby made a step towards the policy by using the vocational and technical schools as the training centers for the production process, gearing their teaching programs to produce skilled manpower with knowledge and skills necessary so they could step directly into industry and business circles.

1. The Economic and Labor Conditions During the Post-Korean War Period

It might be necessary to examine briefly here the general aspect of economic and labor conditions in Korea during the post-Korean War period since these were determining influential factors on the development of vocational and technical education, and also these two factors, in fact, greatly influenced the government and educational authorities frequently to adopt the new policies for manpower training programs.

The sudden North Korean Communist invasion in South Korea on June 25, 1950, ended this period in a havoc of devastation that wiped out nearly half of all the productive capacity in the country and left the area in an abnormal economic condition. In the years that followed the armistice of July 1953, the immediate aftermath of war was so remarkable that a large proportion of the population was on the borderline of starvation. Furthermore, the war depleted almost all formally trained technicians and engineers, whose skills required many years to be restored to the status quo. A large sum of American and United Nations economic aid programs during the period of the next few years were naturally restricted almost entirely to relief grants.[1] The productive capacities of the country were lower than ever before, and the free enterprise spirit of the people had sadly faded. Under such an unfortunate

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[1] W. A. Brown, Jr. and R. Opie, American Foreign Assistance (Brookings, 1953), pp. 373-374. See W. D. Reeve, op. cit., pp. 104-105.

condition, illegal methods of earning had, through sheer necessity, become firmly permeated and almost habitual among influential economic groups.

a. Problems of the Farmer. Farmers in South Korea, who comprised almost 70 percent of the nation's total population, experienced a difficult problem, basically because of the clumsy measure of governmental agricultural reform policy. The agricultural economy was in such poor condition that all but the largest and alert landowners were pauperized. The land reform totally shrank farm units and drained the middle class of farmers. It almost wiped out private ownerships.[1] Local technical development, farm loans, management of farm products including shortage and selling that used to depend largely on farm owners now rapidly shifted to government control. Farmers in Korea suffered from inadequate methods of financing their annual costs. They were forced to purchase fertilizer in the farming season in March and April, when they had not enough money to pay for it. In the absence of a proper agricultural banking system, they had to obtain private loans at interest rates of almost ten percent each month. In the harvest season in October, they had to sell their crops to pay these debts, and the rush of crops into the market forced down the price greatly. Then, in the spring they had to buy back crops for their family needs at high prices.[2] Obviously, an orderly system of financing loans and of marketing the rice and agricultural crops were essential to restore the well-being of the farmers.

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[1]On May 2, 1949, the Legislature passed a bill for Land Reform proposed by the government which included a formula for redistribution of not only Japanese-owned land prior to 1945, but also Korean privately owned land. This bill was based on the idea that "farmland should go to the tillers." See W. D. Reeve, op. cit., pp. 31-37.

[2]The Board of Economic Planning of the Republic of Korea, Kyounche Backso (Economic Whitepaper) 1962 (Seoul, Korea, 1962), pp. 2-4.

b. The Failure of Economic Policy. In the field of industry, factories located largely in metropolitan areas, as was previously noted, were almost totally destroyed or half-damaged by war. The war thus caused an abnormal condition to industry and, at the same time, depleted principal sources of local income. Reconstruction now depended largely upon the foreign economic aid.[1] Therefore, South Korea's economic foundation was built with a greater reliance on foreign aid rather than the self-reliance of economic independence. All foreign aid programs were solely maintained through the government agencies. During this period, access to aid was only possible through the government and political channels. Inflation continued severely from 1950 through 1956. Wealthier farmers and middle-class property owners and business enterprisers severely suffered and in most cases were destroyed by the ruin of property and rampancy of inflation. Government loans became a vital source of funds for enterprising business since the official interest rates were low but increasingly involved payment to the ruling party and government's higher officials. As a result of these practices, the proportion of kickback greatly exceeded the official interest charged.[2]

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[1]According to the government source, the foreign economic aid, mainly from the United States Government, had reached as much as 2.5 billion dollars since the Republic of Korea was independent in 1948 up to the middle of 1960. The military aid is not included in this figure. See W. D. Reeve, op. cit., p. 101.

[2]Countless exposures of such practices were showed in the investigations and inquisitions following the overthrow of the Republic in 1960. See W. D. Reeve, op. cit., pp. 96-100.

Reeve has, however, made the following comment: The turning over of funds to the Liberal Party (the ruling party) by businessmen in exchange for various official favors was a feature of the Rhee regime for which the President himself was in no way responsible, just as he had no part in the corrupt practices of his ministers or officials. See W. D. Reeve, op. cit., pp. 99.

Even more than in Japanese colonial days almost all vested interests were nationalized after the war. Large industry and businesses were founded, whose growth was closely associated with key government officials, in order to obtain government loans, for which industry and business owners in turn paid a considerable proportion for bribery of the officials. Virtually all procurement operations became an operation of the government, and enterprises became the substantial bases of livelihood for officials and party-politicians. Corruption revealed these conditions. Large industrial production was stagnant and unemployment rates soared. Newly formed industrial plants were dependent on increased domestic needs rather than being export-directed. In accordance with this condition, the proportion of raw material import far exceeded the country's export earning sums. Consequently, it has been widely recognized that people's discontent over the economic stagnation was ascribed to the growing evidence of the failure of the government's economic policy in addition to government corruption.

c. Labor Conditions. The Office of Labor Affairs reported that as of December 1957, the labor population over 15 years of age numbered 13,450,000 of whom 7,689,000 were economically active. Of this figure, 6,613,000 or 86 percent were fully employed while 1,076,000 or 14 percent were unemployed or partially employed. The employment ratio, however, increased by 1.4 percent during the year of 1959, reflecting a progress achieved in the field of labor intensive industries.[1] According to this report, for example, the number of skilled workers actually trained in

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[1]Korea, The Office of Labor Affairs of the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, Hankuk Nodonginku Dongtae Chosa (A Survey on the Movement of Labor Population in Korea) (Seoul, Korea, 1959), pp. 12-16. (Mimeographed.)

the regular vocational or technical institutions in 1959 was only 12,700, which was 14,600 short of the 27,300 needed, particularly in the field of technical engineering. In the case of engineering, only 4,000 engineers nation-wide were supplied in that year, while nearly 10,000 engineers were demanded by the various types of industry.[1]

In 1957, the Office of Labor Affairs set up twelve nonprofit employment agencies including one central vocational guidance center in Seoul, two capital and nine regional placement agencies throughout the country in addition to the existing number of private placement offices in an effort to eliminate higher rates of unemployment. Through these public and private agencies, a total of 23,560 skilled and non-skilled workers were reported to have obtained jobs during the year of 1958.[2]

The labor wages, however, were excessively low in relation to the cost of living. The average income of a worker was estimated at about the minimum required for the bare existence of a family of five. This excluded everything except food, which mainly consisted of rice which was essential to live. Teachers' salaries did not keep pace with the minimum cost of living, although the official rate was even higher than that of any other civil servants. However, the deficit of their cost of living was scarcely provided for by subsidies from Parent-Teachers' Association.

Labor unions existed in name only, for they were thoroughly controlled by the government as instruments by which to encourage the workers to greater efforts without pressing for pay increases. Any union leaders who instigated a labor strike would swifly find themselves de-

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[1] Ibid., pp. 13-16.

[2] Ibid., pp. 15-16.

nounced as a communist instigator, and sent to jail. The laws and regulations for labor security and for the mediation of disputes existed in detail, but no one attempted to implement them into practice.

d. The New Economic Planning. Awakened by the trend mentioned above, the United States Office of Economic Coordination (OEC) officials and the Korean government strived to form a new policy for the economic rehabilitation program. By the latter part of 1957, the government announced that the time had come to concentrate on the construction of industries, this was the sort of policy which the government authorities had been urging ever since the Republic was independent in 1948. As was always true, such a policy benefitted a few "enterprise-owners who were able to contribute a part of their profit to the government party for political funds." The Korean people had not yet formally protested against the government for their dissatisfaction, but was statistically illustrated when the opposition party of Korean Democrats defeated the Liberal Party's candidate for President Rhee's running mate for the Vice-Presidency, in the May election, 1956.[1]

For the new long range program of the economic development plan, prospective statements were made by President Rhee, in his inaugural speech when he took the oath of office as the third-term President of the Republic on August 15, 1956. The President spelled out a detailed three-point plan of economic reform policy: (1) to aid the farmers with marketing and financing cooperatives; (2) to support small business with bank loans; and (3) to check inflation through tighter government budgeting.[1] The United States International Cooperation Administration (ICA)

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[1]Chung, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

[2]Yunhap Shinmun (Yunhap Daily Newspaper), August 16, 1956, p. 8.

authorities in Korea fully supported this new economic plan with warm approval, and moved promptly to insure full American support for it from aid funds.[1]

In carrying out this program from the late 1950's, taxes were raised, capital spending reduced, and the budget deficit supplemented by other government surplus incomes. Bank lending was also limited. The Agricultural Bank was newly set up for lending agricultural funds to farmers, although these funds were unable to meet the needs of farmers. As a result of these new policies, the expansion of the money supply seemed to have been slightly curbed, the run-away inflation was scarcely checked, prices were leaning toward a little stabilization through government control, and domestic savings were narrowly increased for the first time since the nation's Liberation in 1945.[2] However, the living cost was excessively high in terms of economic growth which came actually to a halt. Sales decreased and many manufacturing plants could not be altered from the domestic market to exports mainly because of scarcity of highly skilled technicians and engineers. An added burden of fostering over a 600,000 minimum standing army for the prevention of another possible invasion from the North had easily swallowed a great proportion of the national budget, which the government was unable to invest in full amount in industry. Again, a heavy infusion of American economic aid therefore came to be a dominant factor in fostering a period of fairly rapid growth of the nation's economy. All of this was most promising, yet there was also a dead weight of sluggishness to be overcome.

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[1]Robert T. Oliver, "Economic Rehabilitation in Korea," Korean Survey, Vol, III, No. 1 (January, 1957), 5.

[2]Han-Bak Lee, "The Post-War Economic Condition in Korea," Korean Report, Vol, V, No. 5 (May, 1957), 46-47.

2. Re-enforcement of Vocational and Technical Education for Economic Needs of the Country

a. The Historical Background. The considerably backward condition of vocational and technical education in Korea has its historical roots. In the traditional society of Korea, the need for technically trained men was only dimly understood and little encouragement was given for educated technicians. The traditional disdain for manual occupations, as was already discussed, had been also a major obstacle to the development of technical fields of education.

A formal vocational education in Korea was founded for the first time by the Japanese colonial government as early as 1910 and was placed in the public school structure as an integral part of the educational system. However, it was the policy of the Japanese colonial regime to restrict as much as possible the high level technical training given to Koreans. Its major aim was therefore focused on a short-term training program to produce lower level technical workers whose skills might be used as auxiliary engineers or technicians attached to Japanese managerial technicians. Vocational training at higher levels was limited and discouraged.[1]

During the American Military Occupation period, 1945-1948, the military authorities gave wide attention to the development of vocational education. In carrying out the vocational rehabilitation program, the Occupation Authorities, through the U.S. Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) in Korea, for example, had spent nearly four million dollars during

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[1]The educational policy during the early period of Japanese rule in Korea is well-illustrated in "The Chosen (Korean) Educational Ordinance of 1911" which was apparent to present its basic educational aims and objectives for all levels of Korean schools. See Chapter II in this study. A more detailed informaion is available from the book: Lee Mankyu, Chosen Kyoyuksa (History of Korean Education), II (Seoul, Korea: Ulyoo Moonwhasa, 1947), pp. 182-185.

the fiscal year of 1946-1947.[1] As a result of such efforts, a remarkable progress had been made since the beginning of its new administration in 1945. However, many difficult problems still remained without significant solution in such substantial issues as proper supply of qualified teachers, adequate teaching equipment and facilities including classrooms, laboratories and machine shops, textbooks, and sufficient amount of budget for higher teachers' salaries.

Since Korea was independent in 1948 to the end of the Korean War in 1953, vocational education had gone without a basic change from the system launched by the Occupation authorities. Vocational schools and their curricula were often planned and operated without due regard to the needs of individual students or labor requirements of the local communities or of the country as a whole. The courses and programs offered in vocational schools were mandated by the Ministry of Education since the national system of education was highly centralized. No vocational guidance or particular counseling services were provided for the adequate orientation of individual students in each vocational school. In fact, vocational schools had been used as indirect, rather than direct producers of human resources on the basis of long-term plans to meet the production needs of the country, placing more emphasis on the basic skills of literacy, language, and the natural and social sciences, just as curricula of general academic schools. As a result, it was hardly expected to produce more desirable skilled workers who were able to meet the requirements of modern industries.

b. Specific Problems for the Development of Vocational Education. The provision of better opportunities for vocational training in Korea has been increasingly regarded as a matter of substantial importance.

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[1]G. M. McCune, op. cit., p. 95.

In view of a considerable change in economic conditions, it was indeed highly desirable that technical and practical pursuits should be used as proper means of assisting both cultural and economic developments of the country. The only way to increase the nation's economy and individual standards of living is in fact dependent largely upon the qualitative production of skilled manpower with well-arranged technical knowledge. There is almost no way to seek the nation's fortune except by means of human resources development since the country is extremely limited in natural resources or sound sources of capital formation. Furthermore, the country is overpopulated in a small mountainous peninsula where only a quarter of the total land is available to cultivation and where nearly 30 million people live in that small area.[1]

(1) Deterioration of Vocational Aspiration: The lack of physical facilities and the scarcity of qualified teachers as well as poorly

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[1]The total combined area between North and South Korea is about 85,000 square miles, almost the same size as the State of Minnesota, of which roughly 38,000 square miles are under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Korea (South Korea) while North Korea occupies about 47,000 square miles.

The population of Korea as a whole in 1966 was estimated at a little over 42 million, the 13th largest in the world, of which 29.2 million live in South Korea. The population of North Korea was estimated at around 13 million. A census taken by the Economic Planning Board as of October 1, 1966, set the density of South Korea at 297 persons per square kilometer, showing an increase of 42 persons in a period of 6 years, 254 per square kilometer in 1966, the last year of the First Republic of Korea. These figures were comparable to 366 in the Netherlands, 310 in Belgium, and 265 in Japan. See The Board of Economic Planning of the Republic of Korea, Kyonje Backso (Economic White Paper), p. 262.

North Korea has rich natural resources, such as copper, gold, coal, and alloys for high grade steel which provides significant resources for the North Korean industrial economy. Before the outbreak of the World War II, the Japanese built a dam for the largest hydroelectric power plant in Asia, producing 640,000 kilowatt capacity, on the river of Yalu. During this period half of the power was sent into Korea and the other half went to Manchuria, which at that time was under Japanese economic control. South Korea contains no such remarkable natural resource as does North Korea, though the plains in the South are relatively extensive. Consequently, agriculture in South Korea is comparatively more well deveoped than in North Korea. See G. M. McCune, op. cit., pp. 140-155.

organized curricula and inadequate instructions were recognized by many as key factors which hampered the qualitative progress of vocational education in Korea. In addition, the traditional disdain for association with manual-labor also had a decisive influence upon the vocational aspirations of a great many students who had been trained in a certain specialized field in the formal institutions. It is therefore a general trend that many vocational schools built at relatively high costs were filled with those who were in most cases rejected from academic high schools and of good reputation. Under such conditions, very few really wanted to engage in manual labor business and so few students went to vocational schools.[1] Furthermore, most of the graduates apparently attempted to avoid opportunities for manual labor-works, but unrealistically sought official types of employment apart from their specialized fields in which they were trained. Even after their entry into these fields of occupation, they sought to change their current occupation. But a very small portion of these graduates indicated they wanted to remain in these manual employments permanently.[2]

However, the crucial factors wither for the development of vocational education or for the vocational aspiration among students rested not merely within the school system alone, but rather, on a matter beyond the school system itself. According to a follow-up study conducted by the Central Education Research Institute in Korea, for example, 775 or 65 percent of 1,208 agricultural high school graduates in 1957 indicated that they did not intend to engage in farm labor but wanted jobs elsewhere

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[1]Oh, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

[2]Korea, Central Educational Research Institute, A Follow-Up Study on Agricultural High School and Agricultural College Graduates Contribution to Agricultural Development: A Survey for Agricultural Education in Korea (Seoul, Korea, 1964), pp. 92-93.

while only about 35 percent or 433 students desired to prepare their future careers in agricultural fields.[1] This study also demonstrated that only 107 or 19 percent of 550 agricultural high school graduates who were already employed in agriculture wished to remain in farm work or its related fields as their permanent occupation, while the overwhelming majority wanted to change their current employment for a "white-collar" job.[2] The major reasons for changing their occupation (or for desiring change), according to this study were apparently that the agricultural high school graduates, as an example, were in most cases unable to introduce the new techniques and knowledge that they learned in schools to the traditional communities which are predominantly influenced by the old rule of clans. On the other hand, extremely lower rates of wages and incomes which could hardly support the minimum standard of living costs were sharply indicated as another key factor.[3] In fact, it was undeniable that the average farmer's livelihood was maintained in a critical condition because of their lower income or wages.

Again, this study strongly indicates that the vocational aspiration of students and the occupations in which they engaged, were almost exclusively determined by factors which lay largely outside schools. Consequently, it can be understood that no amount of formal vocational instruction alone is able to check the decline of vocational aspirations and to reduce the volume of unemployment. It has been well-demonstrated that the nature of formal vocational instruction, in fact, has little to do with the solution of such typical problems.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 94-95.

[2] Ibid., pp. 179-180.

[3] Ibid., pp. 82-85.

(2) Lack of Absorptive Capacity for Vocational High School Graduates: Korean educational planners as well as laymen tended to think solely of the formal educational system for the development of skilled manpower training programs. But very little attention had been paid to a great deal of training programs outside the school through the use of auxiliary institutions.[1] Harbison and Myers have pointed out: "A strategy of human resources development has three major components, of which formal education is only one. Simultaneous and equal attention should be paid to the building of incentives and the utilization of possibilities for on-the-job-training."[2] They continued to stress that "most managerial, technical, and craft skills, for example, are developed on-the-job much more effectively than in vocational schools."[3] Indeed, as in other developing countries, so also in Korea the number of vocational and technical schools rapidly increased from 169 in 1952 to 273 during the post-independence period. These vocational schools built at a high cost were in most parts quite inefficient and wasteful in contributing manpower training programs. Furthermore, apprenticeship training also had not begun to be developed on any level, whether by government or private companies. The Central Education Research Institute's study also indicated that only about 35 percent of agricultural high school graduates who responded to this study agreed that agricultural instruction offered in the vocational schools was generally useful or helpful

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[1]Auxiliary institutions include such systematic or informal education programs as "on-the-job" training for jobs in various institutions--factories, firms, trade unions, agricultural organizations, vocational guidance centers, youth centers, adult clubs, etc.

[2]Frederick Harbison and Charles A. Myers, Education, Manpower, and Economic Growth (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964), p. 193.

[3]Ibid.

to their current occupations while the rest of the students disagreed.[1]

The government's carelessly planned manpower training policy, particularly dealing with the formal institutional training programs, further encouraged many selfish private businessmen to establish new educational institutions without any serious consideration of quality of education, but, rather of their purposes. Even regular collection of labor force data in Korea was not initiated until 1957, which would be a key yardstick for adjustment of a growing imbalance between supply and demand for a particular skilled-labor power. It is clear that even rudimentary manpower surveys help government to analyze the need for specialized skills, training facilities and educational programs. Wrong kinds and unbalanced amounts of education had been excessively promoted by these institutions without regard to even the minimum standard of quality education. The vocational schools in Korea thus produced more unqualified graduates than the economic system could absorb. It was therefore not remarkable that a high rate of unemployment among vocational school graduates in many areas of the country was due to distinctions existing between the gross rate of school output and the slow expansion of occupational opportunities of all types. UNESCO's Educational Mission to Korea has pointed out the following impressive points:

> It is a fair criticism that the number of students attending these vocational schools bears little or no relationship to the numbers required in the vocation after which the school is named . . . For example, 92 agricultural high schools with 26,506 students were far in excess of any forseeable agricultural requirements. The same criticism can be made of the other vocational schools, excepting the normal schools.[2]

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[1]Korea Central Education Research Institute, op. cit., pp. 116-119.

[2]UNESCO, op. cit., p. 153.

In addition, the further difficulty of assimilation was caused by the educational system itself producing the wrong type of education which was far from the social demands. The balance between academic and vocational education was not combined in the right proportion of physical resources. Indeed, this fact directly resulted in the alarming level of unemployment and hindered rather than helped the nation's economic growth. Furthermore, in analyzing the degree of effectiveness of vocation training programs provided by formal institutions, it is evident that the Korean vocational school system had made inadequate provisions for proper manpower training with poorly equipped sub-professional training. This was mainly because the supply of educational facilities was not adequately planned in relation to the needs of economic and social development. For example, the government funded many agricultural high schools for training agricultural assistants for government of public service, but very few provided programs for students who could work on the farm. When a great many vocational school students left schools at the age of 18 or 19, they still had no opportunity to acquire any degree of significant practical experience and went to their jobs without technical competence in the field of their training. Therefore, Korean vocational school graduates were usually required to take on the additional burden of apprenticeship "on-the-job" before starting working life since there was no such system provided in the school programs.

c. The Government's New Planning on Vocational Education. As industry had begun to grow since 1957, the demand for technical manpower became even more acute, and in addition Korea needed technical skills for reconstruction of her economy. In accordance with this urgent necessity, the government, apart from the rising domestic political tension and chaos, put spurs to the rehabilitation of vocational train-

ing programs.

The Presiential New Year's Message to the nation on January 3, 1957 clearly indicated that the government's new educational policy was concentrated on the emphasis of reinforcement of vocational and science education. The remarkable change of the new vocational education programs in the Presidential Message included the following passages:

> First of all, a combined educational plan will be formulated faced on the national spirit of modernization, so that consistent education can be given to the people with a view to maximizing the effect of educational investment through emphasizing development of skilled manpower. This can be a prime motivation for the development of our national economy.
>
> 1. Priorities will be given to measure necessary for the expansion of both quantity and quality of technical and science education and for equalization of their standards in line with the new demands of the nation.
>
> 2. In order to promote technological education, educational facilities will be consolidated and expanded. Experimental education will be also stressed. Education of industrial technicians who will contribute to the nation's economic development will be emphasized.
>
> 3. To meet an emerging need of the post-war time, the current excessive general academic or humanity education will be gradually replaced with technical and vocational education.
>
> 4. To help promote training in production techniques and skills, the government aims at establishing in each province at least one or more vocational demonstration schools for the preparation of vocational guidance, research, and excellent experimental programs. Colleges and universities will be encouraged to transform themselves into technical and professional scientific institutions wherever possible.
>
> 5. The government will focus its wide attention to the new educational programs aiming at enhancing the general knowledge and providing an opportunity for vocational training to both juveniles and adults. Such educational measures will lay a basis for a spiritual posture of "Construction" along with the national defense.[1]

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[1]Korea, The Ministry of Education, Moonkyo Yoram (Educational Review): 1957 (Seoul, Korea, 1958), pp. 36-37.

As the message apparently indicates, vocational and technical education became of increasing national interest in order to initiate a more positive investment than ever before in the history of Korean education.

(1) Administrative Reorganization for Effective Function on Vocational Education: As a part of the major governmental economic policy, the Ministry of Education thereby rushed to beef up the expansion of vocational education under the coordination of other government agencies, which formally was of primarily an intra-educational policy matter. For the purpose of reinforcement of vocational and science education, on January 21, 1957 the administrative structure of the Ministry of Education, as seen in Figure VIII on the following page, was partially reorganized. Under the new structure, a completely independent Bureau of Technical and Vocational Education was created within the Ministry, which used to be merged with the Secondary Education Section in the Bureau of Common Education. This bureau has a total responsibility for administrative processes of the nationwide vocational and technical education.[1] Furthermore, the bureau virtually has the power to initiate regulations and standards, programing, and policy making for the development of vocational and technical education, although the final approvement must be authorized by the Minister of Education, the President, or in some cases the Legislature.

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[1]As already noted, the vocational school system in Korea was categorized as a technical or vocational branch of the secondary education system operating primarily at the provincial or municipal level, although all of which came under the direct control of the Bureau of Technical and Vocational Education in the Ministry of Education. However, all vocational schools as well as academic high schools, had in many cases received an over-all general supervision by the Cabinet Council or the Presidential Office of the Republic.

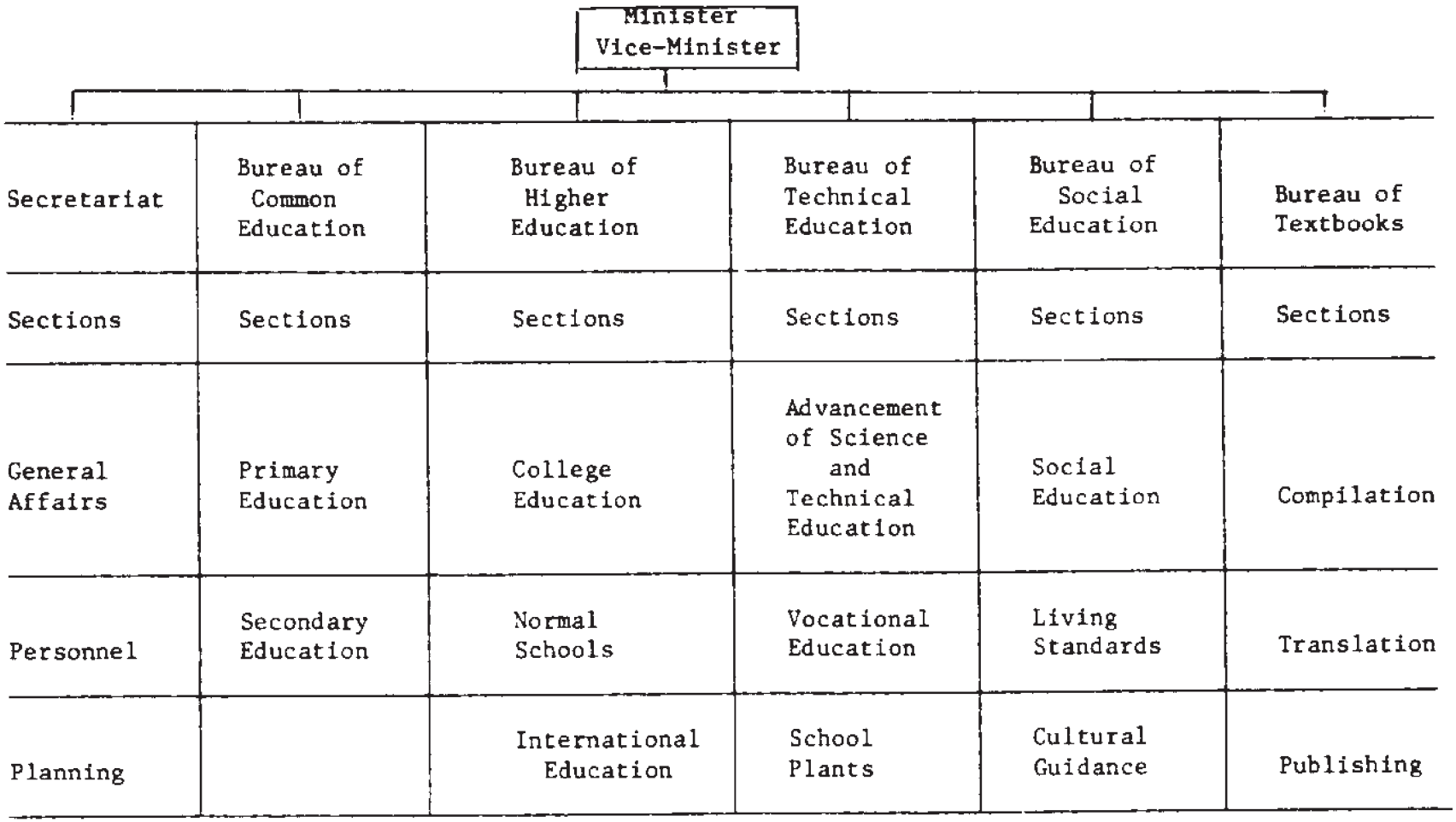

FIGURE VIII

THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE
OF THE MINISTRY
OF EDUCATION
IN 1957[a]

[a]Korea, The Ministry of Education, Education in Korea, p. 57.

TABLE 9

NUMBERS OF SCHOOLS AND STUDENTS BETWEEN GENERAL ACADEMIC AND VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOLS IN 1952[a]

Classification of Schools	Number of Schools	%	Number of Enrollment	%
General Academic High Schools	308	.65	141,218	.73
Vocational High Schools	169	.35	53,230	.27
TOTAL	477	100	194,448	100

[a]UNESCO, op. cit., p. 47.

(2) Readjustment for Student Enrollment Between Academic and Vocational Schools: As an immediate step, the Ministry drastically planned to balance the ratio of enrollment for general academic schools and that of vocational schools,[1] which used to be at a ratio of 3 to 1. Toward the end of the Korean War, as Table 9 shows, the total number of students enrolled at 169 vocational high schools was 53,230 or 27 percent of the total of the high school population while that of general academic high schools reached 141,218 students at 308 schools or 73 percent of the total of high school enrollment.

[1]Concerning the government's plan for a greatly increased vocational school enrollments, UNESCO's Education Mission to Korea made the following comments:

The degree and amount of vocational education in the country (Korea) must depend on the existing industries. Therefore, the vocational high schools should continue in their present numbers but more should be done to emphasize the need for a sound general education first and foremost. See UNESCO, op. cit., pp. 59, 153.

TABLE 10

NUMBER OF GENERAL ACADEMIC HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES AND NUMBER OF COLLEGE ENROLLMENT AT FIRST YEAR IN 1952[a]

Students (sex)	Number of High School Graduates	Number of College Enrollment 1st yr.	%
Male Students	29,000	7,800	.27
Female Students	6,000	1,200	.20
TOTAL	35,000	9,000	.25

[a]UNESCO, op. cit., p. 143.

Furthermore, as Table 10 shows, only 25 percent of general academic high school graduates including male and female students sought college education in 1952, while 75 percent of the total high school graduates remained at home. This figure indicates that the Korean academic high schools might be called on for the great responsibility of providing special technical training programs for those who were not seeking college education and for those who would be immediately absorbed by society upon completion of high school education without any particular skills and techniques. In view of this emerging condition, vocational training programs at the secondary school level were urgently required to meet the needs of these individual students and the demands of society as well.

(3) Plans for Informal Training Programs: The government authorities stressed that formal vocational education must be rationally planned in order not to waste limited resources while funds were allo-

cated to produce a balance appropriate with the needs of the particular areas. Accordingly, the Ministry of Education figured out that the provision of vocational education had to be directly related to those points at which some development might be beginning to manifest itself. It, therefore, would encourage small-scale vocational training schemes closely connected with actual ongoing development of technical skills. With the launching of such plans, the Ministry of Education took a further step toward informal training programs largely associated with non-formal educational institutions. In assuming this policy, the larger government controlled manufacturing plants and also larger private companies were greatly encouraged to provide both short and long-term training programs for their own employees since they had a clearer definition of their requirements.[1] These activities were indeed advantageous to both employers and government as well as the individual and the entire society. As an incentive program, early in 1958, government provided some priority of government loans or in many cases there were tax-remissions for the "training-within-industry." These training schemes were not directly part of the formal educational institutions, but they had the great advantage of being aligned closely to the qualitative requirement of employments. Under the coordination with the Ministry of Education, a relatively stable progress had been made within their own companies.[2] As a result of these types of training programs, it was apparent training education was more realistic and economical, and lessened the trainee's burdens. So far as these programs were active, pos-

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[1]Korea, The Ministry of Reconstruction, Development of the Korean Economy: 1958 (Seoul, Korea, 1958), pp. 73-81.

[2]Ibid., pp. 73-81.

sible burdens of vocational training schools seemed to be, more or less, shifted to these enterprisers of large companies.

(4) Revision of Vocational School Curriculum Based Upon Demand for More Vocational Subjects: When the educational system was reformed in 1949, the Subcommittee on Vocational Education stressed that vocational trainees' most notable inadequacy at the intermediate level was lack of basic functions of general education upon which further vocational training couls be given with profit. If the vocational schools performed these basic functions without significant general background, it would be patently absurd to expect them to incorporate a range of auxiliary vocational activities.[1] The Committee thereby decided to recommend that vocational education at secondary level should not limit itself to the narrow scheme of vocational practice alone, but it would be desirable to increase the pupils' general knowledge with a broader array of fundamental skills.[2] As a result of such a firm recommendation, as Table 11 shows on the following page, general academic courses were mandatory in the curricula of all types of vocational high schools. For the implementation of such a purpose the vocational school suffered the great disadvantage of lacking the specialization of technical skills. This trend, however, had been sharply criticized by many eminent scholars, particularly the absence of broader educational functions which allowed a so-called "malformed education" of the vocational school system.[3]

After a careful study, on September 24, 1957, the Ministry of Education adopted a new vocational education policy for the redirection

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[1]Oh, op. cit., pp. 228-231.

[2]Ibid., pp. 228-232.

[3]Hankuk Yonkam (Korean Yearbook) 1966-67, op. cit., p. 544.

TABLE 11

GENERAL SUBJECTS TAUGHT IN ALL VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOLS IN 1950[a]

Subjects	Agricultural			Engineering			Commercial			Fishery			Home Ec. & Nursing		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Moral Education	x			x			x			x			x		
Social Studies		x	x		x	x		x	x		x			x	
Korean	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Mathematics	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x				
Foreign Language	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	
Physical Education	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Music	x						x			x			x		
Physics		x		x						x			x		
Chemistry	x			x						x			x		
Drawing				x	x		x	x	x			x			
Military Training	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Manual Work							x	x							

[a]Korea, The Ministry of Education, Education in Korea (Seoul, Korea, 1950), p. 28.

of vocational education programs, and this was known as "Ministry of Education Ordinance No. 35." According to the Ordinance, the major emphasis of vocational education was placed on the reinforcement of vocational subjects in all types of vocational schools. This ordinance prescribes that all vocational high school curricula shall be composed of two elements of required and selective subjects while vocational subjects are offered on the basis of the new standards for the allocation of 50 to 60 percent of total school hours. The ordinance further specifies that 770 school hours or an average of 22 hours per week should be concentrated on required subjects in the first year; 490 school hours or 14 hours per week in the second year; and 420 hours or 12 hours per week in the third year.[1] It also stresses that all general academic secondary school curricula, including high schools and middle schools, should be reorganized in the direction of the principles of the new ordinance, which specifies that 20 to 30 percent of the total curricula hours must be included in vocational courses.[2] According to the ordinance, pupils in general academic secondary schools should be directed in the way that would lead them to appreciate technical activities and products and to respect manual and practical work.[3]

(5) Long-Term Planning: In order to solve in part educational-unemployment problems as well as to increase qualitative skilled workers, early in 1959 the government authorities set up a 20-year long term plan under the coordination of all foreign economic aid agencies in Korea. As a result of such a massive plan, the following three points were

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[1] Ibid., p. 545.

[2] Ibid., pp. 545-546.

[3] Ibid.

stressed:

1. To increase more job opportunities as well as more output of industrial products, the government's investment in manufacturing plants of industry and business should be doubled within a first 5-year period through the means of the national budget, foreign aid, and foreign loans. In doing so, private industry and business should be also encouraged to build their own enterprises in the productive areas. Concommitantly, most of imported foreign goods and articles should be banned unless they are not directly related to the productive value.

2. The government would concentrate its efforts on the priority of economic value of foreign policy rather than on the mere political aspects by improvement of commercial and trade treaties and by invitation of foreign investment in industry. In assuming this goal, government will plan to extend to its foreign relations to non-aligned nations, which were usually confined within pro-Western allies.

3. As a part of its efforts to approach both high and intermediate levels of the skilled "manpower export" plan, government will focus its manpower training programs not only on the training of those for domestic use, but also on the providing of those who would be qualified to work overseas on the basis of the needs of foreign nations.[1]

In carrying out this new plan, the government began to give impetus to the new economic strategy. A remarkable change had been made by the reduction of the national defense expenditure, which had formerly been allocated no less than 40 percent of the annual national budget to 25 percent in 1959.[2] A larger proportion of the government budget was now turned to the productive means closely related to the nation's economic growth.

All Korean diplomats overseas were to be gradually replaced with economic experts rather than providing political professionals in a traditional way for filling these responsible posts. The major task

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[1]The Economic Planning Board of the Republic of Korea, First Five-Year Plan for Technical Development (Seoul, Korea, 1962), pp. 6-7.

[2]Ibid., pp. 51-55.

of Korean delegates abroad, therefore, seemed to be to devote themselves more to the performance of economic diplomacy than to their routine duties of lagates.[1] The regional conferences for Korean diplomatic envoys abroad were frequently held to devise some initiative strategies for the fulfillment of the government's economic policy. They were active and energetic to search out such opportunities as negotiating the issue of the development of trade treaties and "skilled manpower export" with the foreign governments where they were assigned to approach these goals. In 1959, for example, South Korea reached dramatic agreements with Brazilian and Mexican governments on the issue of agricultural immigrants to be sent to these two countries. These were pioneer immigrants, consisting largely of agricultural high school graduates or those who possessed equivalent experience of that level. A small number of agricultural experts were also included. In the first year (1959) 2,000 men and women were sent to each of these countries. In the latter part of the same year, 246 Korean coal miners were also sent to West Germany for the first time to work in coal mines, followed by about 500 Korean nurses

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[1]Minister of Foreign Affairs stated that the government will exert its utmost diplomatic efforts to beef up security measures in close cooperation with the United States and other pro-Western nations. At the same time, he stated that the government will place a priority on economic cooperation in an effort to achieve the nation's economic growth. The Minister laid stress on the fact that the government will seek effective ways of expediting regional cooperation with Asian countries, and will also work for more regional collaboration with Asian and Pacific nations. One of the highlights of the foreign policy will lie in the government's vigorous efforts to strengthen further diplomatic neutral countries. See Yunhap Sinmun (Yunhap Daily Newspaper), December 16, 1959, p. 2.

early in 1960.[1]

Thus, a boom in "labor export" which started in 1959 was further encouraged by the government because of its multiple advantages to the nation. It helped the nation ease its unemployment, earn more foreign exchanges, and learn and practice technical know-how from abroad. Massive "manpower export" was strenously pursued year after year following 1959.

3. The Development of Vocational Education for Manpower Needs

The social and economic rehabilitation of Korea during the post-Korean War period drastically called for the most effective use of her natural and human resources. This, in turn, called for a more proper program of vocational education which could provide opportunities for all citizens to acquire proper knowledge and skills based upon their interests and ability for useful contribution to the nation. One of the

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[1]According to the Economic Planning Board's sources, South Korea continued to spiral "manpower export" plans to most parts of the world. By 1968, for example, 36,979 Korean skilled workers went abroad under employment contracts to earn $323,000,000 a year. By 1964, 2,519 mine workers and 2,804 nurses were sent to West Germany in addition to the small teams of pioneer groups sent in 1959. In 1965, these miners and nurses in West Germany remitted home a total of $4,293,000 as of the end of the fiscal year. Korean civilian technicians and engineers hired to work in Vietnam between 1965 and 1968 totalled 31,564 men in addition to 50,000 Korean troops who were already there to fight with South Vietnamese armed forces against the Communists. These technicians in Vietnam earned a total of $116,537,000 during the fiscal year of 1968.

South Pacific and African regions offered bright prospects for the export of Korean skilled manpower. A total of 650 Korean workers, for example, were dispatched to Guam Island in the Pacific Ocean for construction projects of various types while demand for Korean construction workers was expected to increase there. African countries and Jamaica, as another example, where 150 Korean doctors and medical professionals have been working with high reputation, are expected to provide job opportunities to Korean workers in the near future. See The Economic Planning Board. Kyongje Backso (Economic White Paper), pp. 278-279.

most significant changes was the formal recognition of the importance of vocational education which resulted in elevating the structure of the vocational schools to the three year duration of "vocational high school." These institutions, which were previously distinct from the regular secondary schools, were now fully accredited upper secondary schools, and their graduates receive the same type of diploma as that received by graduates of general academic high schools. These newly organized vocational high schools emphasize primarily the practical requirements of the particular branches of specialization in educational programs in which the student intends to earn his livelihood.[1]

In carrying out its intermediate functions, the types and tasks of the vocational schools were more varied than any other branch of the educational system in Korea. Article 156 of the Educational Law briefly stated the chief aims of vocational and technical education in general:

> The vocational schools are aiming at the promoting of professional training: to contribute to economic development, to raise the cultural level of the population and to help individuals to develop fully and successfully.

Due to the new aims, there were three major types of vocational high schools such as engineering, agricultural and commercial institutions with other miscellaneous vocational high schools. In addition to these major vocational high schools, there were completely separate technical or trade schools which were concerned primarily with the training of those who were not eligible to attend regular vocational high schools. These technical schools are aiming at the training of lower-middle level technicians and their training programs and durations are quite varied.

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[1]The vocational school system in Korea had been revised a few times in its aims, curriculum, and structure since the country was independent in 1948 up to 1960 when the young Republic was toppled by the "April-Student Revolution."

After completion of its program, a diploma is issued from these schools but it is not equivalent to that of regular vocational high schools.

a. Engineering High Schools. The expansion of engineering or industrial high schools was most noticeable among all vocational high schools. There were only four engineering types of secondary schools with a combined enrollment of 2,663 at the time of the Liberation in 1945. The number of schools was increased to 28, having an enrollment of 13,526 students in 1952, while this type of school had jumped up to 52 with 49,242 students by 1957.[1] The major function of engineering and all the schools purveyed for students in at least three of the major specialized areas. In some of the larger schools even more specialized areas were provided for students to be concentrated on each one of these areas: (1) civil engineering, (2) mechanical engineering, (3) electrical engineering, (4) chemical engineering, (5) mining, and (6) architecture. Most of the engineering high schools were public institutions where their facilities and teaching personnel were inadequate to meet the sufficient needs of students. The standards of curriculum fixed by the Ministry of Education, instead of the Provincial Board of Education, were hardly able to meet the local needs.

The newly organized curriculum in March 1957 was to be directed toward the consideration of local needs and to increase the specialized fields of course requirements from 30 to 50 percent of total curricular allocation.[2] Under the new standard of curriculum, the specialized fields were required to take 82 to 122 points (weekly hours) of mandatory

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[1]Korea, The Ministry of Education, Education in Korea, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

[2]Ibid., pp. 19-20.

courses and from 10 to 36 points of optional courses. The requirement for graduation was to complete the total of between 214 and 222 points throughout a three year period.

In August 1958, the Ministry of Education launched a plan for the development of vocational education designed to enhance qualitative standards and more realistic programs directly aligned with the nation's economic stabilization. In order to implement this plan effectively, the Ministry set up a plan for the establishment of 18 more demonstration vocational schools including five engineering schools in each of nine provinces, to study the best programs, curricula, teaching methods, and vocational aspirations of students.

The employment ratio of engineering high school graduates was relatively higher than that of agricultural high school graduates as industry was gradually expanding and absorbing a great portion of these graduates. Approximately 40 percent of these young engineering high school graduates in 1957 were able to be employed in the various industrial plants immediately upon graduation.[1] The government hoped to raise the employment rates of these graduates as high as 60 percent in 1958, 70 percent in 1959, and 100 percent by 1962.[2]

In 1959, the Ministry of Education completed a 20-year scientific and technical education plan, as a part of the government's plan for the development of manpower, calling for the training of 1,000,000 qualified intermediate level technicians and engineers by 1980. Under this long-range plan, 100,000 higher level technicians, 300,000 middle-level technicians and 600,000 general technicians including electricians, machinists,

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[1]The Board of Economic Planning of the Republic of Korea, Kyungche Packso (Economic White Paper), pp. 123-124.

[2]Ibid., pp. 124-126.

mechanics, and lower level engineers.[1] In 1959, the draft plan also called for providing "on-the-job" training to students acquiring technical experience so as to strengthen their practical application of knowledge and skills. For a few months, students would undergo "on-the-job" training at industrial plants and public laboratories before their graduation from schools. There had been a close coordination between vocational schools and industrial companies and various business firms who participated in the planning and often assisted directly by providing materials and experienced-professional technicians.[2] To give a more suitable guidance for further refinement, adjustment, and possible extension of training programs, a second occupational survey of skilled and semi-skilled occupations was continually conducted.

b. Agricultural High Schools. The number of agricultural high schools increased from 30 in 1945 to 131 by 1957 with a combined enrollment of 38,454 students. The number of total enrollment rapidly increased from the post-Korean War period up to 1957, when the government's policy of encouraging vocational education was implemented.[3]

The curricula and textbooks as well as teaching methods for agricultural high schools underwent a major revision in 1957. At this time curricula was revised from a program based upon a large number of unrelated courses taught in the school without coordination between the home and community to courses more oriented toward general agricultural

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[1]This long-range plan for manpower development was initiated by the Ministry of Education in October 1959, in which a five-year duration of four stages was involved to be implemente This plan was effective from 1960 to 1980. See Chung-Ang Ilbo (Chung-Ang Daily), October 27, 1959, p. 4.

[2]Korea, Central Educational Institute, The Reconstruction of Korean Secondary Education (Seoul, Korea, 1962), pp. 166-167.

[3]Korea, The Ministry of Education, Education in Korea, p. 19.

knowledge and skills which were applicable on farms. The Ministry of Education presented a new principle of instructional contents and guidance to all agricultural high schools to be gradually replaced with the new principle based upon the "new instructional guide." According to this guide, the instructional theme should be provided on a calendar sequence basis, so that classroom instruction on seeds, for example, would always be timed to precede the period of the year when the boy would apply the knowledge of his home farm.[1]

In 1957, agricultural demonstration schools were set up along with other types of vocational high schools in each province. These schools were adapted to use "home project" methods, which are basically related to classroom instructions, for one year in advance of general use. The recognized improvement of the programs in these schools paved the way for students' enthusiastic attitudes on their study programs and for parents' warm cooperation.

The major categories offered in agricultural high schools were such subjects as general training with agronomy, horticulture, animal husbandry, forestry, processing of farm products, farm mechanics, and agricultural meteorology taught to all students. Where facilities permit, two or three elective courses designed to meet local needs were added. The overall emphasis of the course of study was placed on practical training either on the school farm or on the home farm.[2]

c. Commercial High Schools. The number of commercial high schools also rapidly increased from 23 with a combined enrollment of 11,000 to 77 with total enrollment of 42,726 students by 1957. It is

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[1] Ibid., pp. 99-100; 110-114.

[2] Ibid., pp. 110-114.

interesting to note that two-thirds of 77 schools were privately operated institutions, of which half of them were for girl students only, located in most parts of metropolitan areas. Most of these schools, however, were poorly equipped with instructional facilities, for example, a few typewriters were provided for workshop purposes at each school. There was the usual problem of instructional materials, and only a few schools had library facilities of any size even for staff and faculty.[1]

Many of the commercial high school students aspired toward higher education in the fields of commerce, business, or economics at colleges and universities. In spite of this, the commercial high school graduates found it comparatively easy to obtain employment with better salaries than any other vocational school graduates. For example, of a total of 17,520 commercial high school graduates in 1957, about 3,000 entered higher schools, while approximately 7,500 received employment.[2] The curriculum was inclined largely toward general commercial subjects, in keeping with the basic purposes of these schools to prepare their students for employment.

d. Consolidated or Comprehensive High Schools. The government had made a plan, as was previously discussed, for the development of vocational education providing buildings and better equipped facilities in every possible way equal to those of the best academic high schools. In spite of such government elaboration, some difficulties still remained, particularly in the rural areas, to achieve a maximum goal of vocational education. These difficulties, according to Korean Report, had been

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[1]UNESCO, op. cit., p. 62.

[2]Korea, The Office of Labor Affairs, A Survey on the Movement of Labor Population, p. 18.

placed largely on the following few points:

1. Neither parents nor students have yet generally accepted the idea that a vocational school carries as much prestige as an academic high school. Students still throng to the academic schools, while some vocational schools have enrollments far beneath their training capacity.

2. It is financially impossible to establish in every community a sufficient variety of separate secondary schools to meet both the desire of the students and needs of the specific community.

3. Up to the present time it has been impossible to furnish most of the vocational schools with adequate equipment.[1]

In view of such conditions, the authorities initiated a plan for the foundation of "consolidated" high schools to meet such local demands. The Ministry of Education in 1958 authorized the establishment of these types of schools comprising both general and technical areas in order to alleviate the shortage of facilities in rural areas.

Meanwhile, three model "consolidated" high schools were founded in 1958 by the Ministry of Education under the coordination of the United States Operations Mission to Korea (USOM). The finest consolidated high school in Pyongtack, about 70 miles south of Seoul, for example, had a total enrollment of 2,472 students in 1959 and offered the following five different areas under one roof:

1. General academic fields
2. Commercial courses
3. Home economics
4. Agriculture
5. Engineering or industry[2]

About two-thirds of the graduates of this school were prepared to start earning their own living immediately, while a fifth sought to continue their education at colleges and universities. Other academic

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[1]Hanki Back, "Education in Korea," Korean Report, Vols. 10-12 (October-December, 1966), p. 23.

[2]Ibid., pp. 22-23.

high schools throughout the country were becoming interested in this program, and there was a growing trend in both public and private schools toward combining academic and vocational programs in one school compound. Industrial arts, commercial, home economics and agricultural subjects were becoming more popular with general academic fields in both boys' and girls' consolidated high schools. It was expected that a gradual increase in numbers of well-equipped consolidated high schools, geared to the needs of individual communities, could help alleviate the problems listed above and might aid in building a well-balanced and effective secondary school system.

e. Technical or Trade Schools. In addition to the regular vocational high schools, a number of private technical (trade) schools had been established for the children of poorer families. For elementary or middle-school leavers who couldn't afford to go on with their further education, technical schools were designed to train these boys and girls to acquire lower-level technical skills. Although these schools were under the direct supervision of the provincial governor, nearly all were operated without subsidies from either the government of any public organizations. As a result, pupils were few, equipment was scarce, and instruction was poor, with only 16,663 pupils enrolled in 128 schools in 1957.[1]

Technical schools offered two types of programs lasting from one to three years and after completion of their programs pupils were awarded a diploma from one of these schools. These institutions offered a variety of different courses including agriculture, mechanics, dress designing, accounting, electronics, shorthand and typing, automobile mechanics,

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[1]Korea, The Ministry of Education, Education in Korea, p. 23.

commercial, radio and communications, handicrafts, textiles, carpentry and metalwork. Even with such poorly equipped facilities and small number of pupils, the technical schools had a significant potentiality to promote their standards of training programs since these fields had been greatly demanded by both individual pupils and the society.

f. In-Service Training Programs for Vocational High School Teachers. Since the great scarcity of qualified teachers was one of the principal problems for the development of vocational education, the Ministry of Education had provided short-term "in-service" training programs, which were totally sponsored by the Ministry in such roles as programming, financing, and operations. These programs consisted of summer and winter lecture series with a particular emphasis on problems of acquiring technical skills and practical experiences in teaching. By 1958, over 3,000 vocational high school teachers, who had been participating in these programs, were selected from all types of vocational high schools throughout the country.[1]

In 1959, a five-year program got underway in recognition of the importance of raising the quality of vocational school teachers. This plan called for re-training of approximately 200 teachers every year at the research centers or science departments in universities where their specialization was related. Under this program, a small group of vocational high school teachers who were carefully selected by the Ministry had been regularly sent abroad to study and observe such important areas as teaching methods, laboratory system, vocational guidance program, etc. These programs were sponsored by the Ministry of Education under the coordination of the United States Operation Mission to Korea (USOM).[2]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 25-27.

[2] Ibid.

B. Social Education as a Means of Human Resources Development

A general framework of social education (adult education) had existed in Korea for many years, but in the immediate pre-World War II period, it had been used by the Japanese colonial regime for Japanization of Koreans, and later, for militaristic propaganda and war-mobilization purposes.[1] When Korea was liberated from the Japanese rule in 1945, the American Military Occupation authorities planned to use this framework for the installation of democratic citizenship and also for the encouragement of useful adult activities for building a new nation. During the post-independence period, the government of the Republic had concentrated its efforts on developing social education largely for the eradication of illiteracy, since nearly 70 percent of the adult population was illiterate at this time. As much of this was achieved, the government was impatient to use this machinery for government propaganda and the indoctrination of political ideology. During the post-Korean War period, however, the government authorities had launched an ambitious plan for a broad program of social education aiming toward the development of human resources among the adult population.

1. Legal Status of Social Education

The legal framework for social education was established by the Social Education Law promulgated by the government in 1956. Through such a legal basis, social education has become an important part of national education. Article 2 of the Social Education Law briefly defines "social education" as systematic educational activities designed primarily for out-of-school youths and adults for aiming at a general

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[1] Oh, op. cit., pp. 331338.

upgrading of the cultural, social and economic levels.[1] Since social education has a broad scope, no single agency or organization fully undertakes such an immense responsibility. In order to coordinate with local agencies and to encourage local initiative, the law decentralized support and control of social education programs, placing responsibility for them on local boards of education. The Bureau of Social Education in the Ministry of Education, which was initiated in 1952, has a relatively limited function, and was therefore responsible largely for the task of professional and technical advice and the role of the nation-wide planning, supervision and evaluation of local social educational issues. Such issues as financial aid and supplies are within the limits of appropriated funds to enable local communities to maintain a congenial environment where citizens can engage in cultural and educational activities.[2] The law also has a significant provision for social education in both a consciousness of the field and a desire to accept responsibility for it as a largely local function. It further states in such general terms that the law allows for the provision and regulation of most important educational activities with adults, including the furnishing of instruction, supplies, and equipment.

By the Social Education Law, a social education section was created in the Provincial Boards of Education to help implement the programs for social education. In local communities, the law provided for lay social education advisory committees, which consisted of school principals, representatives of voluntary agencies, and citizens to ad-

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[1]The Social Education Law defines the term "adult education" as "social education," and its aims and function are therefore similar to those of "traditional" adult education (Article 1).

[2]Park, II, op. cit., p. 232.

vise the local board of education in the matters of social education. The local board of education in the matters of social education. The local boards of education are authorized by the law to spend public funds for the operation of social education. Furthermore, the local board of education has almost complete authority to employ administrative, supervisory, and instructional personnel to establish "approved courses of study," and to purchase equipment and supplies.[1]

2. Scope and Aims of Social Education

It is difficult to define the scope of social education clearly since the number of its activities and functions are almost countless. As is further detailed by Article 3 of the Social Education Law, social education implies such categories as fundamental education for illiterates, physical and recreational programs, informal continual education, and more favorably remedial or in-service training programs. These are designed primarily for the adult citizens and are not directly conducted as a part of formal schooling programs.[2]

From this definition it can be therefore considered that social education consists of educational activities in which adults participate of their own volition while engaged in some major interest or vocation. Consequently, social education helps adults to study problems with which they are associated, while it would be continuing education in which the community or agencies help adults to provide additional knowledge and skills. In fact, social education in Korea had been going on in all academic fields and every level of adult activity ranging from the most basic problems to the most advanced works. In its broadest sense, social

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[1] Ibid., pp. 235-239.

[2] Ibid., pp. 239-249.

education included something more than those systematic studies carried on during and outside of working hours by the individual adults and ranging all the way from elementary skills to higher levels of knowledge.

Although it is true that the objectives of social education in Korea were somewhat shallow chiefly because of the vagueness and elasticity of the field, the central aims and practices had been clarified to concern remedial work in general, while certain parts of the educational process were best placed on specific functions.

A far-reaching social education program was initiated following the ending of the Korean War in 1953. Both public and private agencies were sponsoring a wide array of adult activities designed to bring about a better understanding among the Korean people of their rights and responsibilities as citizens in a modern society. The general objectives and functions of social education stipulated in the Social Education Law in 1956 are as follows:

1. To stimulate the interest of adults in the affairs of government and world affairs.
2. To provide opportunities for remedial education for those adults whose schooling has been interrupted or who have had no opportunity for formal schooling.
3. To help adults and out-of-school youths to increase their vocational efficiency.
4. To fill in gaps that have been left by other levels of education.
5. To maintain the skills, ideals, attitudes, and knowledge that has been developed by other types of education.
6. To keep the populace in touch with the latest developments in such fields as economics, science and the arts.
7. To give to the older and younger generations a basis for mutual understanding.[1]

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[1]Articles 3 and 4 of the Social Education Law of 1956.

These general objectives and functions might be summed up in three major categories in which all items listed above are basically connected with adult activities in their social growth: (a) the adult's personal development, (b) his social relations with his fellowmen, and (c) his work life.

3. The Development of Social Education in Korea

In this section, an attempt was briefly made to review a few remarkable social education programs in which activities had been undertaken to carry out the basic emphasis of social educational goals during the post-Korean War period. It is, however, apparent that the government's new plan for the development of social education was to extend its efforts to such emerging areas as (1) a remedy program for technical or vocational skills of youths and adults, (2) in-service training programs for the effective services of public or private employees, and (3) the improvement of urban problems.

a. A Remedy Program for Technical or Vocational Skills of Youths and Adults. Social and economic problems had emerged to provide a sufficient remedy or re-training programs for a great many youths and adults who were already employed at various occupations, but with an inadequate knowledge and technique within their own fields of work. Since they were gaining new positions of importance in relation to the nation's economy and in accordance with social change, it had been indispensable for the government authorities, as well as individual groups, to pay sharp attention to this aspect of social education. In the past, social education was often mistakenly understood to mean only the kind of adult learning that takes place in the illiteracy-teaching classes led by teachers. In view of the new demand of society, the Korean public had

become increasingly conscious of the considerable interests in a variety of economic aspects of life. Since they were more concerned about their economic stability, the people were anxious to acquire the skills they lacked and to commit themselves to the fact of earning activities.

Furthermore, in view of the rapidly changing social milieu, the government authorities were convinced that the quickest way to increased productivity, considering a shortage of skilled manpower, was to train the adults who were already employed. Education for children requires a long-range plan, and its potential contribution to output over ten years is therefore, small compared with the potential econtribution of efforts devoted to improving adult skills.[1] In the light of such conviction, the government now began to set spurs to the remedy programs for the prospective adult population and to devise various means of fulfilling this goal.

(1) Social Education Center: The establishment of a social education center is one of the significant areas of development for social education in Korea. The Ministry of Education estimated that approximately 15 percent of the cities and towns had established social education centers in 1958 and the number would be increased to about 30 percent by 1960.[2]

These centers were designed primarily for the variety of educational activities of youths and adults, established largely by the local boards of education under the coordination of the local governments. The local boards of education therefore had a responsibility for programming, management, and staffing the centers. However, most of these centers were attached to the public citizen's halls instead of occupying

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[1]Back, op. cit., p. 23.

[2]Ibid.

separate buildings. The centers' activity programs were varied based upon the local needs of different situations, but quite a number of programs selected from the following items were usually provided as general programs: (1) vocational and technical training programs for basic skills closely related to local industry, (2) workshops for repairing agricultural equipment, (3) training programs for carpentry, (4) domestic science study groups and exhibitions, (5) popularization of hygiene, (6) instruction in farming and animal husbandry, (7) study of national and local news, and (8) recreation programs for youths.[1]

The Social Education Bureau in the Ministry of Education announced that as of September 1959, about 30 percent of the Social Education Centers offered regular activity programs, in addition to the general activity programs, throughout the year for selected adults and youths.[2] These programs included:

1. Regular courses of general cultural and local interest of vocational information totalling 24 hours and distributed twice a year.
2. Farm products exhibitions twice a year.
3. Recreational meetings once a month.
4. Youth clubs' officers meeting twice a month.
5. Women's organizations meetings seasonally.
6. Social-Welfare lecture twice a year.[3]

the center and other necessary staff members upon the recommendation of the superintendent of education. The director is responsible for operation of the center and for making annual reports on the processes of the

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[1]Korea, The Ministry of Education, Education in Korea, p. 50.

[2]Hackwonsa, op. cit., p. 399.

[3]Sang-il Nam, "Social Education," Korean Report, Vol. X, No. 1 (January, 1960), 5-6.

center's activity to the Board of Education under the direction of the superintendent of education.

(2) Agricultural Extension Programs: In 1957, the Ministry of Agriculture launched the agricultural extension program under the direction of the Bureau of Social Education in the Ministry of Education as a part of overall government's manpower training program contrived by the government in the same year. Its purpose was the production of more effective farm products by prospective farmers. According to the Ministry of Agriculture's report, the principal objective of this extension program was summarized in a lengthy paragraph:

> In order to raise farm products through a new innovation of farming, the major objective of the Agricultural Extension Program is essentially that of teaching, demonstrating to the farmer and his family and the farm community how to implement the practical results of the research projects and the studies of the National Agricultural Colleges conducted by the Ministry to the farms in the rural communities. The teaching is not so much concerned with books and printed matter as it is with the functioning units of the farm, the orchard, the barn, the home, the creamery, and the market-place. Emphasis is therefore placed on demonstration and personal contact rather than on lectures and books.[1]

In order to execute these arduous objectives, the programs were conducted during summer vacations by the National Agricultural College teams, which consisted largely of agricultural college students with a faculty member in each team. Cosponsored by the Ministry of Agriculture and the Bureau of Social Education in the Ministry of Education, this program was also coordinated by the local county farm-section and the Board of Education in order to obtain more fruitful results. According to the Ministry of Agriculture's Report, the teams' major function was to visit farms and homes, to answer inquiries, to discuss agricultural and home problems to hold method demonstration meetings and training

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[1] Kyung-che Jubo (The Economic Weekly), Vol. V, No. 7 (July 23, 1957), 7-14.

training meetings for the development of local lay leaders, to distribute agricultural manuals, and to conduct experimental demonstrations.[1] The team members were in turn assisted by committees of local leaders who helped to plan the programs of these sessions. The agricultural methods developed by these teams were directly geared with an emphasis on the farmers' improved practices in agricultural production and marketing as well as in home life and community relationships as a whole objective of this program. According to the Ministry's report, very few communities other than those located near the agricultural colleges had participated, due to its pioneer-project status.[2] Unfortunately, more detailed data is not available as to whether or not these programs developed by the Agricultural College teams had been successful in bringing about a fruitful result on communities where they had been assigned.

(3) Establishment of Apprenticeship Within Companies: Early in April 1958, the Korean government's Cabinet Council formally adopted a new plan for "Promotion of Workers" proposed by the Office of Labor Affairs to raise efficiency and quality of workers for more effective production.[3] Under this new plan, most larger companies, particularly government operated firms and factories, were encouraged or advised to establish apprentice work, carried on either in organized classes or under the supervision of experienced workers. Any large company employing a number of workers usually thereby undertook certain training activities of employees to perform more efficient working skills and working conditions as well. While such activities were primarily adult training

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[1] Ibid., pp. 7-12.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Nodong Sosik (Labor News), Vol II, No. 4 (April, 1958), 12-16.

programs, they varied greatly with the nature of the work to be done and the amount of skill of the workmen. The number of hours spent for instruction also varied among companies and among the different divisions even within the same company.[1] The auxiliary type of work was also often found but was carried on in an unorganized system, with new techniques and policies being illustrated in great detail to those who started to work. A very few companies underwent a further step and provided a regularly organized schedule of programs for study or discussions of company policies and working relationships.[2]

Since the government authorities as well as the company enterprisers were convinced that this activity must be worthwhile and effective, the Office of Labor Affairs considered a policy of stimulation, by which it was hoped that more companies would be encouraged to enter into such programs. But by available sources, the number of companies who had so far joined this policy to establish such an effective system and the number of workers who had been trained through this program was unknown.

Furthermore, the work of promoting training of workers, which had been previously carried on to some extent, achieved a well-promoted status when the "Workers'-Help Office" was initiated in a few large companies late in 1959.[3] The basic aims and functions of this office were "to assist individual employees to raise their status within a plant, through a mutual understanding of each member's condition among one another and between management and employees within a plant."[4]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., Vol. III, No. 11 (November, 1959), 14-19.

[4] Ibid., pp. 16-19.

The Office was established as a part of the "Retraining and Extension Education Program" for the employees in a company.

The major program offered by the company was conducted entirely by the Steering Council, consisting of the company's managers and employees. The problems of discussion scheme, for example, dealt largely with the situation existing in the plant and ways in which working conditions might be more effectively coordinated.[1] In fact, the well-arranged process of group-discussion was followed, and the representatives of the groups were normally supervised by the staffs of the Office in the beginning of the program.

b. In-Service Training Programs for Public Employees. With the growth in scope of government agencies and increased activities in specialized areas, it had become urgently necessary for public officials to acquire proper training closely related to their work. The Korean government had now launched a program fostering this kind of activity, which was conducted through the medium of in-service training institutes under the auspices of the Central Government. The essential purpose of the in-service training program was to improve public workers' basic quality of working efficiency furnishing them with new information through a variety of service and educational programs. In fact, the sole function of the training program is "the equippping of governmental officials to do a better job."[2]

The In-Service Training Institutes for government employees were first organized in 1952, when they were conducted throughout the government on a regional basis for policemen and firemen. These insti-

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[1] Ibid., pp. 16-19.

[2] Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 3 (March, 1960), 14.

tutes have proved successful and have been expanded to include some other areas of government workers' training programs. In 1956, the government put spurs to broadening the work to take care of a variety of smaller groups on each different branch of government, including school administrators. In 1957, a complete plan of training was made for twenty different groups. This plan has continued to the present time, although it was temporarily suspended in 1960 when the government was overthrown by the "April-Student Revolution."[1]

In 1958, the organizational plan was changed somewhat when the government created a Provincial In-Service Training Institute at each province, which was to be administered by the provincial government. The Institute was granted a charter by the President of the Republic, and it was now the official training agency of the provincial government officials and employees. The Institute was also authorized by the law to spend any funds granted by the Central Government for provincial-wide training programs, since the entire expenditure was furnished by the national treasury.

4. Urban Problems and Social Education

a. The Distension of Urban Population. Urbanization in Korea was a manifestation which came close to representing the cumulative social change that occurred during the fifteen years following the Liberation of the country in 1945. The suspension of Japanese domination, followed by the partition of the country, set the process in motion at a monstrous tempo through the influx of repatriates from Japan and Manchuria and refugees from the North who, on the whole, surged into large urban areas like a sudden gust of political wind for new economic

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[1] Ibid., pp. 12-16.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 12-16.

opportunities. Furthermore, the better facilitated (equipped) educational system in large cities attracted many youngsters weaned away from the farm community. At the same time, the event of Farm-Land Reform, by fragmenting the average size of farms, as was previously discussed, and thereby aggravating the relative poverty of the rural economy,[1] gave birth to a considerable rural departure,[2] which added to the extraordinary rate of urbanization. And also, as soon as the Korean War ceased, hundreds of thousands of unemployed men and women shrewdly migrated from rural villages into large cities and sought their trifling livelihood there. This showed mainly because of the growing factors, as many scholars agreed upon, that:

a. job growth had generally been faster in cities than in rural areas;

b. economic condition and official anti-poverty and manpower efforts had been somewhat effective in reducing the incidence of unemployment of unskilled people in the big cities, although little was likely to be done to reduce or eliminate lower income jobs; and

c. real earnings of manufacturing employment as well as service and government in larger cities had improved since the end of the Korean War in 1953.[3]

But a key expeditious factor of urbanization was the war itself, with its mass dislocation end movement of population in terms of both

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[1]The GNP share of the combined category of "agriculture, forestry and fishery" in 1955 was 40.3 percent, while the population engaged in this category represented approximately 65 percent of the total population. See Economic Planning Board of the Republic of Korea, Korea Statistical Yearbook: 1965 (Seoul, Korea, 1965), pp. 16, 50, 65.

[2]According to the Ministry of Agriculture statistics, mass rural departure took place in the two years, 1955 and 1956. The number of farm households decreased by 16,000 and 18,000 in 1955 and 1956 respectively, in spite of continuous general increase in national population. See Hapdong Annual Report: 1964 (Seoul, Korea, 1964), p. 1032.

[3]King Sung-Wan, "Dosi Sangwhalkwa Kyung-che (Economic Life of Cities)," Yunhap Shinmun, April 21, 1957, p. 4.

civilian refugees and recruits for military personnel. This situation was evidenced by statistics showing the growth of cities in the immediate post-Korean War period. Table 12 shows the trend of urbanization during the entire post-Liberation period up to 1960. It can be understood from Table 12 that first, although the number of large cities with inhabitants of 100,000 or more had not remarkably increased between 1948 and 1960 (only the capital city of Seoul was increased), the proportion of the total combined population of these cities had been increased from 14.7 percent in 1948 to 22.8 percent in 1960. Second, the medium sized cities with between 50,000 and less than 100,000 inhabitants, on the other hand, had been noticeable in their growing rate of both number and population during 1948-1955. In fact, a large number of these cities, as shown in Table 12, were increased during the Korean War and immediate post-war period. (These medium size cities had increased from 11 to 18 during the post-war period.) Third, by combining these two categories of city population, one can easily see a great proportion of growth in a degree of expanding urbanization. By this estimate, in accordance with a combined population of cities with inhabitants of 50,000 and over, the proportion of urbanization by 1960 was 28.5 percent, as compared with 18.3 percent in 1948. The increasing rate of urbanization during the twelve-year period, 1948-1960, was thus 56 percent. If this measure is carried further backward on to 1945, the proportion of urbanization in Korea had doubled over a time span of fifteen years up to 1960.

b. Urban Conditions and Difficulties. Living conditions in cities in Korea have been rapidly complicated and declining under the impact of population growth and migration, as the gap between their demo-

TABLE 12

THE TREND OF URBANIZATION IN KOREA, 1945-1960[a]

Category of Cities Eups and Myons by Size of Population	1945[b] Population			1948 Population			1955 Population			1960 Population		
	No.	(000)	%	No.	(000)	%	No.	(000)	%	No.	(000)	%
100,000 and over	7	2130	8.7	8	2976	14.7	9	4209	19.6	9	5707	22.8
50,000-99,999	9	610	2.5	11	724	3.6	18	1227	5.7	19	1414	5.7
20,000-49,999	74	2020	8.3	68	1851	9.2	74	1861	8.6	120	3101	12.4
000-19,999	2262	19566	80.5	1459	14637	72.5	1422	14229	66.1	1362	14751	59.1
TOTAL	2352	24326	100.0	1546	20188	100.0	1523	21526	100.0	1510	24973	100.0
Recapitulation:												
Cumulative Total, 50,000 and over			11.2			18.3			25.3			28.5
Cumulative Total, 20,000 and over			19.5			27.5			33.9			40.9

[a]Source: Adapted from the Economic Planning Board of the Republic of Korea, Korea Statistical Yearbook 1965, p. 17.

[b]Includes South and North Korea.

graphic and their economic growth continued to widen. During the immediate post-Korean War period, for example, gross national product (GNP) average an increase of less than 2.65 percent annually, while population at 5 to 6 percent. But the population of slums agglomerated some particular cities at the rate of over 8 percent a year.[1]

The inevitable consequences of these trends were further physical congestion and a still further decline of living conditions of the lower income groups. As the result of poorly matched rates of growth, such phenomenon as over-crowding and blight were now affecting vast urban areas in most large cities. The outward symptoms of the most remarkable urban deficiency, like any of the other larger cities in most parts of the world, were inadequate housing and community services, almost a complete absence of sanitation and safe drinking water, filth and squalor in ever-expanding areas, and a growing rate of disease and immoral activities. At the same time, juvenile delinquency, gang activities, crime and vice, the most conspicuous manifestations of personal and social disorganization, had already become part of the setting of blighted areas in big cities in Korea.[2] Squatter settlements and slum districts were mushrooming in cities of all sizes, in all parts of the country. In a number of metropolitan areas they already contained as much as 30 percent of the urban population.

In addition, the new migrants from rural areas had no choice but to squat illegally and lived without basic utilities since they were unable to afford the minimum standards set up by city regulations. Those

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[1]The Board of Economic Planning of the Republic of Korea, Kyongche Backso (Economic White Paper: 1962, p. 23.

[2]Kim Sung-Wan, "Dosi Sangwhalkwa Kyung-che," Yunhap Sinmun, April 21, 1957, p. 4.

who needed aid most were not qualified to receive it, and their new urban community was unable to give them even the most elementary services in the settlements they established overnight in a haphazard and highly dispersed way.[1] After all, the utmost single important problem to these newcomers was that they had no skills which were applicable to urban employment for earnings. As a result, no job opportunities were available to these people unless they were trained in some kind of basic skills properly adaptable to urban conditions. The job training programs for non-skilled persons emerged to set spurs to the government authorities to develop as a first step towards the solution of urban crises.

c. Government Planning for Urban Problems. In order to undertake urban problems more effectively, the Council for Social Education, placed in the Bureau of Social Education, conducted a "Study on the Development of Urban Problems through Social Education" in 1958 and made the following notes:

> Provision for economic opportunity is the indispensable element of any long-term program for breaking the vicious urban environments. If other programs were advanced without the basic support created by increasing job opportunities, social disparity between the life environment of men of wealthy families and slummers can impair other profits. Education of prospective adult population and their job training programs, however, are pivotal important factors for the achievement of said goals. This program therefore must be preceding before undertaking any other programs . . .
>
> No one is born with communism but it becomes the best weapon for those who are unable to overcome by themselves the hardship of the struggle for existence. Even an amount of one thousand dollars would be more effective if the money could be spent properly for the solution of urban problems than an amount of one million dollars spent for anti-communist propaganda. "Bread is better than the song of birds" is still a "maxim" of our times, which cannot be vitiated by ignoring attitudes. Nothing is indeed a more important and urgent problem than ade-

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[1] Ibid.

quate knowledge and skills necessary for providing or obtaining "Bread" effectively.[1]

As the Council's note clearly indicates, job opportunity was in fact a key factor to meet the essential needs of urban problems. It is therefore assumed that properly trained people would be employable; that programs put forward to deal with the problems of the poor would be effective; and that the urban community would provide the opportunities to absorb the improved workers.

The Council's further indication presented in 1959 is the essential importance in relation to urban planning of the close integration of an adequate and a well-planned social education. Social education, including significant job training and technical remedy programs, are the most important contribution to the rebuilding of urban environments and to help harmonize the variant demands of production and of human interests. Skilled manpower training for better opportunities of employment and urban standards of living consequently involves a satisfactory share of manpower training programs in well-informed modern techniques as well as a sufficient allocation of public funds for developing these programs. Unfortunately, this ardent array of planning for urban development through social education as a part of its means, was brought to almost naught without being put into effect because the administration was toppled when the government merely found its feet to launch this program.

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[1]Yunhap Shinmun (Yunhap Daily Newspaper), March 4, 1958, p. 5.

VII. THE GOVERNMENT POLICY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN RESOURCES AND HIGHER EDUCATION 1953-1960

With many deficiences in such major problems as facilities, teaching personnel and financial support, Korean higher education, has played a major role in meeting the nation's essential needs of social, economic and human resource development. Colleges and universities are indeed the nation's highest educational institutions undertaking specific problems in two areas of government policy that have an increasingly important bearing on economic growth and social well-being--the development of manpower and the stimulation of scientific and technological progress. Particularly during the post-Korean War years, the government and people, along with the rapid social change, had reflected the substantial importance of the economic realities underlying the task of higher education which endeavored to meet the new demands of the nation. In carrying out this emerging role, higher educational institutions sought to provide both quantity and quality education as the best means of producing skilled manpower in a vital step toward the modernization of the country.

A. Historical and Legal Foundations of Higher Education

1. Historical Development of Higher Education

Colleges and universities are advanced educational institutions; there were a total number of 19 institutions of higher learning in Korea at the time of the Korean Liberation (1945). These include the Kyongson

(Seoul) Imperial University founded by the Japanese colonial government in 1927 and 18 public and private colleges which all offered three-year study programs. The combined enrollment at all institutions was 7,819 in 1944, but about two-thirds of them were Japanese students in Korea.[1] Liberal arts and humanities courses were predominant in most of the private colleges while public colleges offered almost all professional courses.[2]

In 1946, the American Military authorities in Korea set up a policy to found the National University of Seoul and merged with other public colleges existing during this period. Other colleges founded by Koreans or foreign missionaries were expanded into the universities, such eminent institutions as, for example, Yonhui, Korea, and Ewha (for women) Universities. Many other various types of new colleges were founded after 1945 and most of these started from scratch and sprang up almost like mushrooms. Some of these were established by government, including provincial endowment, but many of them were for personal profit.[3] The Educational Authorities had easily authorized these institutions to establish with little regard to their real necessity when they met the minimum requirements set up by the Ministry of Education. As a result, when the Korean War broke out in 1950 there were 42 universities and colleges, of which 36 were degree-granting institutions. By the end of 1960 the higher educational institutions increased to 63, the number of college faculty members also swelled to almost double from 2100 to 3,830, and the college student enrollment soared from 24,000 to 97,819. The

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[1]Oh, op. cit., pp. 349-352.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Korean Education Yearbook: 1966-1967 (Seoul, Korea: Korean Education Association, 1967), p. 52.

student enrollments at almost all colleges were to be maintained at a wide range of diversified level, from 11,000 students at Seoul National University to only 234 students at a small rural college (Haein College). However, college enrollment in general was at a high rate because entry into a college at that time allowed for a precious four-year postponement of military service for male students.[1]

With the ending of the Korean War in 1953, the government had built a university in each province to make a balance of equal opportunities between the capital city of Seoul and local provinces. Furthermore, the enrollment of students in humanities and liberal arts courses. It is interesting to note that there were only six, including two junior colleges, out of sixty-two higher institutions for accomodating women students while the remainder were co-educational with a great majority of male students. The co-educational system at college level was recently adopted in Korea, but a great proportion of female students and their parents still prefer institutions for women only.

Although a great many defective facts existed in colleges and universities, Korean higher education had been gradually reoriented in a way to produce more qualitative personnel and to provide more adequate educational programs to meet the social demands. After a decade of virtual laissez-faire in professional manpower planning, Korea was making a serious effort to harmonize education to national needs in developing both natural and social sciences. According to a comparative study of

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[1]Oh, op. cit., pp. 509-510.

75 countries,[1] whether Korean educational plans fell short of its avowed goals, Korea already had reached rank in the semi-advanced level of human resource development. Both in the general spread of higher education and in the percentage expenditure allotted to it, Korea stood among the highest countries in Asia.[2]

2. Legal Basis of Higher Education

The Educational Law of 1949 regarding higher education stipulated that the higher institutions were under the direct jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. According to the Law, the following three types were basically authorized as higher educational institutions: junior college (two year), college (four year), and university (four year) including graduate school and a wide range of specialized higher institutions. The new aims of the university as stipulated in Article 108 of the Educational Law were "to pursue advanced study and research and scientific knowledge as well as providing broad general culture and developing the intellectual, moral, and practical skills." In order to carry out these aims, a university is to consist of three or more colleges, one of which must be a college of natural science, and another a graduate school. This provision, however, need not be carried out by particularly smaller universities. In addition, each university established a variety of research centers or institutes directly connected with 15 fields of research programs and offer specialized work in almost every academic and professional area.

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[1]Frederick Harbison and Charles Myers, op. cit., pp. 23-33.

[2]UNESCO, A Report of the UNESCO Regional Advisory Team for Educational Planning in Asia (Bankok, Thailand, 1965), pp. 13-14.

The Ministry of Education was vested power to set up the minimum standards of curriculum, faculty members' qualifications, physical facilities for both public and private colleges and universities. Regulations and standards pertaining to college curricula and applicable to colleges of all types were, however, more flexible and provided a considerable proportion of autonomy for all higher institutions regardless of type of control. The president is the administrative head of the university, and each college (faculty) in a university is headed by a dean, who charges all academic affairs within a college. The university council, chaired by the president, is made up of the deans of colleges, and is the policy-making body of the university. Although the president is appointed, and the university's general policy is directed by the Ministry of Education, the faculty is relatively autonomous.[1]

Furthermore, a university or college was considerably free in formation of its own curriculum within the boundary categorized by the Ministry, which was as flexible as the characteristics and circumstances of the college allowed, but this curricula should be approved by the Ministry of Education. All colleges and universities were also required to provide liberal-arts courses to furnish a well-rounded general knowledge as well as professional and science fields.

The college year begins on April 1, with the first semester closing toward the end of July and followed by a seven-week vacation. The second semester opens in September and closes toward the end of March, with a six-week vacation during December and January.

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[1]Korea, Central Education Research Institute, Daehack Kyoyuk Naeyonge Kwanhan Chonghapchok Yonku (A Comprehensive Study on the Contents of Higher Education) (Seoul, Korea, 1967), pp. 163-167.

The system of grading and the number of hours required for graduation are comparable to those of colleges and universities in many parts of the United States, though the curriculum is usually for the same total semester hours. Specialization in the major field begins in the first year and continues throughout the four-year duration of college work.

It is further important to point out that the legal position of the Korean teachers of higher education, on the surface, was usually strong and ought to afford a large measure of professional freedom. It is commonplace that unwritten conventions have historically protected academic freedom and university autonomy better than charters or statutes. Nevertheless, the salient fact was that for almost 15 years the government had at best paid lip service to these principles, and implemented them. The increasing tendency of justifying attitudes on National Security basis and the growing political sophistication among politicans and their followers combine to make a firm confinement of almost every aspect of Korean academic life.[1] Many eminent university professors regarded academic freedom as a basic stepping-stone leading towards modernization, and, on the other hand, its absence is a root of backwardness.[2] But no such conception was either admired or encouraged by the executive authorities on the basis of the National Security Law which was by far more weighted than the Constitution of the Republic. The bracing of academic freedom with university autonomy played a mere game or bluff like a scarecrow in a rice field. One could hardly fail to be impressed by these circumstances of virtual confinement of academic

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[1] Ibid., pp. 151-160.

[2] Ibid.

freedom and their unanimous determination that there was no room to challenge but tamely accepted the rigid government interference within the academic community in the First Republic of Korea.[1]

3. The Crucial Problems for the Development of Higher Education

Although the need for the development of higher education as a breakthrough to modernization and national development has been acknowledged by the government as well as the general public, a great many problems existed to hinder the achievement of this great task. These problems might be, on the whole, attributable to such common but important factors as: insufficient classroom, laboratory and library facilities; inadequate curriculum; incompetent faculty members; unrestrained admission of low-quality students; ineffective administration; and high rates of unemployment among university graduates. In analyzing these factors, it can be seen that crucial problems are laid in the further fundamental factors beyond these categories, namely: (a) inadequate planning, and (b) insufficient financial support.

a. Inadequate Planning. Even though its educational system was relatively extensive for a country at Korea's level of development, a government source indicated a growing shortage of well-trained technicians and an increasing imbalance between supply and demand for particular skills.[2] This indicates that Korean higher educational institutions excessively produce liberal arts or humanity graduates whose academic fields are almost disassociated with urgent needs of the nation's economy, on the one hand, and concommitantly, they produce overwhelming numbers

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[1]Lee Min-Ung, Chayudang Chongbuwa Kodung-Kyoyuk (Liberal Government and Higher Education) (Seoul, Korea: Hoego Printing Comapny, 1960), pp. 7-12. (Mimeographed.)

[2]Ibid., pp. 21-23.

of unqualified technicians whose skills were unable to assume the employments of highly specialized areas. Korea, as in other developing countries,[1] was indeed not generally producing the numbers and kinds of highly specialized persons which its economy and industry demanded. If a nation's modernization relies primarily upon human resources development, the fundamental problem to be overcome therefore is how higher education can be planned as to satisy manpower needs and the demand for industrialization simultaneously providing safeguards against "over-educating" with such traps as "brain drain" and unemployment.

In fact, the lack of adequate planning had frequently caused the increasing unemployment of college graduates and was indicative of an imbalance between the output of higher education and the practical needs of national development. This was due to the government educational planning relating to the economic growth which had been neglected for the adequate supply and demand of qualified personnel.

In 1955, for example, far less than 40 percent of the total enrollment in higher education was in technical and scientific disciplines. Unemployment among non-technical graduates was rapidly increasing in most areas as university graduates were soaring. By the end of the Korean War, for example, with national per capita income still less than 100 dollars, one out of every 280 Koreans was going to a university while by contrast in England, with annual per capita income of over 1000 dollars, only one out of every 425 was university enrolled.[2] The college graduate's employment rates was not shown in the same figure, but by 1955 employment of graduates of higher educational institutions was

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[1]Adam Curle, Educational Strategy for Developing Societies (Tavistock Publications, 1963), pp. 81-92.

[2]Korea Times, October 8, 1956, p. 4.

officially about 43 percent, not including those who were going into the military service.[1] Seoul's leading newspaper had estimated that only about 10 percent of college graduates found satisfactory jobs which were related to their specialized fields. Even government sources rated that the waste of higher education was as high as almost 50 percent.[2] Although for as high as 40 percent of college graduates some sort of employment had been reported, it is apparent that much of this was not career employment suitable for college graduates. A study in this regard conducted by the Ministry of Education indicated that in the field of law, for example, universities were producing three times more lawyers than agricultural technicians, despite the fact that Korea needed only a small number of lawyers, and 18 times as many graduates were being produced as the field of work could absorb.[3] Some colleges produced scarcely any suitably employed graduates.

In order to make for more sound planning, it should be necessary that the conventional higher educational plans should be replaced by new ones that would be in line with developmental needs; and oriented to modern science and technology. This plan should include long-term objectives of self-sufficiency and over-all development, and short-term objectives of training more technically skilled manpower.

b. Insufficient Financial Support. Another major problem facing Korean higher education arose from insufficient financial resources.

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[1] Munkyo Tongke Yoram, 1965, p. 98.

[2] Korea Times, November 26, 1965, p. 5: reported that only 1,200 out of 23,000 college and university graduates then graduating had found proper jobs connected to their academic studies.

[3] The Ministry of Education and United States Operations Mission to Korea, Report on Survey of National Higher Education in the Republic of Korea (Seoul, Korea, 1960), p. 155.

This was directly reflected in the difficulty of providing the increasing student enrollments with adequate facilities for the development of qualitative higher education. One of the most significant strategies in easing financial difficulties, in part, might be to determine which priorities would achieve the best possible utilization of limited resources in accordance with the national goals. But Korean educational authorities had not yet paid sharp attention to this sector, rather, they sought the expansion of such a bulky general educational system from elementary school through college. Furthermore, nationally, the government had somewhat neglected education as one of the best means of modernization and economic growth until immediately after the Korean War, while they were concentrating their chief efforts on the national defense affairs. For example, in 1955, while Japan, the most developed country in Asia, spent nearly 6 percent of its national income on education, Korea spent barely 3 percent in the same year.[1] Unfortunately, higher education in Korea received residual allocation in financial aid. Insufficiency of funds restrained Koreans from building scientific and professional training programs, providing good salary schedules for faculty members, and equipping better research and physical facilities.

In view of the financial problem, liberal arts and humanity fields in higher education had been excessively expanded during the post-independence period, since educational facilities for them were less costly to provide. It was estimated that these fields in general cost approximately one-fifth of those in medicine, natural sciences and engi-

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[1]Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, The Role of Education in the Social and Economic Development of Japan (Tokyo, Japan, 1966), pp. 113-116.

neering.[1] For this reason, even without any kind of government subsidies, privately owned liberal arts colleges mushroomed year after year since Korea was liberated in 1945.

In making efficient use of limited resources, it would be worthwhile to limit higher education to highly qualified students, and this, in turn, could reduce overcrowding in colleges. Progress might be rapid with a limited number of better qualified students, rather than massive ill-trained students. Nevertheless, such an acceptable theory would be a kind of Utopian motif to higher educational enterprisers in Korea. And therefore, this seemed to be absolutely ignored by them, since operation funds (including entire costs for college buildings, equipment, and personal expenditure) were covered by students' tuition and a variety of fees. As a result of such financial deficiency, this directly reflected the students' discontent on campus. In a huge, overcrowded, and impersonal campus, where a student could not find a respectable person to give him guidance in adjusting himself to an adequate college life, the student suffered and became discontented. A survey conducted by a native scholar, close to the time of "Student Uprising" in April 1960, has revealed the following student sentiments:

> Ninety-four percent of the 2,400 students surveyed said that they did not have a single "understanding" professor, 91 percent were discontented with the efficiency of prevailing individual guidance, 57 percent showed general dissatisfaction with their college programs, 39 percent felt they were unfit for their present studies, 46 percent completely denied the existence of professors able in individual guidance, 85 percent complained that they had no suitable place to talk with professors personally, 80 percent acknowledged frustration in their expectations of college, and 50 percent judged that the courses

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[1]Ung, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

they were taking would be of little or no use.[1]

This discontent spread also to the professors, who were not only underpaid but were swamped with students in poorly equippped overcrowded classrooms.

Consequently, the main reason for the students discontent and unrest, was due largely to dissatisfaction regarding university affairs; as well as frustration resulting from scarcity of suitable job opportunities.

B. A New Policy for the Development of Science Education

In regards to a new policy for the development of science education, the Council for Study on Higher Education, in January 1957, had made the following initiative recommendations: (1) Within a decade major development in all areas of higher education, particularly in the fields of science and technology; (2) Meet the needs of the social demands. They outlined the following six points:

1. With modernization of the nation's economy through growing industrialization being the major objective of the country, reorientation of higher education is emerging to give more emphasis on science and technological fields (including agriculture) and less emphasis on such fields as the humanities, arts and law, which are not directly associated with the nation's economic sector.

2. Emphasis should be therefore placed on qualitative output in all fields of higher education, because well-trained lawyers, industrial managers, economists, administrators are needed just as are qualified engineers, scientists and agricultural specialists.

3. Research in these fields should be emphasized not only to increase the nation's capability to adapt to modern science

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[1]Hyon-Hong Han, Summary Report of Research Project: Individual Problems of College Students (Seoul, 1960), p. 38. (Mimeographed.)

and technology, but also to originate other scientific, technological, and organizational innovations according to its demands. Therefore, we need more research centers either in connection with universities or independent institutes.

4. The successful approachment of the said priorities could be realized only by channeling more funds to build the necessary infra-structures of higher education in coordination with the over-all national planning. Since Korea has been spending about 3 percent of its gross national product (GNP) in education, higher education has a great difficulty for the development of particular areas gearing with the economic sector beyond the present level. Therefore, it is desirable to spend more money on higher education.

5. Universities and colleges regardless of types, should set up provisions for proper guidance and counselling programs to meet the needs of students and these programs, in turn, would be helpful in preventing student frustration, and would be more fruitful in terms of education.

6. In creating better understanding and communication among students, faculty and administrators, all colleges and universities should provide a certain system for timely discussions of problems and their solutions.[1]

In implementing such top priorities, the Ministry of Education, in 1957, adopted the "Conversion Project" to open the way for colleges and universities to open new departments in the science field, by as early as 1960--the target year for the completion of this "project." The Ministry was allowed to continue modifying the higher educational system. In addition the administration was responsible for the abolition of departments or colleges that were to be cutback and the enrollment quotas were moderated according to the Ministry's new enrollment distrubution plan.

A significant plan for the development of higher level human resources was placed on the qualitative improvement of science and technology. On October 16, 1957, the Ministry of Education, with the coordination of other government agencies (including the Ministries of

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[1]Ung, op. cit., pp. 21-24.

Commerce and Industry, Agriculture, and the Office of Labor Affairs), set up a manpower development program in relation to science and technological education.[1] In carrying out this task, the following principles were formulated based largely upon the recommendations made by the Council for Study on Higher Education in January 1957:

1. Raising sufficient funds for the development of science education over a five-year period.

2. Establishing a joint committee composed of personnel drawn from the Ministry of Education, the Advisory Council on science education and research programs, for the execution of funds and distribution of personnel, materials, and equipment.

3. Allocating budget and funds, for developing science in the following areas:

   a. furnishing colleges and universities with modern scientific research facilities;

   b. financing research projects of college faculty members, and visiting professors from overseas, as well;

   c. providing more sufficient scientific equipment and laboratory facilities in each higher institution;

   d. allocating funds for founding the National Institute of Atomic Energy;

   e. supporting scientific journals and academic publications of universities and research institutes.

4. Assuring that funds were to be spent for the natural sciences, the medical sciences, and the humanities and social sciences with improving research facilities.

5. Preparing sound plans and raising sufficient funds for improving scientific and technological institutions and research programs.

6. Encouraging colleges and universities to extend or open departments only in the science field.

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[1] Korean Educational Yearbook: 1966-1967, p. 30. A more detailed information on this program is available from the mimeograph on Liberal Government and Higher Education, by Ung, op. cit., pp. 26-32.

To implement these principles on science education, the available funds were drawn basically from: (a) special yearly appropriations from the government, (b) the basic funds derived from a fixed percentage of the yearly profits of government-owned industries, (c) external aid, and (d) foundation grants. Table 13 shows the amount of funds raised from these sources for a three-year period from 1957 through 1959.

TABLE 13

FUNDS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGICAL EDUCATION, 1957-1959[a]

Year	Government Sources Appropriations W in N.M.[b]	Profits from Governmental Enterprises	External Aids U.S. Aid Agencies in U.S. $	Foundation Grants Asia Foundation
1957	W/123,436	W/42,000	$2,991,707	$ 71,567
1958	78,743	57,000	1,276,000	---
1959	276,186	---	1,567,400	120,000

[a]Since conflicting statistics in educational expenditures has been shown, this figure is therefore drawn from various sources (including Hackwonsa, Korea: Its Land, People and Culture of All Ages (Seoul: Hackwonsa, Ltd., 1960), pp. 390-391; the Ministry of Education's Education in Korea, pp. 58-61; and the Board of Economic Planning's Economic White Paper-1962 (Seoul, Korea, 1962), pp. 326-327.)

[b]Unit: Won (W) in thousand.

According to the government sources, during the period between 1957 and 1959, 123 million won had been granted by the Ministry of Education to various research institutes and college science departments, for the development of research facilities, while 421 million won had been awarded for science teachers at the college level, for developing approved re-

search projects.[1] As a means of encouragement for scientists and professors to extend their maximum efforts to the promotion of national scientific fields, and as a means of attracting qualified Korean scholars who had been trained abroad, to return to Korea, the Ministry of Education had provided a considerably large number of special posts in science and research institutions; such as the Academy of Science, Atomic Energy Institute, and other science research centers of various types within the university community.[2] Besides these, during the academic year 1958-1959, the Ministry granted nearly 40 scholarships and fellowships to college professors, for one or two year research programs abroad. In the same period, it also granted a large number of individual research workers (125 researchers) to conduct various types of science research projects approved by the Ministry.[3] Approximately two-thirds of these research specialists had been reported to complete their research projects in a variety of science fields.[4]

However, particularly in highly advanced scientific and technological fields, it was quite impossible to provide adequate training in a short time. Nevertheless, research methods and science teaching required a tremendous amount of experimentation as well as a good portion of theoretical foundations, and a great majority of science teachers at college levels had not been furnished with these qualifications. Moreover, the great dearth of such qualified teachers had threatened the normal progress of science education, although remarkable progress was made if

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[1] Government Annual Report, 1960, p. 135.

[2] Korea, The Ministry of Education, Education in Korea, pp. 43-45. See also, Hackwonsa, op. cit., p. 402.

[3] Korea, The Ministry of Education, Education in Korea, pp. 43-45.

[4] Hackwonsa, op. cit., pp. 395-395.

one compared it with the condition of preceding years. After all, almost all of the prodigious scientific projects were still relying largely upon external aid in both finance and techniques, rather than being on a "self-reliance-building" basis.

This apparently indicates that Korean science education was still swamped in the infantile pond of neighbors. Ultimately, however, with the government's cooperation and the consensus of the general public, colleges and universities are the only hopeful reservoirs of technical and human resources that can be called upon to undertake the nation's urgent problems and solutions when adequate funds and time are fully available.

C. The Policy for the Improvement of Human Resources and Encouragement of Study Abroad

College graduates going abroad for advanced study increased greatly since the Korean War was formally ended in 1953. The number of students applying for overseas education was growing every year and, as shown in Table 14, on the next page, its rate accelerated during the years of 1954 and 1955 with over 1,000 students each year. By 1956, the total Korean students studying abroad reached 3890, of which approximately 90 percent of 3,527 students were in the United States.[1]

1. Advisory Committee on Study Abroad

In view of such increasing numbers and this important role, the Ministry of Education established an Advisory Committee on Study Abroad in January of 1956 in order to give an adequate guidance and provide

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[1]Korea, The Ministry of Education, Education in Korea, pp. 43-46.

TABLE 14

KOREAN STUDENTS ABROAD, 1951-1956[a]

Nation	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	Total
Australia				2	3		5
Austria						1	1
Belgium			1	10	6	1	18
Canada	3	11	13	10	4	3	44
China (free)	3	7	1	4	17	10	42
Denmark		1	2	1		2	6
France	9	11	17	16	40	15	108
Germany (West)		4		10	22	20	56
Great Britain			5	3	3	1	12
Greece				1	1	1	3
Holland			2	1			3
Italy	3		4	7	1	8	23
New Zealand			1	2	3		6
Norway		2	1				3
Philippines	2	2	1	3	2	5	15
Sweden		1	2	1	2	1	7
Switzerland			1	2	2	5	10
Turkey						1	1
United States	108	364	580	1056	973	446	3527
TOTAL	128	403	631	1129	1079	520	3890

Total Men: 2935 Total Women: 955

Total Students: 3,890

[a]Korea, The Ministry of Education, Education in Korea, p. 46.

better services for students before leaving for overseas. This committee was composed of 30 members from outstanding universities and colleges including the Vice-Minister of Education who acted as chairman of the committee. This committee's role was primarily of an advisory nature making recommendations on policy and regulation changes, but it functioned in most cases virtually as a policy making body.[1]

In March of the same year, the Ministry drastically adopted the new "Regulations on Studying Abroad" recommended by the Committee. The new regulations had made an important step toward encouraging qualified students to travel abroad and to study in various advanced science and technological fields which would be more advantageous to the nation than any other such fields as humanities or liberal arts. In this regard, the Committee realized that study abroad could reap more benefits:

a. for providing more opportunities of advanced areas of studies leading to highly specialized technology and science since Korean universities had not been furnished with such advanced facilities and equipment.

b. for facilitating cultural exchange and improving international understanding.

c. for sparing government expenditures since the majority of students made individual arrangements for their schooling expenses through scholarships granted by foreign universities at which they were enrolled and through the means of earnings from their part-time jobs.[2]

2. Major Problems

In spite of such advantageous conditions, a few grave problems remained. The majority of those who study abroad remained there even after completion of their studies. The reasons for this might be summed up in these words:

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[1]Hackwonsa, op. cit., p. 402.

[2]Ung, op. cit., pp. 34-38.

a. the research facilities and environment, particularly in the United States, are far superior to those in Korea;

b. there are better opportunities for employment, especially better financial rewards; and

c. conversely, there are destitute of personal freedom, economic deterrents, and political uncertainty in the home country.

The number of students returning each year was less than 100 out of many thousands who had completed their studies.[1]

Although the government was very concerned about the loss of the nation's intelligentsia, it planned to continue encouraging study abroad and to relax the restrictions placed upon those intending to leave the country. The government was convinced that the Korean trained abroad constituted a rich reservoir of manpower necessary for future national reconstruction upon recovery of the national unification and economic development.

Another important point to be considered is that the individual students studying abroad were able to contribute to the promotion of the cross-national and the cross-cultural understanding of both countries--the home country and the host country--through their academic activities and professional services. In this regard, Kannappan has well illustrated:

> Other intangible benefits include the fact that these individuals, by the reason of their education and upbringing, could promote an understanding of their country's problems and aspirations. Finally, as the developing country's entrepreneural capacity to utilize high-level manpower grew the nationals abroad were able to constitute a readily available pool of seasoned talent to draw upon.[2]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 37-38.

[2] Subhia Kannappan, "The Brain Drain and Developing Countries," International Labor Review, Vol. 98, No. 1 (June, 1968), 1-2.

TABLE 15

NUMBER OF KOREAN STUDENTS IN THE U.S. AND THEIR MAJOR FIELDS, 1956[a]

Major Fields	Number of Students	Percentage
Humanities	621	18
Social Sciences[b]	1,782	48
Natural Sciences	673	19
Engineering[c]	216	7
Medicine[d]	52	2
Unclassified	183	6
		100

[a]Adopted from Hackwonsa, op. cit., p. 312.

[b]Including Education, Business Administration, Library Science and Law.

[c]Including Agriculture

[d]Including Nursing, Pharmacology and Public Health

A survey of those students attending colleges and universities in the United States in 1956, conducted by the Office of Cultural Counsellor at the Korean Embassy in Washington, D.C., disclosed that a great majority of those Korean students (about 68 percent) had been enrolled in the fields of social science and humanities while only 32 percent of a total 3,890 majored in the fields of natural science and professional disciplines. Table 15, on this page, gives a more detailed picture of the number of students in each major area. Thus, the government fully realized that more Korean students enrolled in humanities and social science than in the physical and natural sciences. In the light

of the nation's important manpower needs in the said areas, the government authorities strongly emphasized that government priority would be given the basic policy of sending more students majoring in science fields. In order to comply with such a government decision, in 1959, the Ministry of Education revised the "Regulations for Students Studying Abroad" in order to encourage students to study in the fields of science and technology. According to the newly revised regulations, the following threee major changes were implemented:

1. Those who intend to major in physical science, engineering, medicine and vocational fields might be qualified to take the general qualifying examinations for studying abroad after completion of a two-year education in a Korean College while those majoring in the fields of social science and humanities were required to complete a four-year college education in Korea before applying for the examinations.

2. Only those who would major in natural science fields were qualified to apply for scholarships or financial aids provided by the Korean government.

3. The government selected the candidates studying abroad at rates of 2 to 1 between the fields of science and humanities including social science.[1]

3. Some Planning and Solutions.

Since the government was aware of the importance of these science fields, the proper jobs were therefore provided for returning students with advanced graduate degrees in science, medicine, engineering, or agriculture to fill the limited number but vitally important positions open for them and to accelerate the process of modernization of the country. In an attempt to set up a better liaison with Korean students and scholars abroad, the government created in 1957 the Office of Cultural Counselor attached to the Korean Embassies in such countries as

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[1]Korea, The Ministry of Education, Education in Korea, pp. 44-45.

the United States, Japan (Korean Mission to Japan), and France where a large number of Korean students were studying. The Ministry of Education had nimbly sent some educational specialists, including high level supervisors and a number of well-trained staffs, to each of these offices, so they could help solve students' problems as well as their own educational research projects on student activities and their academic movements in each country conducted by the Ministry of Education.[1]

Furthermore, the Korean government allocated $2,700,000 annually from its dollar exchange resources to be used for the transportation and admittance of Korean students studying in foreign countries. Special privileges, including free transportation home from the country where they had been studying were provided by the government for those returning students.

D. Autocratic Regime and Student Uprising

Since President Rhee and his Liberal Party had suffered a humiliating drawback in the vice-presidential election of 1956,[2] the Liberals began to sense the "straw in the wind" and thought that they could remain

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[1]Ung, op. cit., pp. 37-38.

[2]In the vice-presidential race it was apparent that Chang Myon of opposite Democratic Party's candidate for vice-president was drumming up large majorities in the cities and even rural areas, where the coercive measures of the police had been more effective than in urban measures of the police had been more effective than in urban centers; Lee Ky-bung, a running-mate of Syngman Rhee for Liberal Party's vice-presidential candidate, was barely holding his own. As a result of the voting, the Democratic candidate for vice-president emerged victorious with an alarming margin of more than 200,000 votes over his Liberal opponent Lee Ky-bung, despite the widespread rigging of elections. Thus, Rhee was thrown into the unsavory position of accepting his chief assistant.

in power only by rigging future elections.[1] Thus, Rhee's Liberal Party started to take measures aimed at consolidating its power, making every preparation to enable it to manipulate returns of future elections. Early in 1960, however, an important event took place in the young Republic of Korea. With popular uprisings spreading throughout the nation in protest against the crudely rigged presidential election, students decided to spearhead protest demonstrations which led to the downfall of Syngman Rhee's Liberal regime. The student uprisings, "The April 19 Revolution," clearly demonstrated the revival of the traditional student demonstrations, which during the Japanese colonial days demonstrated the fine spirit of Korean students to uphold democracy. However, it brought about an unprecedented social disorder that had plunged the society and college campus into chaos during the following years.

1. Political Tension

The foundation of America's attempt to build a new democratic institution in South Korea, since its Liberation in 1945, had been literally demolished by a rapidly overgrowing autocratic government of the central power. President Rhee's one-man control had increasingly built autocratic stability through the means of the National Security Law, national police and armed forces, and reached its height during the post-war period, 1954-1959. The highly centralized pattern of political machinery toward autocracy was obstinately expanded; no one dared to check or seriously condemn the existing power. The taboo of the central power was now placed on top of the young institution of democracy, and all citizens had been ordered to pay their loyalty to the man-made sanctuary of power. Civil disobedience was immediately labeled a com-

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[1]Chung, The New Korea, pp. 36-42.

munist conspiracy, the war had produced both short and long range political results in fostering multi-hundreds of thousands of armed forces. It often escalated the mobility of autocracy and created an atmosphere in which autocratic attitudes were encouraged.

As the war continued to rage northward in 1952, President Rhee suddenly changed his previous non-party position by directing the organization of a new party, a so-called "Liberal Party," early in 1952. The Liberal Party, of which Rhee became head was indeed to provide a firm stepping-stone for pursuing his second consecutive term in the presidency, although he had periodically announced that he would not seek re-election. The president and his followers in the Party, realized that Rhee might not be successful in his second-term election unless the existing Constitutional structure, under which the president was elected by the Assembly, was amended to provide for direct election of the president by popular vote. In his first move, the bill to amend the Constitution was sent to the Assembly on January 18, 1952 and it was rejected by 143 votes to 19. However, the government, under the direct command of President Rhee, declared martial law in the wartime capital city of Pusan on May 25, 1952. This was no doubt a suppressive measure of Rhee and his followers against their political foes in the National Assembly, although the government authorities stoutly defended that the martial law was aimed solely at the eradication of Communist guerrilla activities.[1] Meanwhile, unidentified youth groups held mass demonstrations in front of the Assembly Hall, threatening the Representatives to adopt the bill of Constitutional amendments. As was expected, the bill was finally adopted on July 4th of the same year, as a result of the terrorism

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[1]See infra, n. 1, p. 259.

which constantly threatened the Assembly.[1]

2. Downfall of Rhee Regime and Student Demonstrations

Following the general elections for representatives to the Fourth National Assembly Rhee's ruling Liberal Party launched a drive for suppressing all pro-Opposition news media, including newspapers and radio broadcasts, and the rights of Democratic Party activities, in order to prepare for the forthcoming victory of the Presidential election. As a first stage of the political maneuvering, on November 18, 1958 a revision bill for the National Security Law was introduced by the government to the Legislature while the Democratic Party branded the bill as a device to oppress the Opposition and the basic rights of citizens.[2]

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[1]As soon as the bill to amend the Constitution was rejected by the Assembly on January 18, 1952, Rhee decided to launch his re-election by an all-out assault against the Assembly. His public statement was to indicate that the Assemblymen should be recalled by popular votes if they rejected the "popular will" in favor of private interests. (No Constitutional provision for the "recall" of Assemblymen existed. When the Assembly protested Rhee's "recall" campaign during the spring of 1952, Rhee replied that the Constitution could not only be amended but also "supplemented" in accordance with "popular will.") This was followed by posters, petitions, and blackmail demanding the recall of the Assemblymen. The "popular demonstrations" were finally spearheaded by mysterious gangs that menacingly called themselves "What Skeleton Corps," which threatened the Assemblymen for their opposition against Rhee and called for his re-election. See Sasangge Monthly, Vol, IX, No. 4 (April, 1961), 68-69.

On May 25, 1952, on the pretext of guerrilla activities, Rhee proclaimed martial law in the temporary capital city of Pusan, where no Communist guerrillas existed at that time. The Assembly building was severely surrounded by the Military Police. On May 27, forty-seven Assemblymen, while they were abroad Assembly shuttle buses, were arrested on their way to the Assembly Hall in definance of the Constitution. Nine of forty-seven arrested were subsequently jailed. Several others than went into hiding. The executive authorities later announced that far reaching Communist connections were uncovered by the authorities and they were taking steps to make a thorough investigation.

[2]Chung, The New Korea, pp. 42-53.

The Opposition Assemblymen, however, resorted to a turbulent strategy of sit-in demonstrations in the Assembly Hall to prevent its passage in the plenary session. The Liberal Party and Government had sent nearly 300 "tough" policemen into the Assembly Hall on December 24 and forceably hauled out opposition strikers. Meanwhile, the bill was passed by the Liberals alone.

In counterplotting dictatorial rules of the Liberals, on January 14, 1959 the opposition organized the "National League for Protection of Democracy and Civil Rights" throughout the country. But this maiden organization failed to resist the evergrowing police state methods of Liberal government and its party. The ruling party from now on focused its efforts on raising funds for presidential elections through every possible means, from extorting money from business and illegally confiscating foreign aids. The Liberal government released over 100 million dollars worth of money obtained illegally to help rig the elections.[1]

The candidates for the fourth presidential election were but two: Syngman Rhee, as usual, and Cho Pyong-ok of the Democratic Party. But Cho died of illness at the Walter Reed Army Hospital in the United States only a few days before the election, leaving Syngman Rhee the uncontested candidate for the presidency. Running for the vice-presidency were Lee Ky-bung, Rhee's handpicked running mate, and Chang Myon of the Democratic Party ticket and two others from minor parties. All rivaling party members thereupon devoted themselves entirely to the vice-presidency which retained the right to succeed the old and infirm President Rhee in case of his absence or inability to function as the President.

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[1]Cho Tak-song, Sawol Hyongmyong (April Revolution) (Seoul, Korea: Changwonsa, 1960), p. 60.

During the elections, the Liberal Party fabricated the election ballot and opposition scrutineers were thrown out of the polls to allow only Liberals to freely manipulate ballots. Voting booths were left open so that the voters could be watched from outside. With the total absence of opposition scrutineers, 95 percent of the fabricated election count was for the Liberal candidates. But the government and its party nimbly instructed that the returns be reduced to 85 percent for Syngman Rhee and 75 percent for Lee Ky-bung, the vice-presidential candidate, to make it appear more reasonable.

On the election day, March 15, 1960, citizens of Masan, a south-eastern port city of 100,000 inhabitants, demonstrated in protest of election riggings. The Masan police opened fire on them, killing 26 and wounding 86.[1] On April 11, almost a month after election day, a 16-year-old high school boy who demonstrated for the opposition was found dead and floating on the waterfront in the city, with a tear-gas shell plugged into his eye socket, allegedly shot to death by the police. This flared the Masan citizens to lead a bloody demonstration.

On April 18, masses of students from the Korean University in Seoul took to the street and staged a demonstration proclaiming the invalidity of the elections and demanding swift new elections. On April 19, students of the Seoul National University and other major universities and colleges in the capital city joined the Korean University students demanding the resignation of President Rhee, and heavy punishment of those responsible for the election riggings. Police forces brutally fired on the students in massive demonstrations, which led to nationwide uprisings by civilians, high school students, middle school pupils, and

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[1] Ibid., pp. 60-61.

even elementary and kindergarten children.

The capital city of Seoul and other major cities of the country were totally under martial law proclaimed by the government on April 19. Heavily armed troops were thrown into these figures. The demonstrators, including citizens of men and women, young and old, and even civil officials were so peaceful that the army troops had only to stand by without obstructing the demonstrators. On April 24, a large number of college professors finally joined the student demonstrations. This was a vital element in influencing all intellectual communities of the country to mobilize people against Syngman Rhee regime.

On April 27, a new era began when President Rhee at last vowed to make an announcement for his Presidential resignation which brought to an end his 12-year despotism. In his resignation speech before a small group of people representing student, professor and citizen organizations, Dr. Rhee calmly began to speak in a tearful voice: "If the people so desire, I'll resign from the presidency and serve the country as a citizen for the rest of my life . . ."[1] On May 29, 1960 Rhee slipped out of the country for a self-styled exile in Honolulu, Hawaii.

3. Student Unrest

After the fall of the Rhee regime in April 1960, the National Assembly unanimously passed a bill for the Constitutional Amendment to establish a bicameral legislature, and replace the Presidential system of government which would give the Prime Minister full responsibility for the administration. Under the revised Constitution, the new elections were held on July 29, 1960, for the Fifth National Assembly and the House of Councillors. In the new elections, a landslide victory

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[1]Chung, The New Korea, pp. 66-67.

was gained by the Democratic Party which had been in opposition under the Syngman Rhee rule. The Democratic government led by Chang Myon, however, had faced many problems from the start. One of their most significant problems was a misguided conception of freedom possessed by a large segment of the people and students. As if to repay its obligation to the students who played a key role in bringing it to power, the Democratic government adopted too lenient an attitude towards the students who, proud of their role in terminating the 12-year rule of Syngman Rhee, showed little restraint in politics. They held street demonstrations almost daily with demands both trivial and exhorbitant. The Democratic regime found itself in a social confusion which it was too helpless to check until May 16, 1961, when a military coup broke out.

During the period from April 19, 1960 to May 16, 1961, there were more than 500 major demonstrations by university students, and some 110 students of high school level and under, with a total of 199,000 students participating. This breaks down to an average of 825 students in various demonstrations each day for the eight months of the Democratic government.[1]

This rapid mood was also effected on college campuses. Student demonstrations occurred day after day throughout the college campuses calling for a clean-up of the "corruption" of the school authorities. The radical students began the movement to drive out incompetent teachers and pro-former-government professors, putting school boards against teach-

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[1]The total number of student demonstrations and their participants made during the post-Syngman Rhee regime are varied from one source to another. This figure is adopted largely from the sources of a book: Chung, The New Korea, pp. 81-95 and Tong-A Ilbo (Daily News), December 18, 1960, pp. 3-4.

ers. Hardly a day had passed without seeing student rampages, raising the need to review the whole system of education.

VIII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Since the liberation of the country from the Japanese rule in 1945, Korea had undergone a series of radical sociopolitical changes, which in turn greatly influenced the progress of the nation's education. In such a rapidly changing social milieu, Korea began a new epoch after the long centuries of the Confucian ideal of education, which provided primarily for education of the ruling class children, by establishing the democratic and universal system of education.

After achieving independence rapidly in 1948, largely by external factors rather than by its own efforts, Korea reformed the entire school system whose basic framework was already achieved during the American Military Occupation period (1945-1948). However, the new form of education, including philosophy of democratic education, school organization, principles of curriculum, democratic ideal of school administration and teaching methods, was totally borrowed and was new to Koreans. Soon after the young Republic began to execute its own administration, the educational provisions were adopted, that the new aims and roles of education were so finely defined along with democratic principles. Such a remarkable provision stipulated in the Educational Law was designed to institute a system of compulsory and free elementary education of six-year grades, whose basic idea was laid down in Article 16 of the Constitution of the Republic. However, the implementation of such a radiant provision was indeed assured merely by the verbal note but it was practically far from complete realization. As was already discussed in Chapter III of

this study, "free and compulsory elementary schooling" was actually 75% financed through the fees of Parent-Teacher Associations (PTA's), (these fees were taken as "voluntary contributions") while only 25% of it was financed through government sources. As a result, a great many poor families' children whose parents could not contribute the PTA's fees actually did not attend schools. This was indeed serious and a most critical problem which hampered the development of democratic education.

Under the new Educational Law, such fundamental issues as textbooks, teaching methods, curriculum, and even a language at all school levels were implemented but inadequate financial support for better equipment and proper salary schedules for teachers resulted in the hiring of a great proportion of unqualified teachers in Korean schools which directly hindered the realization of the new educational goals.

Nevertheless, during the fifteen-year period from 1945 to 1960, the number of schools and its enrollment at all levels had made a remarkable increase. The number of elementary schools increased nearly twice while its enrollment exceeded more than 2.9 times; the secondary school had expanded more than 10 times from the figure in 1945 and its enrollment also jumped almost 11.6 times the earlier figure; and the higher educational institutions including two-year junior colleges totalled 67 by 1960 or 3.5 times that of 1945 and enrollment increased more than 17 times. In 1960, over 5 million children and youths were reported as attending various educational institutions or more than one-fifth of the total population.[1] Moreover, the Ministry of Education indicated that as of January 1960, 95.1 percent of first grade age children were enrolled at elementary schools and about 96 percent of adults

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[1]Min-Woo Kang, "Educational Planning," Korean Journal, Vol. 10, No. 8 (August, 1970), 40.

(over 12 years of age) were literate.[1] These figures obviously well-illustrate evidence of the quantitative growth of education and concommitantly of the government's efforts to provide more education for more people.

Among newly established schools, the fields of humanities and general study were predominantly exceeded far more than those of vocational training and natural science, and many of the existing vocational school broadened their curricula. A strong desire for higher education was satisfied merely by the increased numbers, but not much attention was focused on the qualitative aspects of the entire program. Furthermore, inadequate government planning defeated the motivation of most of the founders of new institutions, with scarce facilities, poor teaching personnel, inadequate funds, and lower academic standards.

Korean education, on the whole, had frequently suffered from excessive control by the central government which was indifferent to local initiative and its needs. Since education is one of the largest national enterprises, the government had devoted its efforts to the development of education but at the same time had increased its unlimited control over education for political goals rather than for the achievement of educational goals. At the same time, many problems were created while the overall educational system made great progress. In making conclusions, these problems and many other controversial issues in education might be summed up under the following headings: problems in quality of education, the government control of education and educational autonomy, and the efforts for economic growth through education by providing skilled manpower.

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[1]Korea, The Ministry of Education, Education in Korea (Seoul, Korea, 1960), p. 36.

A. Problems in Quality of Education

Under such a Constitutional provision as "free and compulsory education for all," a serious problem was created for qualitative education in Korea. The suddenly increased elementary school population was naturally burdened by such vital problems as critical shortages of classrooms and qualified teachers, in addition to the lack of adequate funds for operating such a vast system. This in fact not only affected elementary education but also greatly affected the whole system of education at all levels. The government's extremely limited financial resources could not provide adequately for the development of secondary and higher levels of education. As a result, in most populated districts of metropolitan areas the elementary classroom size was in many cases over 100 children and three or four shifts were usually arranged to accommodate the maximum number of children. Accordingly, an enrollment in excess of 10 thousand at each school (perhaps the world's largest elementary schools) was frequently to be found. As it can be easily imagined, classrooms were overcrowded. Inexperienced teachers emphasized "rote" learning instead of planning lessons with the children's interest and ability in mind. Implicit memorization of textbooks and other unrealistic and unwise practices proved to be a waste of time and money for the children. Average elementary school-leavers could hardly read newspapers or tax notes. For this reason, a great proportion of economically middle or upper class families sent their children to private schools even at the elementary school level. Consequently, there existed a dual system as in earlier Japanese colonial days for children of wealthier and children of poorer families in Korea.

In a democratically oriented society it might be preferable to accept the idea of "more education for more people" in order to provide a more equal opportunity for all. However, this concept is not implicitly beneficial for it may be harmful to the entire development of education, particularly in a country like Korea where financial resources and a qualified teaching staff were limited. Nevertheless, the idea of "education for all" was overwhelmingly gaining acceptance in Korean society along with the influx of Western democratic ideas during the post-Liberation period.

As of 1960, 62 percent of the elementary school-leavers entered middle (junior high) schools, with 48 percent of this age group being admitted. The mass education movement at the lower level had made a tremendous impact upon higher level institutions which had to be expanded. As a result, in 1960, about 60 percent of middle school graduates or 26 percent of this age group entered senior high schools while nearly 30 percent of high school graduates were admitted to colleges and universities in the same year. This in fact was to remain as a most serious and controversial issue in Korean education.

Furthermore, in accordance with a recent report on "educational planning" stated in the Korea Times, the Korean government is planning to seek a number of revolutionary educational reforms including a nine-year compulsory education. This is called the "long-term comprehensive educational planning" design for extending by three more years the current six-year compulsory system, which will be effective in 1980. It is also decided to release the enrollment ceiling for colleges and universities. Even under the present six-year system, as was mentioned, the government is unable to finance sufficiently the operation of compulsory education. Such unrealistic planning based largely upon the nation's

social and economic circumstances cannot therefore readily be called wise. For it seems yet premature to make any adequate planning as to the years a decade away, especially regarding national financial resources.[1]

B. The Problem of Government Control in Education and Educational Autonomy

Since education is a firm national endeavor and is intimately related to the welfare and destiny of the nation, the scope of government control and its responsibility in education is in fact extensive. However, it is perhaps necessary to determine what kinds and what degree of government control are necessary for what purpose. In this regard, the Educational Law of 1949 has been relatively well illustrated to define the responsibility of education for both the central and local governments as well as that of the citizens. For example, the law stipulates that autonomy of educational institutions is emphasized because education must be developed through the atmosphere of freedom and the means of initiative originality. Educational institutions are, however, considered as public instruments of the society while they cannot be subjected to certain ruling individuals or special groups.

Nevertheless, such enormous provisions were often ignored by the overpowering autocratic government of the Rhee regime which endeavored to use education as a tool of political expansion. Although the Educational Law provided considerable local autonomy to meet local needs, the educational system, on the whole, was virtually centralized and it was tightly associated with the political system. The major policies transmitted from the top were in many cases carried through by the local government

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[1] The Korea Times, March 25, 1970, p. 2.

organs including the provincial governors' office and the County Chief's office instead of the local boards of education. In this connection, the basic educational interests were easily dismissed by the political officials to fulfill their own interests. Educational planning, allocation of budget, along with changes in and the adaptation of regulations and policies were apparently executed by the top government officials who were always backed by the political partisans. Educational and school administrators both public and private were required to have government approval. In view of such a limited condition, Korean education suffered in developing genuine initiative while the National Security Law legitimized confinement of academic freedom and suppressed criticisms against the government.

C. Efforts for Economic Growth through Education in Providing Skilled Manpower

Korea was becoming aware of the importance of education for the reconstruction of the national economy and the development of human resources. Until immediately after the Korean War period, little systematic attention was paid to the economic value of education. Education in Korea continued to be predominantly intellectualistic and academic at secondary and higher levels. The graduates of middle and academic high schools were not really qualified for any occupation and were usually unable to find practical employment. In the secondary schools, and even in the vocational high schools, the emphasis on traditional literary subjects had prevailed, and in many cases high schools required students to comprehend over 2,000 Chinese characters, thus encouraging the deep-rooted tendency to formalism and an exclusive reliance on memory. Similar unrealistic formalism characterized by the teaching of science

and mathematics courses. These peculiar traits were present in college classrooms, where entire periods were spent in dictation, with professors reading their lecture notes, and nothing experimental was encouraged. This reflected social trends as many people looked at education as the best means to maintain their social status. In aiming at this viewpoint, education perhaps could be verbalistic and ornamental instead of pragmatic.

It was after the Korean War, which had made a radical change in education, that the Koreans began to strive for a more realistic and effective system of education to promote economic well-being and raise standards of living. Nationally, an ambitious program for economic restoration of the devastation from the three-year Korean War paralleled this effort. Since then the South Korean educational system has evolved from this process of meeting the needs of economic development. In carrying out these parallel aims, the demand for technical manpower became even more acute in order to provide the needed skills for reconstruction. The educational system was revised to produce a maximum number of technicians and specialists within a short period under the maxim (principle) of "one student--one skill." As a result, a great emphasis was focused on vocational and science education at secondary and higher levels.

In order to provide better coordination between education and industry for the promotion of more effective technical manpower training, the government encouraged larger industry to set up its own technical training programs for employees within its industrial plants. This transpired because money was frequently wasted on pre-employment vocational schools that failed to provide training in the types of technical skills which were most useful to the nation's economy.

In order to hasten economic growth in its race with unemployment and population growth, the government gave top priority to the develop-

ment of skilled human resources since Korea was unable to develop all kinds of education with its limited financial resources. It was therefore essential to eliminate waste in educational development. Korean educators were thus seeking to more closely coordinate education and training with the manpower needs of the country.

However, well-rounded educated persons were always in demand and were necessary for balance. Over-emphasis on the aligning of educational planning with economic exigencies might have led to the abnormal condition of educational development. In order to make a sound improvement in educational and human resources, comprehensive and well-balanced educational planning is desirable.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE EDUCATIONAL GROWTH IN SOUTH KOREA (1945-1960)[a]

Classification		Status by Year			Index of Growth Base Yr. (1945): 100		
		1945	1955	1960	1945	1955	1960
Kindergartens	No. of Inst.	165	192	336	100	116	203
	Enrollment	13,354	11,382	17,215	100	84	128
	No. of Faculty	485	582	1,112	100	120	230
Elementary Schools	No. of Inst.	2,834	4,209	4,732	100	148	167
	Enrollment	1,366,024	2,047,436	4,089,152	100	216	292
	No. of Faculty	19,729	47,020	68,124	100	238	345
Junior and Senior High Schools	No. of Inst.	165	1,427 (849)	1,743 (1,122)	100	865	105
	Enrollment	84,752	747,860 (475,342)	978,717 (655,123)	100	884	115
	No. of Faculty	3,219	17,598	27,228	100	516	846
Higher Educational Institutions	No. of Inst.	19	59	67	100	310	353
	Enrollment	7,819	86,738	134,470	100	1109	171
	No. of Faculty	1,490	2,626	3,984	100	176	266
TOTAL	No. of Inst.	3,183	5,905	6,906	100	186	214
	Enrollment	1,471,949	3,793,416	5,219,554	100	258	349
	No. of Faculty	24,923	67,826	100,448	100	272	403

Note: Figure in () shows data on junior high schools included in all high schools.

[a]Adapted from Korean Journal, Vol. 10, No. 8 (August, 1970), 40.

APPENDIX B

THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION BUDGET IN SOUTH KOREA (1948-1960)[a]

Year	Ministry of Education Budget (A)	National Budget (B)	A/B (%)
1948	1,746,800	19,601,000	8.9
1949	10,416,900	91,110,000	11.4
1950	13,822,200	242,960,000	5.7
1951	16,091,100	617,860,000	2.6
1952	42,880,800	2,150,760,000	2.0
1953	159,301,900	6,068,310,000	2.6
1954	597,230,200	14,239,160,000	4.2
1955-56	2,633,304,100	28,143,940,000	9.3
1957	3,283,129,900	35,003,430,000	9.4
1958	4,458,046,300	41,091,960,000	10.8
1959	5,986,386,900	40,002,370,000	14.9
1960	6,381,347,300	41,995,450,000	15.2

[a]Korean Journal, op. cit., p. 41.

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