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The Reconstruction of Educational Theory: Confucianism, Practicalism, and Pragmatism (1945-1965)

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EDUCATIONAL THEORY:
CONFUCIANISM, PRACTICALISM, AND PRAGMATISM (1945-1965)

VOLUME I (CHAPTERS 1 TO 3)

A DISSERTATION SUMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF
EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND POLICY STUDIES

BY
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this dissertation is to describe the influence of American Pragmatism in Korea, and assess the significance of that influence on the Korean educational system in the post-World War II era. This study will involve developing a historical perspective on Korean pedagogical theories before the Liberation and a discussion of the introduction of Western education.

The dissertation will examine the educational milieu which prompted the advent of pragmatism and its congruence with practicalist thought in the Korean educational system, as opposed to existing confucianist thought. The proposed study will concentrate on the influence and blendings of American Pragmatism and Korean educational theory in Korea's post-World War II educational system. For a historical review and descriptive analysis, the study developed an analytical framework with specifications based on a review of related literature.

With a receptive environment, American Pragmatism became easily embedded in Korean educational thought, contributing to the advanced level of scientific and mathematical ability seen in modern-day Korea which made possible the economic "Miracle on the Han River". Behind Korea's modernization is the combined educational system of American Pragmatism and Korea's Confucian and practicalist
The main research effort was expended in reviewing both governmental education plans under the influence of American Pragmatism in the post-World War II Korean education era with Korean Practical educational theory.

The Korean populace has always displayed an instinctively deep respect for learning, potentially explaining the success of Korea's education. This dissertation will examine the entry and implementation of pragmatist educational thoughts that contributed to Korea's modernization. It will answer the following questions:

1. What were the educational philosophies, pedagogical theories, and educational methods in post-World War II Korean education from 1945 to 1965?
2. What factors contributed to American Pragmatism's influence on Korea's educational system, particularly on basic education, educational method, and curriculum?
3. What has been the educational significance of the merger of American Pragmatism with the more traditional Korean thought?

Referring to related literature, the major findings are discussed and conclusions are drawn as follows:

1. Practicalism in Korea was a pragmatic approach to overall fields in politics, economics, history, literature, and natural sciences.
2. Practicalism was influenced by Western culture, anticipating to modernize Korea by means of educational reforms and changes.

3. Both philosophers, Pragmatism and Practicalism, try to draw truth not from abstract conception, but from the results which coincide with the purpose of human behavior.

Finally, recommendations which should be taken in consideration for better future educational planning implementation are described as suggestions for further studies.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

In the first chapter, the purpose of the study, including orientation to the topic and major problems to be investigated, is described. Following this statement, the national background and educational development of Korea, and the organization of the study are introduced.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this dissertation is to describe the influence of American pragmatism in Korea, and the gauge the significance of that influence on the Korean educational system in the post-World War II era. This study will involve developing a historical perspective on Korean pedagogical theories before the liberation and a discussion of the introduction of Western and international education. The dissertation will examine the educational milieu which prompted the advent of pragmatism and its congruence with practicalist thought in the Korean educational system as opposed to existing Confucianist thought.

The previous studies are either of a much earlier period such as Horace Horton Underwood's dissertation, "Outline History of Modern Education in Korea," 1926; Rim, Han Young's dissertation, "Development of Higher Education in Korea During the Japanese Occupation" 1952; Lierop Peter Van's dissertation, "The Development of Schools Under the Korean Mission of the Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A., 1919-1950" 1955. Or, their time is narrower than that of this study such as Donald Kendrick Adam's dissertation, "Education in Korea, 1945-1955," 1956; Kim, Dong Koo's dissertation, "American Influence on Korean

The proposed study concentrates on the influence and blendings of American pragmatism and Korean educational theory in the post-World War II Korean educational system. With a receptive environment, American pragmatism became embedded in Korean educational thought, contributing to the advanced scientific and mathematical level in modern-day Korea which made possible the economic "Miracle on the Han River". Contributing to Korea's modernization is the combined educational influence of American pragmatism and Korea's practicalist heritage.

The Korean populace has always displayed a respect for learning which might explain the success of Korea's education. This dissertation will examine the entry and implementation of pragmatist educational thoughts which contributed to Korea's modernization. It will answer the following questions:

1. What were the educational philosophies, pedagogical theories, and educational methods in post-World War II Korean education from 1945 to 1965?
2. What factors contributed to American pragmatism's influence on Korea's educational system, particularly on basic education, educational method, and curriculum?
3. What has been the educational significance of the merger of American pragmatism
with the more traditional Korean thought?

NATIONAL BACKGROUND OF KOREA

The Korean peninsula, located in Northeast Asia, is bordered on the north by China and Russia, and juts towards Japan to the southeast. Since 1948, the 221,487 square kilometers of the entire peninsula have been divided, along the 38th parallel, into the Republic of Korea in the south and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the north.

The Republic of Korea covers 85,269 square miles, an area somewhat less than that of Great Britain. The population of the Republic of Korea was estimated at over forty-one million in the 1986 census.¹ Despite its geographical smallness, Korea has a long history and tradition which are sustained by a strong sense of unity nurtured by common origin, language, and cultural heritage.

Although Korea's traceable history began considerably earlier than the seventh century, it was in 668 that Korea, as a unified country, came to occupy most of the peninsula as it exists today. Korea, as a historical entity with a cohesive culture and society, can be traced to the Shilla Unification. Prior to the Unified Shilla period (668-935) was the Three Kingdoms period, which ended when Shilla conquered the Paekche Kingdom (18 B.C.-A.D. 660) and the Koguryo Kingdom (37 B.C.-A.D. 668).

The Koryo Kingdom (918-1392) that immediately followed witnessed the flourishing of Buddhism, which had arrived in Korea during the Three Kingdoms era.

¹This is Korea (Seoul: Korean Overseas Information Service, 1986), 17 and 36
The period is best known internationally for its famous blue-green inlaid celadon pottery, as well as for the invention of the world's first movable metal type.

General Yi, Song-gye's establishment of the new Chosen Kingdom (1392-1910) saw Confucianism dominate national and family life, until Japan imposed colonial rule. Korea was finally liberated from Japanese rule at the end of World War II - but only to become entangled in the fierce ideological conflict that led to the formation of two separate states in the North and the South. In 1950, North Korea launched an all-out attack on the Republic of Korea, triggering the Korean War, which raged until 1953. The devastating conflict was ended by an armistice agreement which established the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) that divides the peninsula.

It was almost a decade after the end of the war before the Republic of Korea had recovered sufficiently to establish stability and start the momentum for its recovery and development.

**EDUCATION**

Korea fostered and maintained a unique educational tradition. Throughout history, the Korean people have respected the value of learning which was initially motivated by the old Confucian system of learning. The government utilized a Confucian ideology based on metaphysics. The upper class known as Yangban were educated according to the Confucian classics which were needed to pass the state examination.

The state examination was conducted under the three categories of civil, military, and miscellaneous. The civilian bureaucrats who rose to position by passing the
examination on Confucianism hoped to become high-ranking officials. In addition to the civil government positions, the military positions were also held in high honor, especially in times of war. Traditionally throughout the dynastic periods there was always keen competition between the military and civilian officials of the court. Also during the monarchy, the merchants in business, trade, and commerce were held in low esteem. The most respected profession was that of the Confucian scholar and teacher, who was not concerned with political advancements in government.

Formal education in Korea dates back to the Three Kingdoms era (1st century B.C.- 7th century A.D.) when the state-operated institutes called the T'aehak (Highest School of Learning) began in A.D. 372 for the upper-class youth in Koguryo. The establishment of an educational machinery for inculcating the Confucian ethos of loyalty to the king was essential for the creation of a bureaucratic structure for a growing nation which was in the process of completing a political system to reinforce the power of the sovereign. Koguryo also established Kyong-Dang (private schools) for the youth of the aristocracy in A.D. 586.

In the Shilla period, the Kukhak (National School) was established in 682 after the model of the Chinese public institute for higher Confucian education for training officials. The Kukhak was replaced by the Kukjagam in the Koryo dynasty and

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Songkyunwan in the Yi dynasty in 1398. The Shilla Kingdom also developed the unique educational system called Hwarangdo (Flower of Youth Corps) for training the young nobility. It taught the virtues of loyalty, valor, honesty, filial piety, and patriotism.

During the Koryo and later Chosen Kingdoms both Buddhism and Confucianism influenced the educational system. This influence resulted from Korea's continual interactions with China over the centuries. The Koryo Kingdom (918-1392) was more influenced by Buddhist philosophies.

Through royal patronage, Buddhism spread rapidly throughout the three kingdoms and reached its peak as a national religion during the Koryo dynasty. A considerable number of monks, besides being engaged in money-lending, brewing, livestock-breeding, and commerce, became high-ranking advisors with the honorary title of "royal tutor" (wangsa) or "National Tutor" (kuksa) to the court. Confucianism also had long been an influence upon Koryo life as part of the predominant Chinese influence. Thus, the institution of Buddhism came to acquire tremendous political and economic power.

While Buddhism had the greatest influence on the Koryo dynasty, the Yi dynasty adopted Confucianism as the official doctrine of the government and the Yi rule became

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6 This is Korea (Seoul: Korean Overseas Information Service, 1986), 63.

7 Han Woo-Keun, The History of Korea (Seoul: Eul-Yoo Publishing Co., 1970), 125. In the case of Korean authors, the citations will begin with the surname; for English-writing authors, with the first name.
known as the "Golden Age of Confucianism." By the end of the Yi dynasty, Confucianism grew deep roots in social and political institutions through the Confucian-oriented civil service examination system (kwako), which produced a ruling class of scholar-officials with Confucian political and ethical ideals.

From the political viewpoint, this religio-political combination enhanced centralization of authority, as stated in the following except:

By riveting on government not only political but also moral and religious attentions, it tended to introduce a pattern of deep emotional concerns with politics and to flood administrations with political, ethical, almost religious qualms, principles, and ground for attack. Operating within Korea's confined geography, this pattern induced enormous centralization of politics, administration, values, and even emotion.8

Even now it is commonly observed that, "Everything flows upward to the Minister or the President, including workload, decision-making, respect, and loyalty."9

For fifteen centuries (until the end of the Yi dynasty), Korean education was integrated into the state examination system based on Confucian ideas. The late nineteenth century saw the abolition of the Confucian private academies by the central government and the influx of Western influences. When Western religion and academic disciplines reached Korea, the need to renovate the educational system was evident. But the basically isolationist policy of the monarchy and the feudalistic sentiments of the


people hampered and delayed introduction of the modern Western system of education.

In the sixteenth year of King Kojong's reign (1882), a royal decree opened the gates of state-operated schools to common citizens. Until then, the schools admitted only those who belonged to the upper class, or the Yangban.¹

In 1885, King Kojong emphasized the need for educational reform, and finally in February, King Kojong issued a royal decree placing emphasis on the need for educational reform as part of the national renovation. He stressed the importance of education in these words:

...Alas! Without encouragement of education, it is hopeless that the nation stand on a strong foundation. All nations around the world, being rich, strong, and independent, have their people enlightened. As the enlightenment of the people might be resulted from the goodness and beauty of learning, it must be said that education is the foundation protecting and preserving the life of a nation. Therefore, I, as a king and a teacher, take the full responsibility for education...Education for the sake of name value must be differentiated from that for the practical use...²

The King's inspiration extended to the establishment of two royal institutions: one was for medical training, and the other for foreign language education.³ In 1885, American Protestant missionary groups began to found modern private high schools in Seoul including a girls' school, the first of its kind in Korean history.⁴ They also spread

¹Rim, Han-yung, Korea: Its People and Culture (Seoul: Hakwon-sa LTD., 1974), 183.
²Oh, Chonsok, History of New Education in Korea (Seoul, Hyondae Kyoyuk Chongso Chulpan-Sa, 1964), 85.
⁴Rim, Han-yung, Ibid., 183.
literacy to the common people, men and women alike, and introduced Western ideas, values, and medical and scientific technology as well as Christianity.

The first Protestant missionary to Korea, Dr. Horace N. Allen, had served in the Presbyterian Mission in China. In order to come to Korea, "he came not as a missionary but as physician to the U.S. Delegation in Seoul" in 1884. Horace G. Underwood of the same denomination and the Methodist Episcopal missionary, Henry G. Appenzeller, came from the United States in 1885. At this time, there was a group of young officials -- Kim, Ok-kyun, Pak, Young-hyo, Suh, Kwang-pum, and others -- who had admired the Japanese adoption of Western institutions and technology. They wanted Korea to be militarily strong and economically wealthy like Japan. Secretly associated with the Japanese diplomats in Korea and receiving promise of military aid from them, these young Korean intellectuals planned to kill most of the leading conservative officials allied with China. On December 4, 1884, "at which time a banquet had been planned to celebrate the opening of the first post office in Seoul in the Chang-duk palace," many dignitaries, foreign diplomats, and conservative officials gathered to celebrate the opening.

The reform-minded young officials assassinated those conservatives and established a new government which lasted only three days due to Chinese military intervention. In this coup, Prince Min, Yong-ik, a leader of the conservative group and a

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nephew of Queen Min, was severely injured and was near death. He was saved, however, by Dr. Allen's medical care. In this position, Allen had the opportunity to meet the Korean king and other high court officials and gain their favor. King Kojong permitted Allen to open a clinic and even did not explicitly oppose his missionary work in Seoul. Although the formation of this school system marked a turning point in the history of Korean education, its development was hindered by traditional Confucian concepts as well as by Japanese colonial rule.

The Koreans did not greatly appreciate the first efforts which were made toward their education by the early Protestant missionaries. A school for girls, Ewha Girl's School, Korea's first educational institution for women, was opened in 1886 by the Methodist Episcopal Church in Seoul, with one pupil; also that school boasted forty pupils, and that most of these were orphans, or children whose parents were too poor to support them. Schools for boys were opened in Seoul in 1886 by both Methodist and Presbyterian missions, and yet it is said that secondary education under mission auspices did not start until fourteen years later. But if the Koreans were slow to appreciate mission education in these early years, their attitude completely changed in a few years, and they were crowding these schools wherever they were found. This change in attitude was very gradual up to 1919, when Korea had its independence uprising. The intense national consciousness, which was aroused at that time, expressed itself in an eagerness and a demand for education.

The passion for education during this period burned still more brightly in the public at large. That "knowledge is power" was a conviction shared by Koreans from various walks of life, especially by the intellectual class. Numerous private schools were established, serving the growing interest in the education of the younger generation. As for higher education, Younhui College was founded in Seoul in 1905 and Sungsil College was established in P’yongyang in 1906, both sponsored by missionary foundations.⁸

In 1905 Japan forced Korea to sign the Protectorate Treaty, depriving it of diplomatic rights, disbanding its armed forces, taking control of prisons and appointing Japanese nationals as vice-ministers of all ministries. Following the Protectorate Treaty of 1905, however, the private schools were established by the Koreans themselves in almost unending succession. In the scant few years before Korea fell completely under Japanese colonial domination, the number of private schools that were founded reached some 3,000, being particularly numerous in the northern half of the country.⁹

The turn of the century was a period of rapid changes in Korean education. Schools on all levels put great emphasis on the inculcation of nationalism and patriotism with a view to securing national survival and development in the face of the threat of encroachment from foreign powers, especially neighboring Japan. Thus high priorities in the curriculum were given to national history and to the national language. Many

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Koreans patriots directly committed themselves to educational endeavors, with the
intention of laying the foundation for an independent and thriving Korea.

Missionary schools established and managed with the Christian spirit to teach the
sciences and humanities by Western methods had a profound impact on the education of
the period, especially by demonstrating the concept of brotherhood and equality for all.
For the first time in Korean history, Christian missionaries opened education to
everyone, upper or lower class, rich or poor, male or female. This helped to spark a
tremendous social, as well as educational revolution. By stressing the spirit of national
independence and the importance of human rights, Christian missionaries' educational
endeavors significantly contributed to the growth of a democratic spirit in a land with a
long history of absolute monarchy.\textsuperscript{10}

Japan was not at all pleased with the existence of these private schools. The
Residency-General required that private schools operated only with government sanction,
and that only authorized textbooks be used. As a result, many of the private schools were
forced to close.

In 1910, Japan "annexed" Korea, and colonial rule lasted until 1945. After the
annexation Japan's educational policy changed, as the Government-General put emphasis
on a vocational education that would instruct Koreans in simple manual skills. One
reason for this was Japan's fear that, if given a higher level of education, Koreans would
be critical of the colonial administration and would actively embrace the cause of Korean

\textsuperscript{10}Yoo, Tushin, Ibid., 32.
independence.\textsuperscript{11} According to the educational ordinances for Korea,\textsuperscript{12} the essential principle of education in Korea should be the making of loyal and good subjects by giving instruction on the basis of the Imperial Rescript concerning education.

Educational zeal, though, continued to be exceedingly strong. So much so that Mrs. Bishop, an honorary fellow of the Royal Scottish Geographic Society who was then on a visit to Korea, noted that "in the case of grown-up men, the number of illiterates is less than in many Western countries where compulsory education is in force."

After the Protectorate Treaty, Japan placed Korea's education ministry under its control. Japan was reluctant to train Korean teachers; in 1908, one-third of the school teachers in Korea were Japanese. Japan censored textbooks and banned publication of what might enhance patriotism among the Koreans.

The colonial government invested more resources in the education for Japanese expatriate children than on native Koreans, whose opportunities were severely limited. In 1930 only 12.2 percent of Korean children aged seven to fourteen were attending primary schools, although this did reach a high of 39.4 percent in 1942. Increasing enrollments, however, were accompanied during World War II to deprive Korean students of their cultural heritage by forcing them to speak Japanese and study Japanese history and

\textsuperscript{11}Lee, Ki-baik, Ibid., 332.

\textsuperscript{12}After annexation, the Japanese colonial administration enacted a series of the educational ordinances for Korea entitled 1943. See Kang, Kil-soo, \textit{Education during the Japanese Colonial Period: 1919-1945}, a paper prepared for the National Council for Long-Term Comprehensive Educational Planning, June 1969, 7-14.
culture, to the complete exclusion of that of their own country.  

At the time of liberation in 1945, about sixty percent of Korean children had received elementary education, but only a small percentage of Korean children went beyond elementary school. There were 2,834 elementary schools with 1.37 million pupils and 20,000 teachers; 165 secondary schools with 85,000 students and 3,000 teachers; and 19 higher-education institutions with 7,800 students and 1,500 faculty members. Since then, the national enthusiasm for education has gained even greater momentum.

The liberation from Japan was, indeed, a turning point for Korean education; from totalitarian to democratic modes of education, from centuries-old feudalistic concepts to liberal ones. Although a new start was made immediately following the liberation, the philosophy of the past was too deeply rooted to be replaced overnight.

Korea spent nearly the first half of the twentieth century suffering from Japanese imperialism. It may be too severe to say that Korea's experience under colonial rule was completely negative; nonetheless, Korea did suffer politically, economically, culturally, and socially. As F.A. McKenzie points out in The Tragedy of Korea, the country was like a patient with a terminal illness. The loss of national sovereignty and the ensuing colonial rule forced the nation to waste away nearly all of the first five decades of the

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13South Korea, A Country Study (U.S. Government as represented by the Secretary of the Army, 1982), 91 and 92.

14Education in Korea, Ministry of Education (Seoul: National Printing Department, 1988), 19.
Following the end of the Japanese colonial control of Korea in August 1945, South Korea was placed under American military occupation for three years, and a legal system with a more liberal content and orientation was adopted. Although the legal institutions imposed by the Japanese have been retained, the American occupation "marked a drastic change from the repressive practices under Japanese rule."\textsuperscript{15}

Under the United States Military Government, preparation for reconstructing the structure of education was the major task. Any institution or practice reminiscent of the Japanese was rejected. The second stage in the growth of education began in 1948 when the Government of the Republic of Korea was established.

Around the end of the American Military Government in May 1948, the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea held a general election to establish the Constituent Assembly of South Korea. The Constituent Assembly adopted the first Constitution of the Republic of Korea on June 12, 1948, and elected Dr. Syngman Rhee first President of the Republic. On August 15, the new Republic was formally inaugurated in Seoul, terminating the American Military Government in Korea at midnight on that date.\textsuperscript{16}

The Educational Law as promulgated in October, 1949, sets forth the purposes of

\textsuperscript{15}Choi, Dai-kwon, "The Development of Law and Legal Institution in Korea," in Bong-duck Chun et al., \textit{Traditional Korean Legal Attitudes} (Berkeley, 1980), 54.

education as follows: all the nationals are to contribute to the mutual prosperity of mankind through the development of democracy by nurturing the integrity of individuals equipped with the ability to lead independent lives and become qualified citizens with philanthropic ideals, Hong-ik-In-Gan (Hongik Ingan, Benefits for All Mankind).

The philanthropic ideals were supposed to serve as the basic principle for Korean education. The Education Law detailed the aims and principles of education in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution. The law which was constructed without any coercive influences from foreigners was the first of its kind in Korean educational history.

The fundamentals principles, Chapter I of the Education Law, Article 1 through 5 are reproduced below:

Article 1: The purpose of education is to achieve a well-integrated personality, to develop the abilities for an independent life, to develop qualifications of citizenship to serve the development of a democratic nation, thus contributing towards the realization of the co-prosperity of the human race, which coincides with the spirit of Hongik Ingan.

Article 2: In order to achieve these aims, the following educational objectives shall be set up:

1. Developments of the knowledge and habits needed for the sound development and sustenance of health and cultivation of an

\[17\] Yoo, Yushin, op. cit., 33.
indomitable spirit.

2. Development of a patriotic spirit for the preservation and enhancement of national independence and of an ideal for the cause of world peace.

3. Succession and development of our national culture and contribution to the creation and growth of the world peace.

4. Fostering of a truth-seeking spirit and an ability of scientific thinking for creative activity and rational living.

5. Development of the love for freedom and of a high respect for responsibility necessary to lead a well-harmonized community life with the spirit of faithfulness, cooperation, and understanding.

6. Development of aesthetic feeling to appreciate and create sublime arts, enjoy the beauty of nature, and to utilize the leisure effectively for a cheerful and harmonious life.

7. Cultivation of thriftiness and faithfulness to one's work in order to become an able producer and a wise consumer for a sound economic life.

Article 3: The objectives of education shall be realized not only in schools and other educational institutions, but also in the political, social, economic, and cultural life of the country.

Article 4: The systems, installations, curricula, and methods of education shall always be based on the respect for personality and high regard for the
individuality of those who receive an education, so that each of them may display his ability to the fullest extent.

Article 5: Education shall be carried out in accordance with its proper aims and shall never be utilized as an instrument of propaganda for any political, partisan, or any other personal prejudice. No national public schools shall provide any particular religious denomination.  

The ideas expressed in these articles are the basic principles of the new democratic education which shows evidence of the American educators' influences during the period of the Military Government. As a result of policies recommended by the Korean Educational Council under the United States Military Government, the schools and colleges were reorganized into the 6-3-3-4 pattern on the basis of democratic principles of educational equal opportunity.

By the Constitution adopted by the Korean Government, compulsory education for all children between the ages of six and eleven years of age was guaranteed. The "New Education" movement against traditional, autocratic, and Japanese colonial education facilitated the adoption of new educational concepts and innovations. These are illustrated by the introduction of new teaching methods with an emphasis upon the

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18 Republic of Korea, Education Law, Ministry of Education, National Law 86, 1949, 1. Translated by the writer from the Korean text.

child-centered activities, standardized tests, curriculum restructuring, and so on\textsuperscript{20}. Newer educational theories that had been brought to Korea implied a greater freedom on the part of students, a greater opportunity to participate in the give-and-take of free discussion, and equal opportunity among all children for education. As a result, many Korean educators gained considerable knowledge of modern theories and democratic principles of education and realized what had happened to their schools during their long isolation from the outside world.

Most of the Korean educators welcomed democratic education though they were not fully ready to change their traditional authoritarian frame of mind. The ancient Confucian traditions and Japanese colonial influence were also deeply-rooted hostile elements to the realization of democratic education in Korea. The curricula which were prescribed for the elementary and secondary schools by the Ministry of Education were almost identical with those organized under the Military Government except for some minor adjustments in time allotted to each subject\textsuperscript{21}.

However, resurgent education in Korea was all too soon devastated by the Korean War that broke out in 1950. More than seventy percent of the elementary school classrooms were either totally or partially destroyed during the three-year conflict. North Korean forces systematically looted all schools for furniture and equipment. Even the blackboards were taken from the walls. As Dr. Horace G. Underwood said,

\textsuperscript{20}Chonsok D., op. cit., 497.

Starting from this "basket case" situation the Korean people have built one of the better educational systems in the world, a system that has provided the manpower needed on both the labor and management levels to create the industrial 'Miracle on the Han' that has amazed the world. Moreover, the development was not limited to the industrial sphere but runs across every segment of Korean society, providing a model that Third-World leaders have come to study in family planning, infrastructure building and, among other things, public health services.\textsuperscript{22}

School activities were carried on in tents and makeshift barracks while the war was still being fought. Following the armistice, rehabilitation of the educational system was undertaken at a fever pitch with the active assistance of such international agencies as the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (U.N.K.R.A.) and the United States aid mission. Given this help and impetus, postwar education was restored to the prewar level in a matter of a few years and its growth and quickly accelerated, especially with the six-year compulsory elementary education introduced in 1954.\textsuperscript{23}

To increase equitably the opportunity for an elementary school education for the entire nation, the Ministry developed the Six Years' Plan effective as of 1954. As a first attempt at educational planning in Korea, the Compulsory Education Plan (1954-59) was developed with a six-year time perspective.

**EXPANSION OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS**

During the latter part of 1953 and throughout 1954 the enrollments of most of the Korean educational institutions continued to grow. At the end of 1953 there were slightly

\textsuperscript{22}Horace G. Underwood, "Merits and Demerits of Korean Education," Koreana (Vol. 5 No. 2, 1941), 64.

\textsuperscript{23}Yoo, Yushin, Ibid., 33.
more than three million students enrolled in the Korean schools. Approximately seventy percent of this total were elementary school students. By the beginning of the new school year in April 1954, the enrollment in the elementary schools had increased by over fifteen percent from the previous year. The eagerness of the Korean people, and their willingness to make severe sacrifices for the education of their children insured the success of the Six Years' Plan.

The post-war period in Korea also saw a sizeable growth in the enrollments of the secondary schools and the opening of nine new colleges during 1954 permitted more students to continue their education beyond the elementary grades than ever before possible in Korean history. Where in 1952 only twenty-six percent of the elementary graduates could enter secondary schools, in 1954 over forty percent gained admission. The increase in opportunity for schooling was even more startling in the colleges and universities. In 1952 over twenty-five percent of the high school graduates continued their formal education but in 1954, sixty-three percent of those graduating from high schools entered Korean institutes of higher learning.

On December 5, 1968, the Education Charter was promulgated by the President of the Republic of Korea. In accordance with the ideal of the Education Charter, the general objectives set by the Ministry of Education in formulating the education policy for 1968 put emphasis upon "Human Education" (for facilitating and modernizing scientific

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education for the improvement of the industrial productivity). The specifics are as follows:

1. To foster the spirit of national subjectivity, anticommunism, and cooperation for community and national development.

2. To normalize compulsory education by alleviating the shortage of facilities.

3. To improve science and technical education through closer cooperation between schools and industries.

4. To create a wholesome academic atmosphere conducive to heightening the enthusiasm for study.

5. To improve the physique of students and the general public by popularizing athletics and by promoting the international exchange of athletes.

6. To enhance the qualifications and living standards of teachers.26

The most striking development in education since the liberation was quantitative growth. In 1954, there were only 2,834 primary schools, with a total enrollment of a little less than 1.4 million. As of April 1988, the number of primary schools had reached 6,463, with a total enrollment of 4.8 million students. The number of students equivalent to 98.4 percent of the school-age children in the country.

The explosion in the number of schools was even more noticeable at the secondary education level. There were 165 secondary schools with about 83,514 students

26Rim, Han-yung, Ibid., 188.
in South Korea in 1945. The Republic of Korea in 1988 had 2,429 middle schools and 1,653 high schools with a combined enrollment of over 3.9 million students.

Rapid quantitative growth us also seen in higher education. There were only nineteen institutions of higher education with about 7,800 students throughout the country in 1945. In 1990, the Republic of Korea contains 115 four-year colleges and universities with a total enrollment of a little over one million. In addition, nearly 3,000 students attended 199 junior colleges, while over 97,000 are pursuing advanced studies at 278 graduate schools.27

Due to the ever-increasing rate of school attendance combined with the increasing population, the number of students has jumped at a remarkable speed. The overall school attendance at the elementary level stood at approximately forty percent during the 1940s, but it is registered as 101.5 percent in 1988. Attendance rates rose from twenty-five percent to ninety-two percent in the middle school level, and from thirty percent to eighty-six percent in the high school level. The rate of college attendance has also increased from ten percent to thirty-seven percent during the same period.28

The average level of school education has improved accordingly. The nation had an average of 5.03 years of school education in 1966, but the figure rose to 9.0 years by 1988.29 The average schooling of Korean workers stood at 2.96 years in 1957, but this

27Yoo, Yushin, Ibid., 35.


figure also increased threefold to 10.8 years.  

Women, who had traditionally been discriminated against in the access to education, now have a much better chance to receive an education as well. Women accounted for less than twenty percent of all colleges during the 1960s. In 1988, more than thirty percent of all college students in the nation were women.  

Korea has achieved a rapid economic development since the 1960s, registering an average annual growth rate of 8.2 percent. Considering the size of its territory and insufficient natural resources, many people say that Korea's economic growth in recent years is simply "a miracle" Korea is a country deprived of rich natural resources. What known mineral deposits and forests there were on the Korean peninsula became the property of North Korea in the partition of 1945. The entire country was virtually a heap of rubble in the wake of the Korean War, which destroyed eighty percent of its material property. Life went on somehow after the war, but frustration mounted as hope receded and its infrastructure was in shambles. For the most of the first ten years after the war, Korea's entire energy was focused on meeting basic needs. Korea survived on grant aids and foreign loans.  

The threat of another invasion, real in the minds of the Korean people, has required the Republic to carry the burden of an excessively large military force. In 1973, per capita military expenditures were in U.S. currency $41, smaller than only four

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31 Statistic Yearbook in Education (1968) and Budgetary Summary in Education (1968-1989).
countries (Egypt, Albania, Jordan, Syria) with similar levels of GNP, and four times public expenditures on education.  

How has a nation under such circumstances been able to attain such an astonishingly rapid development? Many observers have explained the phenomenon simply in terms of the improvement of manpower, Korea's only real natural resource, through a great emphasis on education. A centuries-old Korean Confucian heritage that has bred a deep-seated reverence for education, a heritage that boasts the earliest astronomical tower (A.D.647), the earliest use of movable metal type for printing (1403), the earliest alphabet (1443), and the invention of an iron-clad warship (1952), among other original contributions toward civilization which clearly illustrates the advancement of the Korean civilization.

The Korean's passion for education has been exceptionally high from ancient times and was not reduced even during the difficult times of the 1940s and 1950s. The sharply elevated educational level of the people has thus become a major factor behind the economic development in the 1960s.

Korea is rich in culture and education, and the demand for further learning


34 Ibid., 271.

explains the nation's rapid development of economic activity. Unesco's statement reflects well the enthusiasm for education as a major factor in the modernization of Korea: "The remarkable and rapid economic growth that has occurred in Korea over the last decade has been based to a large degree on human resources, and education has assisted in the production of a literate and industrious people." 36

As the former president Park, Chun-hee put it in his book, *Building A Nation*:

The key to improving a backward economy is the way one uses human resources, for economic development of a human undertaking, impossible without combining the people's potential into a dynamic driving force. This task requires not only strong national willpower, but the ability to translate willpower into achievement. Blueprints must be must be drawn and explained. If people have a sympathetic understanding of a task, they will voluntarily participate in it. 37

To achieve self-sufficiency in the foreseeable future, the people must positively participate in national activities in the political, economic, and social fields, equipping themselves with a sense of community and strong national consciousness, rejecting the passive and the pessimistic. While making an effort to achieve peace both at home and abroad, they must move forward toward the national tasks of the 1970s. 38

Through the Korean people's painstaking efforts to grow in terms of science, technology, and management techniques, Korea achieved breathtaking economic gains

since the 1960s, registering an average annual growth rate of 8.2 percent.

A great majority of Koreans are marked by an outstanding enthusiasm for education. A recent poll found that 96.6 percent of all Koreans want to send their sons to college, and that ninety-four percent want to send their daughters to college. The same poll disclosed that eighty percent of all Koreans believe that they must give their children a good education despite any sacrifice they must make themselves.

The average Korean family spent five percent of its total expenditures for education in 1965, and in 1987 the proportion rose to ten percent of its total expenditures.\(^{48}\) In actuality, however, many families are thought to be spending up to thirty percent of their household expenditures for education to cover expenses related to schooling, such as various private tutoring. College tuition alone accounts for thirteen percent of the average income of the Korean family.

In comparison with 1968, the average educational cost spent by Korean parents for each elementary school student is multiplied by ten times by 1990, middle school students three times, high school students by 2.9 times, and college students twice. Parents areshouldering as much as eighty-seven percent of the total educational expenses needed in and out of school.\(^{48}\)

There is no doubt that education has played a vital role not only in Korea's economic growth but in national development in general. This conclusion lead to the

\(^{48}\)Kong, Eun-bae, *The Analysis of Total Educational Expenditures in Korea* (Seoul: KEDI, 1990), 55 and 68.
questions as follows:

1. What does education mean to the Koreans?

2. What makes them so enthusiastic about education?

3. In what way did education make its contribution?

4. Why is it so important to understand how and why education contributed to the growth of the Korean economy?

5. How does the contents of the Korean education fit the economic requirements of the country, and how is it a "modernizing" influence?

This study will seek these answers. To do so, it will provide a description of the growth and development of education in Korea and then an analysis of interactions between changes in the education theory and some conceptions of the role of education in the development of a new society. This requires a probing view of the history of education, and the educational theories which affected development in the Republic of Korea.

I will concentrate on the period from 1945 to 1965, but it will be impossible to ignore the late Yi dynasty period, for this is the period where the major enlightened educational thoughts that tried to promote Korea's modernization were born.

These enlightened educational thoughts originated from the ideas of Silhak (the practical studies), which brought forth numerous socio-economic reforms through the eminent efforts of many scholars during the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Thus, I will analyze the influence of American pragmatism on the traditional Confucian educational ideas, and the differences and similarities in the eighteen centuries of Korean
practicalism and the birth of American Pragmatism in the nineteenth century.

There are several studies in books, reports, and unpublished dissertations on the history of post-World War II Korean education. However, the subject of the proposed dissertation differs from these studies which deal more generally with the history of Korean education or focus instead on the organization, policy, or process of education.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE GENERAL PRE-PRAGMATIC INFLUENCES ON THE BIRTH OF PRACTICAL LEARNING

During the Choson period (late sixteenth century), scholarly works in Korea were based on the study of metaphysics. For one hundred years after the founding of Choson, the influence of Confucian scholars had grown in the provincial areas. The scholars, though committed to the ideals of neo-Confucianism, were indulging in scholarly works in the local areas instead of taking part in the founding of Choson. Scholars professed that only metaphysics was correct and dismissed other learning. They were rather critical of the officials in power in the new dynasty.49

King Songjong (1469-1494) tried to recruit these scholars as government officials as leverage against the powerful incumbent officials, to thereby strengthen royal authority. However, the incumbent officials, who had cemented their power base for the past one hundred years, furiously resisted the rise to power of the new scholar-turned officials, often driving them out of power. Firmly in power after some one hundred years of strife, the officials formed factional organizations according to various schools of Confucianism. They administered state affairs through active debates. They criticized

49 Han, Woo-keun, Ibid., 298-304.
the theoretical arguments which the neo-Confucian scholars upheld.\textsuperscript{50} Due to the fact that the country's social and economic problems were greatly affected by war damage done by the Japanese (1592-1596) and the Manchu Invasions (1627 and 1636), the economic livelihood of the people were greatly endangered. Metaphysics could not provide the answers to these difficult practical realities.

The efforts of the government to recover from the scars of the two wars, coupled with the people's voluntary endeavors, led to the development of various industries. A remarkable development was seen especially in the area of agriculture and commerce. The advancement of farming was conspicuous in the aspect of expertise and production. Double and even triple cropping were made on both rice paddies and dry fields, and the advanced methods of rice transplantation and fertilizing were broadly disseminated. As farm production increased, those landowners and farmers who introduced the new farming know-how were able to amass fortunes, resulting in the growth of the rural economy. In 1662 the government established an office of irrigation, in order to give government support to the improvement of irrigation systems, extremely important in the wet-field method of rice cultivation. Government support was also extended for reclamation of land which had ceased to be cultivated because of the invasions. All these measures brought about a marked increase in agricultural production, leading to the development of commerce.\textsuperscript{51} In Seoul and provincial areas, about one thousand markets

\textsuperscript{50}Robert T. Oliver, \textit{A History of the Korean People in Modern Times} (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1984), 26 and 27.

\textsuperscript{51}Han, Woo-keun, Ibid., 309.
were held regularly. Due to this situation, a number of free merchants appeared with enriched capital.

The social and economic changes in the latter half of the Choson period resulted in a change in the class system. The key framework of social strata comprising of the upper class, lower officials, commoners, and lowly people remained unchanged. In the countryside meanwhile, along with the emergence of peasants grown rich through the practice of large scale framing, poor peasants were forced to abandon their farms and the number of landless vagrants increased. In urban areas, too, a variety of changes were underway as wholesale merchants amassed wealth through their control of trade and handcraft production, while small merchants faced ruin and prices soared. The number of upper class families increased sharply while that of commoners such as the lowliest class, slaves, declined drastically. A movement for the elevation of one's personal status was widespread throughout society.

Changing social status is illustrated by social class identification in official registers in Taegu from 1690 to 1857. At the earlier date, yangban (The privileged bourgeoisie of the top officials, civil and military, who held the helm of government and enjoyed all kinds of privileges and immunities) were 9.2 percent of the population, sangmin (This group consisted of farmers, fishermen, merchants and artisans. They were usually illiterate and bore the heaviest burden imposed by the Yangban), 53.7 percent, and slaves (Male and female slaves in government houses or private homes, 52

52 Yi, Ki-baek, Ibid., 232.
actors, singers, witches, butchers, and other menials belonged to this lowest class. They were considered as property and were objects of sale, gift, inheritance, and tribute). 37.1 percent (of which one-fifth were household, or private, slaves). By the latter date, the figures had changed to 70.2, 28.2, and 1.5 percent, respectively.

The initial disturbance of the class system, however, was not caused by commercialism but simply by financial distress in the aftermath of invasions. The government began offering promotions in social status and even government offices to anyone who would supply it with funds or grain. The practice became widespread; the government for instance sending blank certificates of appointment to provincial officials to be sold to the highest bidder in order to support local administrations. This practice did not cease after the country recovered from the wars, and with the rise of commercialism it became possible to buy one's self into the upper classes.53

At this juncture, the Silhak movement spearheaded the national reconstruction movement. As the numerous social ills attendant these phenomena became more grave, the problems Yi dynasty society now faced demanded serious reflection on the part of the members of its educated class. Their response embodied in the scholarship and thought, "Practical Learning," Silhak, a new school of studies.54 In this new school, scholars discovered various problems and seriously studied way to reform them. The mission of the Silhak scholars was to make persistent attempts to transform as almost completely

53Han, Woo-keun, Ibid., 312.
54Lee, Ki-baik, Ibid., 232.
degenerated and corrupted society into a healthy and stable one. They used historical research to examine the real conditions of their society to develop plans of land reform, a sound state economy, and an orderly political structure with sound administrative and military organization. Silhak scholars advocated the promotion of utilitarian knowledge and political morality, social harmony, economic improvement, and educational growth. The harbingers of the Silhak movement who brought its ideas to the new directions in scholarly activities were Yu, Hyonwon (1622-1673) and Yi Ik (1681-1763).

Since the early seventeenth century, a small but steady stream of Western works on religion and science translated into Chinese began to flow from Peking to Seoul. This Western learning made a considerable impression on the Korean scholars. Yi Ik, an out-of-office yangban during the first half of the eighteenth century, passed his years in isolation in a farming village, engrossed in study. His father having been envoy to Peking in 1677, he had access to many Western books and also read translations brought back by the Korean envoy, Chong, Tu-won. Chong became acquainted with Johannes Rodriguez, an Italian priest in Peking. Rodriguez presented to Chong books on astrology, the calendar, geography, a telescope, an alarm clock, and a cannon, all of which were presented to the King on Chong's return.55

Yi Ik was fascinated by the manufacturing techniques which produced the cannon and by the intricacies of astronomy. He also accepted the idea that the earth is round, and asserted that the Western maps showing the continents surrounded by oceans had been

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55Han, Woo-keun, Ibid., 318.
made from actual observation and were therefore accurate. There were many men like Yi Ik among the Korean intelligentsia, and they could not help being impressed with Western accomplishments in science.

The Korean intelligentsia were forced to revise their world view to the extent of admitting that China was not the center of the world and that Korea was only a small corner of it. They were also impressed by the techniques of observation and induction by which scientific knowledge was obtained. However, Western knowledge in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries remained a mere intellectual curiosity in Korea, with little or no effect upon government or society.

The fruit of Yu, Hyung-won's lifetime of study was his treatise titled Pan'gye surok, completed in 1670. In it, he critically examined and criticized in detail such features of the Yi dynasty order as the land system, education, appointments, government structure, official salaries, and the military service system. Yi Ik followed in Yu, Hyung-won's footsteps, extending his inquiries in both breadth and scope, establishing the institutional approach as a distinct school of thought. His basic work, Songho Sasol, displayed the diversity of his scholarship discussing such subjects as government, the economy, and the family. This is of particular interest for its detailed proposals, based on meticulous research. In his work, Kwagu-rok (Record of Concern for the Underprivileged), he laid down the main principles of his reform ideas, setting forth his views on the full range of the dynasty's institutions.56 They did not take positions as

56 Lee, Ki-baik, 67.
government officials, but made efforts in rural communities to nurture disciples to create opportunities for the development of this movement and promoted the concepts of the rights of man and social equality. This movement continued to grow during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the early seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Silhak scholars dealt mainly with the problems in rural areas.

Chong, Yagyong (1762-1863), also known under his pen name, Tasan, was the scholar who applied the institutional approach in the most comprehensive fashion. While living in banishment for eighteen years and forced retirement for seventeen more as a result of the Catholic Persecution of 1801, he wrote many works which analyzed and criticized conditions in the Yi dynasty society. In his Design For Good Government (Kyongse Yup'yo) he put forth his views on government structure; in his Admonitions on Governing the People (Mongmin simso), he proposed reforms in local administration; and in his Towards a New Jurisprudence (Humhum sinso), he offered his ideas on penal administration. In other works as well, such as the "Outline of Ideal Government" (Tangnon) and "Treatise on Land" (Chollon), he further revealed his thinking on reforming the ills of his age.57 Chong, Yagyong insisted that agriculture and commercial industries should be regarded as important; and for that purpose Korea must open its ports to China, import technology, and simultaneously increase trade. Tasan propagated structural reforms and a theory of industrial restoration based on these two positions.

57Ibid., 234.
Virtually a renaissance man, Tasan studied political, economic, social, religious, medical, and scientific subjects, advocated not only political reforms and social reforms, but also the promotion of education for the people and land reform to improve the peasants' economic conditions. He published five hundred books, including a political handbook and a book entitled *Vaccination for Smallpox*. His literary work emphasized a synthesis of practical learning.

Under the Silhak movement, new intellectual interests grew and many new fields of study developed. The Silhak scholars' common objective was to create a utopian state of independent, self-employed farmers who themselves held and tilled their lands. In short, they believed that the interests of the official class and of those who tilled the land were in fundamental harmony. By abolishing and selecting officials on the basis of merit, they hoped to check the disintegration of rural life resulting from the development of commerce and the change to a money economy.58

From the latter eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century, this practical learning dealt with researching economic, technological, and social problems. Furthermore, around the nineteenth century, the Silhak scholars led the efforts to build the axes of Koreanology with studies in history, geography, and languages. During the height of the Silhak movement in the eighteenth century, many outstanding scholars emerged. In addition, Silhak scholars called for the development of commerce and trade as a means of enriching national finance and bolstering the people's wealth. They also

58Ibid., 235.
actively studied national history and geography in a gesture to recover Korea's traditional legacies.

Although the objects of their studies were many and diverse, there was a common ground on which all Silhak scholars stood; namely, the point of departure for their studies, which was the actual manifestation of things, their reality. Accordingly, while most Silhak scholars were Chu Hsi Confucians, the emphasis of their inquiries was not on the theories of the primacy of formative principle (I) or of energizing force (ki), but on social science, natural science, and technology.

Pragmatic scholars sought always for explicit verification. No conclusion could be reached unless it was substantiated by certain fact. Silhak scholars therefore, were in no way inclined to blindly follow past tradition or to accept unchallenged the views of their predecessors. If they found another view to be at variance with the results of their own investigations they did not hesitate to criticize it, however hallowed it might be. Their scholarship, in short, was original. 59

Despite many changes taking place in both urban and rural areas, court officials, preoccupied with factional strife, failed to accept the various ideas of reform suggested by Silhak scholars.

Especially when power was in the hand of powerful aristocrats following the restoration by Kings Yongjo and Chongjo, corruption was rampant among the three administrations, the base of the state finance. It caused mounting pains and grievances of 59 Lee, Ki-baik, Ibid., 233.
the part of the people. Endless civil commotions occurred chiefly among farmers and
merchants across the country to improve their conditions. The insurrections against
political corruption pointed to the growth of the people's strength and conscience.
Although the Silhak Movement failed to achieve any great political results, it offered
many plans for a better society, including reforms in government, taxation, education, and
national defense. This spirit was subsequently incorporated in the social reforms initiated
by Christianity, introduced into Korea from China in the early part of the nineteenth
century.\textsuperscript{60}

Neo-Confucianism, based on the philosophy of Chu Hsi (1130-1200), brought to
Confucianism a supernatural dimension from Buddhism and was an important influence
on intellectual life in Korea. There developed, in addition, a new Confucian school,
called the "School of Practical Learning." Scholars had become dissatisfied with the
sterile debate and the arcane aloofness of traditional Confucianism from the reality of a
nation in obvious economic decline. The Silhak group wanted to rationalize the Civil
Service Examination system, the foundation of the bureaucracy, and its members wanted
to build up industry.\textsuperscript{61}

Most of the original Silhak ideas produced during the late Yi dynasty arose among
the Yangban who were barred from public office by factional strife. The movement first
appeared during the seventeenth century, and the reformers of the eighteenth based their

\textsuperscript{60}Park, Chung Hee, Ibid., 38 and 39.

\textsuperscript{61}Han, Woo-keun, Ibid., 324.
ideas on those of a few eminent thinkers. One of the most important of these was Yun
Chung (1629-1714), who refused a government post even when it was offered to him, and
devoted his long life to perfecting and teaching Silhak ideas.

Yun Chung was deeply discontented with the empty formalism of the Chu Hsi
philosophy, and believed that there must be a break with tradition if the government were
to deal effectively with the harsh realities of the time. For him and for the group which
followed his teachings, the welfare of the people was the primary concern. The king,
they asserted, could not exist without the people, but the people could exist without the
king. This was a startlingly democratic notion, especially at a time and in a society in
which the hierarchical principle was believed to be inherent in nature itself. But the
Silhak scholars refused to accept the idea that men are born unequal, that their social
status is predetermined. They asserted that the partial reforms carried out from time to
time by the government were aimed not at improving the common lot but at perpetuating
an oppressive system. They called instead for a root-and-branch reformation which
would assure a decent livelihood to all people.

The Silhak scholars advocated political, economic, social, and education reforms
which Korea desperately needed, particularly following the tragic events of the Japanese
and Manchu invasions. Their awareness of Korea's weaknesses, contrasted with her rich
cultural heritage, induced them to be rebellious toward the purely theoretical Neo-
Confucianism and other schools of Confucianism as well as the inept and indifferent
government. At the same time, perceiving the decline of political morality and the
depressed economic conditions of the people, they attempted to inaugurate a "New Deal"
policy to bring about the reforms for the well-being of the nation and its people.\textsuperscript{62}

The Silhak scholars did not present all these radical views merely as their own. They asserted that they were trying to restore in their original purity the practices of ancient times. To find precedents for their ideas they turned to the Chouli, an ancient Chinese record of administrative practices which seemed to lend support to their equalitarianism. This did not mean that they wished merely to return to the ancient ways, although it is necessary to point out that the Silhak scholars would not have seen the matter in quite that way. They proposed the critical examination of political and social conditions, the reestablishment of morality and ethics in politics, reconstruction of the economy, adoptions of a more liberal policy toward economic activities of the people, and finally, revitalization of the intellectual atmosphere and the promotion of education, as a prerequisite to restoration of national power. The Silhak scholars believed that all ideas and practices should be judged on their utilitarian merits, and their main concern was the promotion of the welfare of the nation and the people.

Another strand in the Silhak thought was contributed by Yu, Hyong-won. He gave most of his attention to reforming the land-holding system. He held that the expansion of private estates should be prevented, and that a truly equitable system of taxation and government stipends should be established. He also said that the examination system should be replaced by a system of recommendations for government posts based on the principle of equality of opportunity, regardless of social status, and

that this should also apply to education.\footnote{Han, Woo-keun, Ibid., 326.} Echoing Yu, Pak, Chi-won in his article, "Petition on Mutual Discourse," he criticized discrimination against illegitimate male descendants and petitioned the king to abolish this system. Another scholar named Yu, Su-won advocated new studies other than those of Confucian classics and subjects related to Confucianism. They emphasized the need to educate and enlighten the people and to promote scientific and foreign language studies. They pointed out the need to import advanced civilization and knowledge and technology from abroad, promote trade and develop commerce, establish a banking system, as well as mining industries, fisheries, fruit cultivation, and stock breeding.

The new learning movement, promoted by the Silhak scholars, brought about studies and the publication of books on military matters, finance, agriculture, as well as the history and geography of Korea. The growth of interest in Korean history and geography was a significant intellectual development which nurtured Korean national consciousness. Hong, Man-Jong produced a hand-written book, *Tongguk Yoktae* (History of the Eastern Country), which included a map of Korea, between 1674 and 1704. Historical works published in the eighteenth century were books such as the *Outline of the history of Korea* by An, Chung-bok (1712-1791), the *Unofficial History of the Yi Dynasty* by Yi, Kung-Ik (1736-1806), and the *History of Ancient Korea (Haedong Yoksa)* by Han, Chi-yun (1765-1814). The *Encyclopedia Koreana* was published in 1770, as well as a book on geography entitled *Geographical Descriptions of the Eight...*
Provinces by Yi, Chung-hwan (1690-1760). A Korean language dictionary entitled On the Names of Things by Yu, Hui, reflected the growing national consciousness among Korean scholars. Numerous maps of Korea were produced in the early nineteenth century.⁶⁴

The Silhak scholars made an enormous contribution to intellectual development and scholarship. They stimulated the development of academic and scholarly activities of other Confucian scholars while influencing the kings to adopt reform measures. All this was hardly new, but it was contrary to government practice (the officials in power dismissed it as the unrealistic vaporings of an idle scholar) and formed an important element of Silhak thought during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The Silhak scholars demanded an end of empty formalism and demanded a practical, empirical approach both to government and to learning. For the Silhak scholars, the welfare of the people was the primary concern. They believed that the King could not exist without the people, but the people could not exist without the people, but the people could exist without the King. This democratic notion in the seventeenth century came to prominence in the eighteenth. The Silhak scholars argued for the breaking of class barriers and equality of opportunity in government and education. From this point of view, practical thought coincides with the Pragmatism of America. In the first decades of the twentieth century, American liberal thought revolted against formalism.

⁶⁴Nahm, Andrew C., Ibid., 129.
The pragmatic scholars such as Dewey wanted to instrumentalize all disciplines. In 1916 he called for a recovery in philosophy to free man and society. "Philosophy recovers itself when it ceases to be a device for dealing with the problems of philosophers and becomes a method, cultivated by philosophers for dealing with the problems of men."65

Dewey also argued that we have no guarantees of success. Natural events could terminate human life. The special place of human beings on earth lies in their development and use of intelligence: if intelligence fails or is thwarted, human beings will have lost their ecological niche. There is no god to save us. So, we need to take our own future into our own hands by educating ourselves.

Dewey was confident that the social problems were tractable. Given the resources of material production, there is no reason why all the people of the world cannot have adequate food, shelter, and clothing. There's no reason why they cannot be educated in the self-corrected methods of experimental sciences. Thus, Dewey and other reformers in America in early 1900's called for educational reform as a part of the general reform of national life as practical scholars did in the eighteenth century in Korea. Dewey believed that all group learning had a social impact on its participants. Pak che-ga formally proposed to the government that Korea should send trading ships to China regularly and that some of the Western technicians employed by the Chinese court should be invited to Korea to teach the scientific knowledge. Pak Chi-won urged that agricultural techniques

used in China, especially in irrigation and sericulture, be imported, along with Chinese advances in porcelain and metallurgy.  

Also in America the Progressives believed that application of scientific principles, expressed in a science of agriculture, would make agricultural life and production efficient and effective.  

The successor of Yu, Hyong-won as the leading Silhak thinker was Yi, Ik. In the eighteenth century, under Kings Yongjo (1724-1776) and Chongjo (1776-1800), restoration politics stabilized society and an era of law and order ensured. However, after King Chongjo, under the successive reign of Kings Sunjo (1800-1834), Honjo (1834-1849), and Choljong (1849-1864), the era of Sedo (power) politics began. Political power was manipulated by the Queen's family. They retained control of the government for sixty years. They were known as the Noron faction. Fractional politics meant that conflicting factions checked each other to ensure that a monopoly of political power did not arise. Towards its end, political power belonged to one faction causing the destruction of many government institutes and severe exploitation of the people. Thus, rural society was impoverished.  

District magistrates obtained their posts by bribery so commonly that regular prices were set for them. They in turn regularly received bribes from the local men they appointed to their staff. Both then occupied themselves chiefly with extracting as much

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wealth as possible from the helpless farmers. The amounts collected for taxes were almost always considerably greater than the law provided, to the illegal profit of these officials, and various other pretexts were devised to collect more.\textsuperscript{68}

With all these pressures building around her, Korea was also experiencing social problems. The gradual collapse of the traditional class structure which had been going on since the eighteenth century and the arbitrary rule of the King's in-laws which began in the nineteenth were rendering Korean political institutions ineffective. Confucianism, which assumed a static hierarchical society, was becoming irrelevant to a society in a process of irrevocable change.\textsuperscript{69}

The yangban class was disintegrating. Those in office remained the aristocracy, but yangban out of office, and with no prospect of it in the faction-ridden government, sank to the level of commoners. Confucian thought made no provision for this, and indeed it was a sort of heresy even to admit the possibility of such a situation. As society fell into a state of confusion, the people's lives were made miserable and many sought religion. Confucianism and Buddhism had lost their appeal and Catholicism which seemed in conflict with Confucian propriety was too strange to be accepted. The modernization drives launched by both Practical Science scholars and Christians failed because feudalistic politicians either opposed or neglected them. Thus, the Korean people lost a precious opportunity to reform their society before they were drawn into the

\textsuperscript{68}Han, Woo-keun, Ibid., .339.
whirlpool of imperialist encroachment. The people turned to folklore and beliefs in mysticism and prophesies which were deeply rooted among the lower classes. Around 1860, Choe, Che-u (1824-1864), a descendent of a fallen yangban family, established a new religion called the Tonghak (The Eastern Learning).

With this, the Tonghak movement began. It was against the corrupt government and its officials, social injustice, the privileged yangban class, and Western Learning, i.e., Catholicism. At the outset Catholicism had attracted many yangban converts from among the scholars who were denied access to political power. People from lower social classes, uneducated and the poor were attracted to Catholicism. What attracted Koreans to Catholicism was above all its creed of equality, its tenet that the whole of humankind are alike the children of God. If it was Catholicism that propagated its faith in the region of the capital, then it was Tonghak that was nurtured among the people of the farming villages. Although Choe, Che-u, the founder of Tonghak, or "Eastern Learning", had taken the best precepts of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism so as to oppose "Western Learning" (Catholicism) with "Eastern Learning," his doctrine included elements from Catholicism and also embraced features of popular shamanism.

Choe, Che-u believed in the unity of man with God, that mankind and the supreme Being are one and the same. His ideas proclaimed an equality for all human beings that transcended social status, and this is the primary reason why his doctrine was welcomed by the oppressed peasantry.

70 Park, Chung-hee, Ibid., 39.
Tonghak was not simply a religious movement, but a social movement as well, one concerned primarily with the peasantry and the betterment of the conditions in which the villagers lived. Tonghak urged that the nation be strengthened and the livelihood of the people be ensured and called for reform of the corruption-ridden government.

Choe, Che-u and his believers argued that teaching should not be divorced from social issues. By the time of the Great Depression of the 1920s, Dewey, who had developed the instrumentalist version of Pragmatism, was renowned as one of America's leading philosophers. His books on social philosophy gave credence to the view that a new social order was in the making and that educators should contribute to the creating of the new society. Although outwardly seemingly dissimilar, the focal point of both Dewey's and Choe, Che-u's arguments is that leaders are responsible for the basic well-being of those less fortunate than themselves. By providing for the basics of existence, the leaders are helping to create an atmosphere of willingness to learn, the peasants no longer having to worry about eating regularly, etc. Choe, Che-u's insistence that those in power were responsible for the welfare of the populace is in reality a call for the recognition that a new society must be formulated upon a stable environment that is conducive to learning.

In much the same way, Dewey demanded that the educated elites, the privileged class, provide for a similar environment for the American underclass.

Moreover, Tonghak went on to assert that the turning wheel of time had brought nearly the day when these goals might be achieved. It was this millenarian aspect that led the government to view with alarm the spreading popularity of the Tonghak faith.
Accordingly, in 1863 Choe, Che-u was arrested on charges of misleading the people and sowing discord in the society and he was executed in 1864.

The aim of the founder of the Tonghak sect was to rescue the suffering masses, spiritually as well as physically. While he preached the gospel of the new religion, he also advocated political, social, and economic reforms. The key concept which he advanced was that of the relationship between man and god. In short, he claimed that man was god, that there was an aspect of godliness in every man. Tonghak adopted much of the Christian doctrine, along with strains of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. Two of its concepts were conspicuous—one a strong national dedication to prevent the nation from being overwhelmed by European powers and Japan, while the other was a populist call for universal equality. This was directed at helping commoners suffering under the tyranny of the nobility. Such a revolutionary concept created an entirely new value and dignity for man. The Tonghak creed had a special appeal for peasants and tenant farmers at the lower end of the social scale: agricultural discontent in Korea was endemic following a series of natural disasters in the earlier part of the century.

The Tonghak movement claimed to be strongly anti-Catholic. The twelve-point reform proposal the Tonghak rebels put forth was an ardent expression of desire for modernization. They first called for a purge of corrupt officials and for the punishment of dishonest wealthy people and the Yangban. They advocated liberation of serfs, and their demand for permission for widows to remarry indicates that they planned not only

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political but social reforms also. They demanded the abolition of various taxes and the exemption of poor people from the repayment of loans. They called for land reform. They also tried to maintain the national identity by professing a desire to cooperate with the government, calling for punishment of those who collaborated with the Japanese. Unfortunately, the authorities distrusted the clearly subversive elements in the creed; Choe was captured, tried, and executed at Teagu, his native province, during 1864. But he left behind him many followers and the movement continued to spread, underground, throughout Korea. In a wider context, the Tonghak movement, like the Catholicism it opposed, indicated the continuing disintegration of traditional Korean Confucian society with its emphasis on a changeless hierarchy. 73

Despite popular support, the Tonghak farmers movement ended in failure, crushed by the government forces which were assisted by China and by Japanese troops. The Tonghak Revolution failed first of all because of poor leadership, a failure to understand the political situation, and an inability to organize and train the masses. The second cause of its failure was the intervention by neighboring imperialist powers. 74 Nevertheless, the nationalistic and democratic spirit with which the farmers defied the aggression of neighboring powers, and their zeal for social reform, remained vividly in the minds of the people and provided a strong foundation for subsequent modernization movements. After the popular forces that allied around the Tonghak movement crumbled, alien incursions


74 Park, Chung-hee, Ibid., 45.
FOREIGN OPENINGS AND NATIONAL COLLAPSE

The Western expansion into East Asia in the latter half of the nineteenth century could not leave Korea unaffected and eventually the pressure that was brought upon Korea by Japan and the Western powers led to the opening of Korea, establishing modern relations with them toward the end of the nineteenth century.

The opening of Japan by Admiral Perry in 1854, followed by the intensity with which Japan began to modernize following the Meiji Restoration in 1868, forced Korea into modernization. A small country, whose mineral potential and resources were unknown to the outside world, Korea did not for many years interest the aggressive Western trader, not attract the intervention of the maritime powers. Trade was far more profitable with China, and later, after the opening of the country, with Japan. It was Japan herself who, a few years after the Meiji Restoration, moved to restore her old links with the peninsular kingdom, and persuaded the Korean court to conclude its first treaty with an outside power in 1876.

The example of Japan was followed by the United States of America a few years later, the treaty being signed in 1882. Korean forces had defeated U.S. attempts to sail up the Taedong River to Pyongyang in 1866 and had burned the U.S. ship General Sherman and killed its crew. The same year, after the martyrdom of some of their monks, the French attempted to exert influence but were repulsed. In 1871, the Americans returned and bombarded the coast of Kangwha off the mouth of the Han River near Seoul, but again were forced to withdraw. The Japanese finally compelled the opening of Korea, as
the Americans had forced such an opening on Japan.

The arrogance of Japan and Russia stood out most blatantly. After the Chinese influence was driven out of the Korean peninsula, the two countries hotly contested for an upper hand in Korea. Whereas other foreign powers like Great Britain, France, Germany and the U.S. endeavored to snatch economic interests from Korea, these two countries made political and military inroads, as well as economic incursions. While the Russians persisted in establishing trade with Korea from the 1850s, the Japanese became more warlike and aggressive toward Korea between 1869-1875. Then in 1875, the Japanese government sent a warship to Pusan in the southeastern corner of Korea, and intimidated the Koreans there, often going to Kangwha Island and provoking the Korean troops on the island.

A fleet of Japanese warships invaded Korea. The rivalry between Japan and Russia finally culminated in the Russo-Japanese War. Emerging victorious in the Russo-Japanese War, Japan now encroached through skillful maneuvering, into the very sovereignty of the Taehan Cheguk, or the Korean Empire (Choson was renamed the Taehan Cheguk in 1897). The first Korea-Japan treaty was signed in 1904, under which a system of "advisors" was instituted. In 1905, the Japanese forced the Koreans government to sign a protectorate agreement, whereby Japan took over Korea's diplomatic policy and set up in Seoul the office of its inspector general to intervene in internal programs as well as external policies.

The Western powers raised no objection; they knew that the fate of Korea was sealed. With the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, regarded by Great Britian as a valuable
bulwark of her eastern power, Japan had her way in Korea. In 1910, Japan annexed Korea into the Japanese Empire. Korea could make no resistance. The royal family of the Yi were pensioned off with Japanese titles, but removed to Japan for permanent exile. In the last years of independence the Koreans had, too late, made some spasmodic efforts to organize their country as a modern state and stave off disaster. Young Koreans, many of high intelligence, had been sent overseas to study; a small diplomatic corps, formed from such men, had briefly appeared in the main Western capitals, but there was little hope for these returned students when they came home. All was either sunk in the corrupt inefficiency of the old court aristocracy or controlled by the Japanese. When annexation came this small elite of Korean Western-educated men came under strong suspicion and were persecuted by the new Japanese colonial authorities.

Many spent their lives in more or less enforced seclusion, some as Buddhist monks. Others escaped abroad, to work in exile, in China, America, or elsewhere for national independence. But it was from these few that the leaders of the cause, many years later, that independence would come.75

SUMMARY

Korea fostered and maintained down through the ages a unique educational tradition. But while the Western world was expanding its influence through the exploration of new sea routes and the development of science and technology, even in the nineteenth century Korea chose to remain in seclusion and tightly closed to the changes

outside. In Korea, priority then was given to maintaining its traditional educational system and curricula. It was unthinkable to object to the preservation of that tradition or to seek its revision.

It was, therefore, the school of Practical Learning, Silhak, that first proposed to reconstruct Confucianism along more practical lines during the Yi dynasty. A few pragmatic scholars attempted to embody their theories in state policy and to utilize them for national projects. These scholars who had opportunities to visit such countries sought promotion of Korea's modernization by educational reforms and development. They emphasized the importance of knowledge and its application to self-government. Their reasoning was that only an educated people could adequately provide for a self-governing country. They also proclaimed that knowledge ought to be practical, not metaphysical, as in the past. Their attitude toward learning was characterized by an extraordinarily critical spirit, positivism, and a pragmatic approach. The two major educational concepts of Silhak were:

1. It stimulated consideration of education as an enterprise which promoted practicality and welfare of the people, and enhanced human dignity and equality;

2. It also stimulated education as a means of achieving national independence, fostering nationalism.

The open-door policies enacted in 1876 gave many opportunities for many Western ideas and goods to flow into Korea. The scholars, under Western influence, attempted to use the same concepts in modernizing their country as was successful in the
Western lands. They advocated that education should be based on practical education with the hope that such emphasis would lend itself to the accelerated progress of industries and modern technology:

1. The pragmatic scholar believed that the welfare of Korea could be realized through economic progress by fostering industries and modern technologies. To give people a better life, it was seen that there was a need for an immediate increase in national agricultural and manufacturing products, as well as business and foreign trade, health facilities and medical care.

2. To these scholars, it was seen that the principles of competition must be introduced as a means of accelerating industries and economic progress. They believed that the free competition may induce rapid economic progress.

3. They were concerned with practicality to improve the actual economic welfare of the people. Even scholars were urged to devote their research for practical application.

In spite of these efforts and the West's mounting pressure on Korea to open its doors to the rest of the world, the authorities in Seoul resisted until they were forced to give up. Thus, the Kwanghwado Treaty with Japan, a contract for initiating international intercourse at disadvantageous terms for Korea, was signed in 1876.

Korea's process of absorbing Western civilization and with it the Western method of education started in confusion. The Choson Kingdom, after a 500-year history, plunged into chaos mainly because of its failure to cope with the advent of Western
civilization. Amid the resulting confusion, interest developed in adopting the Western education system. Although Practical Learning failed to achieve any great political results, it offered many plans for a better society, including reforms in government, taxation, education, and national defense. This spirit was subsequently incorporated in the social reforms initiated by Christianity, introduced into Korea from China in the early nineteenth century.

Korea all but failed to cope with international politics around the turn of the century. The situation became so critical that even the staunchest of conservatives and most radical of reformists found it imperative to form a coalition to battle the ever-growing threat to the nation's sovereignty. In 1910, Japan annexed Korea, and the colonial rule lasted until 1945.

Modern education and Christianity proved to be of great help. Christian missionaries and the Silhak scholars combined to provide the energizing impetus. The reasons were only partially theological. The liberal-minded and pragmatic scholars found in Christianity much for which they were searching. To become Christian, in addition to religious conversion, usually meant accepting such values as egalitarianism, social and political reforms, humanitarianism, and efforts to improve the lot of the poor, and of women and children. All of these goals were part of what the Silhak had been endeavoring for more than a century to accomplish. The Christian missionaries were welcomed by Silhak scholars as allies. They both proved to be a source of fresh inspiration for establishing a modern social order organization for social reforms. Anti-Japan movements in Manchuria, Siberia, and the U.S. were joined by a large number of
graduates from modern schools in Korea itself. Some of these graduates stayed home and worked to expand the scope of modern education in the belief that good schooling was a must in building the wealth and power of Korea.

Korea spent nearly the first half of the twentieth century suffering from Japanese imperialism. The loss of national sovereignty and ensuing colonial rule forced the nation to waste away nearly all of the first half of this century. It was a completely different story in the second half.

Korea fostered and maintained down through the ages an unique educational tradition. But while the Western hemisphere was changing the world rapidly by expanding its influence through science and technology, even in the nineteenth century Korea chose to remain in seclusion and closed to the changes occurring outside.

In Korea, priority was given to the job of maintaining its traditional educational system and curricula. It was unthinkable to raise any objection to the preservation of that tradition or to seek revision of it. A few Silhak scholars nonetheless attempted to introduce the Western system of education as described in books from China. In spite of the government's closed door policy, Japan's gunboat diplomacy gave Korea no choice but to sign a treaty for initiating intercourse at disadvantageous terms for Korea in 1876.

The Choson Kingdom plunged into a state of chaos mainly because of its failure to cope with the advent of Western culture. Amid the resulting Confucian, work got going for adopting the Western educational system. However, Korea's innocence in international politics led to her downfall. Japan soon annexed Korea, and bound her hands for nearly four decades. When finally liberated in 1945, less than twenty-five
percent had received any formal education, nor any means of providing the basics of life for themselves and their families.

Not long after the country had picked up the pieces and attempted a return to normalcy did the next disaster strike, in the form of civil war. The Korean War tore apart everything the people had managed to accomplish. In the next chapter, the writer will discuss how the Korean people have rebuilt their educational system, despite horrible hardships.
CHAPTER II

CHANGE IN STRUCTURE OF KOREAN EDUCATION AFTER WORLD WAR II

This chapter examines the major issues in Korean pedagogies at the end of World War II. This will include a historical reflection on pedagogical theories while introducing a new theory which is related to American pragmatism. I will examine these changes in three categories:

1. Changes in Education
2. Changes in Educational Method, and

Although the Korean peninsula has experienced numerous struggles and divisions over the centuries, the Korean people have always managed to reunite as a single, homogeneous nation sharing a common language and culture combining the values of Confucianism, Buddhism, and native religion. Despite this homogeneity, however, life on the Korean peninsula was profoundly influenced by Japanese colonial rule from 1910 until the end of World War II in 1945. The Allied victory in the second World War ensured that Japan would be forced to relinquish her colonies.

In December 1943, the Cairo Declaration promised Korea its independence 'in due course'. A provisional Korean government was formed in Chungking in 1944 and at the end of the Potsdam Conference in July 1945 the Allies declared that 'the terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out'. The USSR committed itself to support the independence of Korea when it declared war on Japan on August 8, 1945. Russian troops
entered Korea from the north on August 12 of that same year, and the United States sent troops via the south on September 8, 1945.

With the end of Japanese rule, a political vacuum existed in both the Soviet and American zones. In South Korea, two separate political forces presented themselves to the United States Occupation authorities. The first, the Korean People's Republic, was proclaimed on September 6, 1945. It was Communist-dominated and was opposed to the United States Military Government. The other was the exiled Korean Provisional Government, which returned to Korea from the United States and China after the Japanese surrender.

United States authorities maintained that the Military Government was the only government in South Korea. In the beginning, some Military Government teams fostered local initiative, but it appeared that these programs often ran counter to an increased centralization of policy-making. The progress toward implementing more self-government and the subsequent conflict with organizational structures is described in detail by Meade:

Military Government concluded its first year of occupation by foisting upon the Koreans a governmental structure in which one of the most certain safeguards of democracy, local self-determination, was completely lacking. The resolve to instruct Koreans in the American democratic way appears to have become strangely distorted. It was not abandoned. The Interim Legislative Assembly was established in October 1946; universal suffrage was planned; and the popular election of provincial governors, mayors, and other local chief executives was introduced in November. The paradox was a strange one; for while the people could chose their officials, the latter were cogs in a machinery that made them responsible not to the electorate but to the authority of
the United States Army Military Government in Korea.¹

From its outset the United States authorities made it clear that the United States Military Government was the only government and no other existing governmental organizations or personnel would be recognized. This not only eliminated all Japanese from public office but already established Korean provisional governments as well.

However, as Philip H. Taylor wrote in his article describing the deplorable negligence in preparation for a military government in Korea:

...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. The sudden collapse and surrender of Japan, not altogether unforeseen, did not explain the absence of a comprehensive plan for Korea.²

Edward Grant Meade also said:

The writer received nine months of instruction at two military government schools, and was stationed at CASA for three months; during this entire period he heard a single one-hour lecture on Korea. This reflects the lack of seriousness with which the United States regarded the commitments made to


establish a free and independent Korea.³

In February 1946, the United States Military Government created the Representative Democratic Council, an all-Korean body which was to act in an advisory capacity to the Commanding General of the American Forces. Syngman Rhee was made Chairman. This was replaced in October 1946 by the Korean Interim Legislative Assembly, which was created to give the Koreans control of their government. However, the United States' authorities had the power to dissolve the assembly and to appoint half its members.⁴

The schools at the time of liberation from Japan on 1945 were abstruse, formalistic, and in need of reconciliation with Korean society. Less than twenty-five percent of the population in the whole of the Korean peninsula received what could be called a formal education. Many Koreans believed that modernization of their country could only start with the production of highly-educated and talented people, people being South Korea's only real natural resource.

The major effort of the U.S. Military government during 1945-1948 was to expand educational opportunities and train enough Korean teachers so that the system could be run by them. The lofty objectives of the National Committee on Education Planning were seen to represent three major interests:

1. The development of patriotism

³Meade, 51.

2. The development of scientific education...and

3. The development of the body.⁵

This new educational philosophy was labelled the New Education Movement. Its roots were in the progressive education philosophy of American educators who attempted to realize in Korea what had become convention wisdom in the United States:

New Education focused on subject-centered learning according to individual interest and capacity; the motto was experiential learning. Teaching methods and processes were important in order to train the individual toward creative and effective ways of thinking, thus creating a foundation for the reconstruction of the social order into a progressive cultural identity.⁶

American educators in Korea attempted to develop initiative in students, to encourage participation in classes, to stimulate an active, discovery method of learning. This included questioning (including questioning of the teacher) in the classroom, flexibility in planning and scheduling, the introduction of materials from the outside (including field trips and visits of outsiders to the school), attention to individual differences, group work, and a variety of other techniques. Students were to be taught that there is no one right answer to most social questions, that what works is generally what is best, and that change is to be seen as desirable.⁷

Ross Harold Cole, in his study of Korean elementary education, claims that the

⁵Cornelius Osgood, The Koreans and Their Culture (New York, 1951).


"new philosophy of education" was in sharp conflict with traditional values of Korean society and Korean educators, in part because of American ignorance about the Korean reality:

The American educational advisors who suggested programs of educational reform in South Korea from 1945-1955 seem to have been poor examples of what educational advisors ought to have been. The programs that were suggested during the decade following World War II would condemn American educational advisors to ethnocentricity and for not regarding the needs of the Korean government. Few, if any, American advisors understood what had been taught or what was then taught in Korean schools; even fewer, it seems, had working use of the language. One wonders if any American advisor understood the Korean culture's values and systems of formal and informal behavior.⁸

This is a classic example of what pragmatic and practical knowledge strove to avoid. This form of charging blindly into a situation armed with only tradition methods and modes of thought was the downfall of the early American attempts to successfully reach the Korean people.

The first effort to unite Korea came at the Moscow Conference of December 1945 at which the United States, the United Kingdom, and the USSR (with China abstaining) agreed that the United States and the USSR commands in Korea were to form a joint commission which was to make recommendations to the Four Powers regarding the organization of a provisional Korean democratic government. The 'joint commission' provided for by the Moscow agreement met from March 20 to May 8, 1946, but was

⁸Ibid., 402.
unable to reach agreement.9

The United States referred the Korean question to the United Nations, and on November 14, 1947, the General Assembly adopted a resolution calling for elections throughout Korea under the observation of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea. The elections were to select a national assembly, to draft a democratic constitution, and establish a national government. The Soviet Command, however, denied the United Nations Commission entry to its zone. The Interim Committee of the General Assembly then resolved that the Commission should proceed to execute its program in such parts of Korea as were accessible to it, which meant holding elections in South Korea only.

The election was held in South Korea on May 10, 1948, under the supervision of the United Nations Commission. The National Assembly met for the first time on May 31, 1948 and elected Syngman Rhee, Chairman. Subsequently, on July 20, 1948, he was elected President.10

The Republic of Korea was inaugurated on August 15, 1948. On the same day the United States Military Government in Korea came to an end. The withdrawal of American forces from South Korea and the dissolution of the U.S. Military Government was completed in June 1949. The new government was recognized by the United Nations General Assembly on December 12, 1948, which agreed to the following


10Choinski-Wint, 193.
resolution by a vote of 41 to 6:

That there has been established a lawful government (the Government of the Republic of Korea) having effective control and jurisdiction over that part of Korea where the Temporary Commission was able to observe and consult and in which the great majority of the people of all Korea reside; that this Government is based on elections which were a valid expression of the free will of the electorate of that part of Korea and which were observed by the Temporary Commission and that this is the only such government in Korea.\(^{11}\)

Although Korean sovereignty as a unified nation was restored following the defeat of Japan, the Korean people were unable to savor the fruits of their newfound freedom because of the division of the peninsula at the 38th parallel and the occupation of the North by Soviet forces and the South by American forces. A natural result of this military occupation was the adoption in the North of a Soviet-style socialist constitution and in the South of a democratic constitution. With the formal establishment of separate governments in 1948, Korea was, in effect, divided and remains so today.

Thus, as a consequence of the Cold War, Korea became the second country to suffer partition, 'the two rival authorities each bent on elimination of the other and on the unification of Korea after its own pattern'.\(^{12}\) The United Nations Commission on Korea, the successor of the Temporary Commission, which was to promote the unification and remove economic and social barriers as well as to observe the withdrawal of occupying forces, found that it was unable to establish any relations with North Korea; while South

\(^{11}\)Resolution 195 (III) of December 12, 1948.

\(^{12}\)RIIA Survey of International Affairs, 1949-1950, 466.
Korea demanded nothing less than the liquidation of the northern regime. This commission was in turn superseded by the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK) established in October 1950, whose limited operations have been confined to observing events in South Korea and reporting to the General Assembly.

Partition, by separating the complementary halves of the Korean economy, had more adverse effects on the South than on the North, which had superior resources, including the advantage of adequate hydro-electric power and no problem of over-population. The South had lost its supplies of electric power, fertilizer, and coal from the North. The South had lost all its natural markets. It had, on the other hand, received a large influx of population; in May 1944 the American zone comprised of 37,055 square miles with a population of 15,944,000 (430 per square mile), whereas the Russian zone was 48,191 square miles with a population of 9,170,000 (190 per square mile). From 1945 to 1949, the South Koreans increased by no less than twenty-five percent, including an estimated 2,500,000 refugees from the North and repatriates from Japan. Thus, shortages in housing and food and widespread unemployment became very serious.

There was also the disruption in trade and external finance, and the grave shortage of trained administrative and business personnel as a result of the departure of the Japanese. The educational and training program initiated by the Military Government of necessity needed time to bear fruit; in the meantime there was an acute shortage of

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Koreans equipped to run the economic machine installed by the Japanese.

The educational system of South and North Korea are completely different because of the profound influence of their Soviet and American occupiers. North Korea's Provisional Measures Governing School Education announced in October 1945 their focus on Socialist and Communist ideology and reveal how rapidly Soviet educational models were adopted by the Pyongyang regime. For example, anti-imperialist education and cultivation of a better understanding of the Soviet Union were implanted at that time and remain a major theme running throughout the Korean language and history courses taught in the North.14

Similarly, the education system in South Korea began to take on the attributes of the American education system soon after the American military government was established following the Second World War. The basic policy direction established by the Korean Committee on Education, an arm of the American occupying forces, and the National Committee on Educational planning clearly reflect the American influence in the form of the 6-3-3-4 dingle ladder school system generally implemented in the United States and in the proclamation of "the cultivation of a democratic society" as the primary goal of education.

While the education systems established in North and South Korea seem, on the surface, to be almost identical to their respective models in the Soviet Union and the United States, they are in many respects nothing more than superficial adoptions of

foreign systems. Although each system has been faithfully implemented over the last fifty years, Korean elements in the educational systems of both North and South Korea are easy to find. Thus while an understanding of the Soviet-style educational philosophy and the American-style educational ideal is important to a study of education in the North and South respectively, a grasp of two other elements, namely the vestiges of authoritarianism left behind after thirty-five years of harsh Japanese colonial rule and the influences of a centuries-old Confucian tradition that has bred a deep-seated reverence for education and the educated, is essential. These two elements constitute the core of education in both Koreas.

Socialism provides the surface structure of education in North Korea but the internal structure is based on the traditional Confucian reverence of education as well as authoritarianism patterned after that of the Japanese colonial government. The South Korean educational system is, on the surface, structured around an American model of democratic education, but we find its core a firm Confucian and authoritarian mentality just like that of North Korea.  

Therefore, if North Korea made the move towards becoming more democratic or if it did not, North Korea would still contain the necessary elements to having an educational system of practicalism like that of the south. The basic core of confucian ethics is what fuels Korean practicalism.

This dual structure is what makes the educational systems of both North and

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15 Moon, Yong-lin, Ibid., 31.
South Korea unique, and an understanding of this dualism is essential to an understanding of Korean education in general.

At the time of liberation from Japan in 1945, less than twenty-five percent of the population, that at the time stood at only some twenty million people in the whole of the Korean peninsula, received what could be called formal education. Less than one percent of them were able to get even the limited version of higher education the Japanese permitted in Korea.

Besides the fact that the whole system was so inadequate even for a country of twenty million, by the end of World War II school buildings were run down and supplies practically nonexistent. Equipment had been confiscated for the war effort, and all existing textbooks could not be used because of the bias of content and the Japanese language in which they had been written. There was no paper for taking notes. Even pens and pencils were hard to obtain and chalk for use on worn-out blackboards was a precious commodity.\(^\text{16}\) Due to a stringent paper shortage the printing of new books was hindered. To add further complications, American troops were sometimes billeted in school buildings, further compounding the shortage of classrooms.\(^\text{17}\) However, though much effort was expended to reopen the public and private schools as quickly as possible, and though Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples were utilized in supplementing existing classroom space the growing demand for schooling could not be met partly because of an

\(^{16}\text{Horace G. Underwood, "Merits and Demerits of Korean Education," Koreana (Vol. 5 No. 2, 1991), 63.}\)

\(^{17}\text{SUMMATION (USMGIK) May 1946, No. 8, 84.}\)
influx of refugee students from North Korea.

Worst of all was the gross shortage of teachers, since the bulk of the 1945 teaching force was removed from education. All the Japanese teaching staff were repatriated to Japan and many Korean teachers, as the principal pool of trained manpower available to the newly independent nation, were called upon to serve the country in other capacities. With the increased desire of the Koreans for expanded educational opportunities, the number of teachers needed steadily grew. The growing demand for teachers is shown in Table 1 on the following page.

It will be noticed in Table 1 that in spite of the upward surge in enrollments, the growth in numbers of teachers except at the elementary level more than kept pace. The supplying of these many thousands of new teachers incurred many problems, for even as the need for teachers increased the attractiveness of the teaching profession lessened. Besides the political ferment within the schools which added to the reluctance of persons to accept teaching positions, there was the vital problem of low salaries during a period of inflation. This disparity between salaries and cost of living became so great that some teachers were forced to resign, while many other teachers expressed their dissatisfaction to the military Government.

Inherent in the organizational structure of Korean education was also one of the


\[19\text{Ibid., November. No. 2, 194.}\]
TABLE 1

ENROLLMENTS AND FACULTIES OF KOREAN SCHOOLS 1945-1947

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1945</th>
<th>1946</th>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>pupils</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>29</td>
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<tr>
<td>pupils</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>pupils</td>
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<tr>
<td>Higher School</td>
<td>55</td>
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<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pupils</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Reprinted from Richard Werth, "Educational Developments Under the South Korean Interim Government (SKIG)." School and Society, Vol. 69

causes for the salary problem. All teachers, being public officials, received salary

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according to their rank. The civil service pay was notoriously small and, though supplemented by a government rice ration, was still not sufficient to support a family during an inflationary period. To make the salaries more realistic, fees were collected from local Parent-Teacher groups, and often tuition was charged. In June of 1947, for example, it was estimated that as much as 38.3 percent and 53.6 percent respectively of the incomes of the elementary and secondary schools came from local sources. 21 Placing a large part of the financial burden directly on the local citizens necessarily restricted the opportunities for education to those who had the ability to pay.

Somehow, the system got going in freezing or roasting classrooms, and teachers were scraped up from wherever they could be found. Almost one-third of the elementary school teachers, and a 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. 22 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, 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 possibly 90 percent of the adult population had no formal schooling. At the technician 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.\textsuperscript{23}

Official sources of 1945 indicate that many qualified teachers were promoted from teaching posts to administrative jobs and other high positions in government.\textsuperscript{24}

Liberation 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 repudiation of everything Japanese."\textsuperscript{25} The immediate course was the burning and destruction of almost all the Japanese textbooks and written materials. As a result, the lack of instructional materials and equipment became acute.

On October 21, 1945, the American military authorities 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. However, they did not have a clear-cut idea as to how the policy could be best implemented.\textsuperscript{26}

Meade candidly stated that the objectives of education under the military

\textsuperscript{23}United States Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK), History of Bureau of Education (Seoul, 1946), 4.


\textsuperscript{26}Ibid., 306-307.
government were to "...eradicate the Japanese system and replace it by the
American..." Americans wished to see all Korean institutions democratized and
modernized.

The Liberation from Japan was, indeed, a turning point for Korean education:
from totalitarian to democratic modes of education, from centuries-old feudalistic to
liberal concepts. The challenge then, was indeed great. A new start was made
immediately following the Liberation, but the philosophy of the past was too deeply
rooted to be replaced overnight.

Under the U.S. Military Government, preparation for reconstructing the structure
of education was the major task. Consequently, Dewey's Democracy and Education
received great interest. His education theory was introduced to Korea as the "New
Education," and from elementary to high school was greatly influenced by his theory:

However, right after liberation, educational research to establish
Korean educational theory came from Dewey's educational theories,
to the exclusion of all others. There were pros and cons for that
situation: pro, since there were only a few educators in Korea,
they all worked together to study Dewey's thoughts and to
implement them in Korean educational system; con, they only
studied one educational theory, they were very narrow-minded
in their outlook, and there was little criticism of Dewey. Since
there was no competition, and no other theory to compare Dewey
with, there was no comprehensive understanding of the theories
of Dewey.28

27 Edward G. Meade, American Military Government in Korea. (New York: King's

28 Korean Educational Society, A Study of Korean Pedagogics. (Seoul, Paeyoung-sa,
South Korea, economically impoverished and politically confused was hardly a fit location to nurture democratic institutions. But the belief among Koreans in the power and worth of education was also great and in many instances surprising progress was made.

During their modernization process in the last century, Koreans have been able to realize even more clearly that education is truly indispensable in their endeavor to overcome various adversities. Throughout the dark years of colonial rule and a subsequent war, education obviously lent them the greatest strength to fight against the tide of the times. Besides, the long tradition of Confucian teaching firmly implanted in their minds the belief that education is of paramount importance in a man's life.

The eagerness of the Korean people to have an education, an eagerness that leads them to make almost any sacrifice to see that their child is properly educated is the greatest strength of Korean education. Even in the depths of the Korean War, when every recourse was being thrown into the effort to repel the northern invaders, the government made a decision to allow universities to remain open, helping them set up refugee campuses, and granting draft deferments to young men so as to insure a future supply of trained and educated people for the nation.29

Due to the increased recognition of the value of education among the people, the access to education has remarkable expanded in Korea since the end of World War II and the national liberation.

The Koreans' religious and philosophical ideals in Confucianism became integrated with their new educational ideas. Confucianism, a moral philosophy which placed much emphasis on education, advocated the proper way of living through education. It was similar to Dewey's idea that philosophy was the root of education theory.

Since Dewey's theory of education is ultimately a theory of school and society, it could be easily adopted in Korea. Under the mounting pressures of the long period of Japanese imperialism, the nationalistic and democratic yearnings of the Korean people found a new logic to the intolerable situation. That logic was directly related to social thinking in modern education.

In a modern industrial society, with its multiplicity of political and educative agencies, the school could never be the main determinant of political, intellectual, or moral change. The best the school could do would be to form the understanding and the dispositions necessary for movement toward a changed social order. 

When the American military units began operating the government machinery inherited from the Japanese, few changes in its structure were anticipated. Education formed one of the nine Bureaus (later renamed Departments). Within the Bureau of Education, there were seven departments (later the number was increased and these subdivisions were renamed bureaus) through which the administration and supervision of the system were exercised. The committee was basically an advisory body for the Bureau

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of Education of the Military Government, but its role was greatly extended to deal with initiating regulations and making recommendations on education policies under the direction of the Occupation authorities.

Lacking intimate knowledge of the Korean situation and fearing that decisions on educational matters arrived at by Americans might cause animosity among the Korean people as well as being inimicable to Korean needs, the American occupation authorities set up a national committee on educational planning comprising of leading educators and other prominent citizens. The personnel of these committees were selected on the basis of their experience and leadership on their prescribed educational fields.

Though these committees were theoretically only advisory, and all members served without pay, in practice they exercised great influence. These advisory groups served the Military Government not only in contributing professional advise but also in affording the American personnel an interpretation of public opinion.

Differing from the other advisory groups, this committee operated through a series of sub-committees which were responsible to the committee as a whole. The sub-committees, each having a Korean member of the Bureau of Education and an American officer in its group, were assigned tasks in the following areas:

1. Purpose and Objectives
2. Educational Structure
3. Educational Administration
4. Elementary Education
5. Secondary Education
6. Vocational Education

7. Teacher Training

8. Higher Education

9. Textbooks

10. Medical Education\textsuperscript{31}

These sub-committees gave commendable service during the early months of the occupation, as the Military Government sough to reorganize the school system. The National Committee normally acted on the issues proposed by each sub-committee. Each sub-committee was a responsible body, assuming such tasks as the selection of educational programs and making recommendations to the National Committee Education which was established in November 1945, using the advise of the Korean Committee on Education.\textsuperscript{32}

Their work was interwoven with the progress of nearly every section of the National Bureau of Education and the results of their labors were shown in nearly every new national educational policy during the first few months of Military Government rule. All sub-committee reports had been submitted to the committee at large, revised and approved by the end of February 1946.\textsuperscript{33} Initially at the national level an American military officer acted as Director of Education and was assisted by a Korean advisor. On


December 19, 1945 as a part of the general responsibility, the roles were reversed with the Americans assuming the advisory duties.  

Other advisory committees which rendered service on specific Bureau problems were:

1. Advisory Committee of Adult Education
2. Advisory Committee on Music
3. Boy Scout Committee
4. Recreational Advisory Committee
5. Committee to Protect and Preserve the Arts and Monuments
6. Committee on Formation of a National Theater

The Military Government officials have often described the work of the advisory committees as laudable. Though it was undoubtedly true, as Werth pointed out, that "Basic policy was often American-inspired..." the very fact that large groups of Korean educators were attempting to solve their peculiar educational needs though group planning more than warranted the existence of such committees.

Within the National Bureau of Education there were seven departments:

School dealing with elementary and high schools, teacher's training, medical vocation, medical colleges, physical education,

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special training for adults, music and science; Standards, dealing with inspection and certification; Business Management, dealing with general affairs, personnel, budget and supplies; Culture, dealing with subject matter materials; Welfare, dealing with relief and social conditions for education; and Meteorology, operating the observatories.37

After several minor reorganizations of the functions and nomenclature of the Bureau of Education, stabilization was attained by spring of 1946. In April of that year the Military Government reported that the Bureau was renamed the Department of Education and the sections previously called departments were labelled bureaus. The new Department was streamlined to effect clearer distinctions of duties within the bureaus and attempts were made to decrease the overlapping of functions and to employ more efficiently the decreasing number of available American personnel. The newly established eight bureaus are shown in Figure 1 on page 82.

ORGANIZATION OF SCHOOL SYSTEM

A reorganization of Korean school system was effective as of September, 1946. In order to better understand the changes effected under this new system in operation under the Japanese, Figure 2 (Page 83) shows the organization of the Japanese system of education in operation in 1944 which consisted of a common elementary school, followed by a large variety of specialized and largely terminal secondary schools. Although this figure shows six years of elementary education many of the smaller or more rural Korean schools did not offer more than three or four years. The four-year elementary schools

became the norm rather the exception just prior to liberation.

Figure 3 (page 84) shows the school system that theoretically went into operation in 1946. The major difference noted when comparing Figure 2 with Figure 3 is the absence in the latter of the many terminal secondary schools. Under the new system the student's specific choice of a life vocation need not be made at the completion of the elementary school. Furthermore, a distinct difference in the philosophies of education of the two systems can also be recognized from a study of the two figures. Under the Japanese system students were quickly separated into those who were fit to lead and those who were only qualified to follow. The design of the schools at each level gave specialized training to prepare the students for one, but only one, of these roles.

Understandably, a complete transition from the first to the second did not take place immediately. For some time, the actual situation probably lay between the situations depicted by the two figures. Werth for instance, a member of the advisory staff to the Department of Education, wrote in 1947:

The higher schools have fallen in line with the change more rapidly than the secondary schools. There is as yet no real dividing line between the junior and senior middle schools, and a great deal of differentiation between vocational, girls', middle, and boys' middle schools which does not appear on the new chart (Figure 3) is still very much apparent when you visit the schools.38

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38Richard Werth. Educator's Guide to Korea. Released by Reports and Analysis Branch, Civil Affairs Division United States Department of the Army. April 1, 1948, 9. (Mimeographed)
FIGURE 1. ORGANIZATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.

SOUTH KOREA JUNE 1946

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON EDUCATIONAL PLANNING</th>
<th>ADVISORY OFFICE OF DIRECTOR</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>BUREAU OF RESEARCH AND SPECIAL SUBJECTS</td>
<td>BUREAU OF TEXTBOOKS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BUREAU OF HIGHER SCHOOLS</td>
<td>BUREAU OF CULTURE</td>
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<tr>
<td>BUREAU OF ADMINISTRATION</td>
<td>BUREAU OF COMMON SCHOOL</td>
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<tr>
<td>BUREAU OF ADULT EDUCATION</td>
<td>BUREAU OF METEOROLOGY</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reprinted from Summation (USMGIK), June 1946.

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39Summation (USMGIK) June 1946. No. 9, 73.
GRADUATE SCHOOL

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<thead>
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<th>Law and Literature</th>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Univ.</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<tr>
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<td>college</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Sch.of</td>
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<td>Univ.</td>
<td>Middle</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<td>Girls'</td>
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**FIGURE 2. KOREAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM 1945**

**GRADE**

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</tbody>
</table>

**ELEMENTARY SCHOOL**

(BOYS & GIRLS)

* Attached vocational Course to Elementary School
** Elementary School Two-Year Course

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\[^{116}\text{Richard Werth. Educator's Guide to Korea. Released by Reports and Analysis Branch, Civil Affairs Division, United States Department of the Army. April 1, 1948, 15. (Mimeographed)}\]
THE PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES OF EDUCATION

On March 7, 1946, under the direction of the Occupational 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. 42 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 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. 43

These objectives effectively functioned as the fundamental principles of Korean education and were also applied to the current educational system without major change. These ideas of developing character and a sense of individual responsibility was the

42Ibid., 401-402.

awakening of Korea's mind to the idea that an individual had the power to create his own frame of knowledge about any subjects using the basic tool of practicalism, practical data, and common sense. Korea realized that one did not have to be of the yangban class to have knowledge, nor was the fact that there possessed technical knowledge anything to be ashamed about. The best knowledge was the one that ultimately helped people gain a better life for themselves. This was the goal towards which these objectives were compiled.

**REVISION OF CURRICULUM**

The National Committee on Educational Planning adopted the fundamental principles of curriculum for common education (elementary and secondary education) in September 1946, under the guidance of American curriculum experts. Increased emphasis was given to the study of the National language; and social studies, being substituted for history, along with the natural sciences also took on added significance at both the elementary and secondary levels. English was adopted as the first foreign language and was required in the ninth grade, for all but terminal students, and during all three years of the upper level of the middle schools.

The principles adopted by the Committee were formally authorized by the military authorities on October 7, 1946. They were:

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.⁴⁴

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 elementary and secondary curricula were revised along democratic lines, and textbooks were rewritten. Moreover, the Committee reintroduced the Korean language and Korean history in schools and transcribed the Chinese classics which constituted the most important part of Korea's literary heritage into the Korean alphabet. One of the major changes was a replacement of "morals" with "civics," and they also gave attention to technical training, but found it more difficult to make progress in this field because of the lack of teachers, equipment, and textbooks.

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 co-called "integrated" or "broad-field" type of curriculum. Such subjects as history, geography, and civics, for example, were unified into a 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

⁴⁴Oh, op. cit., 401.
reading, spelling, penmanship, composition, and grammar which were usually offered separately as independent subjects were integrated and simply called "Korean Language." This integration is a prime example of the influence of American progressivism, and especially the theories of John Dewey. Centuries-long reliance on the part of the Koreans as to schooling as a general instrument of social aspiration made it possible for them to link school and society together, much the same as Dewey had postulated.

Under the mounting pressure of the long period of Japanese imperialism, the nationalistic and democratic yearnings of the Korean people found a new logic to the intolerable situation. That logic was directly related to social thinking in modern education.

The Republic of Korea, which is the official English name for the southern state, adopted liberalism as its guiding principle. Fed up with Confucian metaphysical thoughts, Korean educators accepted Dewey's doctrine which holds that ideas are plans of action, and not mirrors of reality that the method of intelligence is the best way of solving problems and that philosophy ought to free itself from metaphysics and devote itself to social engineering.

Thus, after the liberation from Japan, Korean education was dominated by the democratic ideal of education, which made Dewey to be the most influential educator in the Korean educational system. As he argued in *Democracy and Education*, the way of life in Korea after World War II can not be transmitted by words alone.

Essential to acquiring the spirit of a way of life is immersion in ways of living. More specifically, Dewey thought that in a democratic society the school should provide
the students with the opportunity to experience democracy in action. This is why integration in the schools among the subjects was such a large part of Dewey's idea to reformat the current schematic of curriculum from one that was tightly compartmentalized and highly theoretical, to one that was more of a "big picture" concept, whereas by learning history, literature and language development combined for a specific time period (such as the French Revolution, for example) would give the student a hands-on feel that would allow him to understand that the three were all connected in real life, that a work of art was not created in a vacuum, but that the political as well as social aspects of life at that moment in time also contributed to the final product. In the same way, the student can be taught and taught every different kind of theorem and formula for democracy, but in order to fully understand how a democracy is brought about, and to create one oneself, some more broadening knowledge is necessary. This was the core of Dewey's plan to integrate the separate classes in the schools. Americans had learned that the best leader was one that had first-hand knowledge of what the world was really like, had knowledge of concrete facts, not just lofty ideals and noble pursuits, and Korea was soon following suit.

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,
classrooms 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.\textsuperscript{45}

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.

\textbf{SCHOOL REORGANIZATION}

As a result of policies recommended by the Korean Educational Council under the U.S. military government, the schools and colleges were reorganized into a 6-3-3-4 pattern on the basis of democratic principles of equal educational opportunity to implement the five educational objectives in March 1946. This new plan aimed at providing equal opportunity for all and prohibited discrimination on the 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.\(^{46}\)

Under the Japanese school system in Korea, a multiple system had begun to evolve which consisted of five separate tracks, including (1) an academic track for boys; (2) a girls' track; (3) a normal school track; (4) an industrial or vocational school track; and (5) a youth school track. The new school system was meant to be a single track with the youth of the country climbing the same ladder.

The new education movement facilitated the adoption of progressive educational concepts and innovation, including child-centered activities, standardized tests, curriculum reconstruction, guidance and counseling, community schools and audio visual education. Since the old system of Confucian learning did not have to cater to the educational needs of children from different backgrounds, the innovation of progressive educational ideas and activities were a giant step towards realizing practicalism as a firm way of life in Korea.

In a country emerging from a long period of foreign domination, whose cultural heritage has been essentially anti-democratic, still plagued by unsettled politico-economic conditions, establishing a democratic educational system was a time-consuming and painstaking task. Under the circumstances prevailing in Korea during this period, all that could be hoped for in the educational work of the Military Government was the laying of a firm foundation upon which a truly democratic education system

\(^{46}\)Oh, Ibid., 414-420.
could be built by the Koreans themselves as they experienced freedom and democracy in an independent Korea.

For three years during the Post-Liberation period (September 7, 1945-August 15, 1948) under the most unfavorable political and economical conditions, Korean teachers and school officials were taught and trained by American educational advisors and experts in various educational fields. As a result, many Korean educators gained considerable knowledge of modern theories and democratic principles of education and realized what had happened to their schools during their long isolation from the outside world. They welcomed democratic education though they were not fully ready to change their traditional authoritarian frame of mind.

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 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 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 were reforms that have remained basic to modern-day
South Korean education.

NEW FISCAL POLICIES

Under the Military Government the elementary schools and the institution for higher learning were budgeted through the national Department of Education, while the secondary schools were budgeted through the Bureau of Internal Affairs.\(^4\)

Though elementary education was recognized as a national responsibility the contribution of the national budget was estimated to make up only between one-third and one-half of the total actual cost of running the elementary schools.\(^5\)

The remaining cost was acquired through compulsory contributions by the parents. The support of the schools at the secondary level came from provincial taxes plus a national subsidy. The government assumed a larger burden of the support of public secondary education, paying half of teachers' salaries (upward of seventy percent of annual costs) from the national treasury and half from provincial government funds. However, as at the elementary level, contributions of parents provided the major share of the cost. A tuition rate was charged at all general secondary schools which varied greatly from school to school, and even from year to year within the same school depending on anticipated costs. A comparison of government and local contributions to elementary and secondary education is shown on Table 2 on page 95.

As at the elementary levels, the budgets for secondary and higher education were


\(^{5}\)Ibid., 9.
below costs and again contributions from parents, over and above tuition fees, were required to keep the schools in operation.\textsuperscript{49}

Tuition fees levied on public college and university students were an even smaller portion of the total cost, about five percent of total expenditures in 1949 coming from tuition fees, and the rest from the national government. The burden born by the PTAs public and private school operations reached its peak in 1955, when it amounted to fifty percent of the total.\textsuperscript{50}

In 1958 compulsory contributions varied from place to place but still constituted some fifty percent of total local expenditure on primary education. A similar system operated in secondary education, which in theory was supported by the national treasury but in practice 'the main burden' was still born by the PTAs in 1960.\textsuperscript{51} In 1958 it was reported that high school fees ranged from 2,000-2,500 hwan per year; tax levies ranged from three to eleven percent for individuals and from five to ten percent for corporations.\textsuperscript{52} Since 1955 a certain number of government scholarships have been available, but these were very few in relation to the demand. Though the pressing financial problems remained unsolved under the Military Government, certain steps were taken to alleviate the burden on parents. The Government increased yearly the proportion of national funds expended on education and provided an additional subsidy

\textsuperscript{49}\textit{Summation (USGMIK) June 1947.} No. 21, 10.
\textsuperscript{50}UNESCO Korean Survey (1960).
\textsuperscript{52}Voice of Korea (Washington; Korean Affairs Inst., October 2, 1958).
for the encouragement of new school buildings. Since teachers' salaries accounted for a major part of the school budget, the government in 1948 revised the national civil salary to increase teachers' salaries by about fifty percent. An even greater contribution to a more fair assessment of funds from parents was forthcoming in 1948 with the draft of a new tax ordinance. The proposed new policy was described in a Military Government report as follows:

In the past, schools were financed on the basis of land wealth in the gun (county) - that is, a tax on the assessed value of the land. Under the proposed ordinance the household tax, a tax

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**TABLE 2**

FINANCIAL STATUS OF KOREAN COMMON SCHOOLS

Survey of 73 Elementary Schools

June

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Teachers</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Students</td>
<td>1,528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Income 1946-47 School Year</td>
<td>898,740 won</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of Income from Government</td>
<td>61.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of Income from local sources</td>
<td>38.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Survey of 39 Secondary Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Teachers</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Students</td>
<td>570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Income 1946-47 School Year</td>
<td>1,603,563 won</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of Income from Government</td>
<td>46.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of Income from local sources</td>
<td>53.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reprinted from *Summation (USMGIK)*, June 1947.

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53 *Summation (USMGIK)* June 1947. No. 21, 83.

on household income, similar to an income tax, will be used as the basis for schools' financing to enable all schools in South Korea to receive adequate support and maintain educational standards as set by the Department of Education. 55

The mapping of this new financing policy was considered by the American authorities to be one of their important contributions to Korean education. However, before the policy could be enforced, the Koreans assumed complete control of their government under the newly established Republic and began to revamp all existing regulations.

**A NEW CONCEPT OF SCHOOLING**

The early Korean rulers had perverted the Confucian tenet of obedience to "elders" into obedience to those in a position to command authority. The relationship between teacher and student was too often paternalistic to the extent that little discussion was possible. The teacher by virtue of the mantle he wore often assumed infallibility; the student in his role as a docile subject was not expected to question the teacher's statements. Likewise the school administrators often used position only to channel information and directives to their subordinates. In other words, whereas discussion and debate was encouraged by pragmatism and practicalism, the traditional Korean method of learning fostered silent absorption of lectured information.

Two-way communication was practically non-existent in such a situation and there were few provisions to hear the voiced of any but the appointed leaders. Leadership

as exemplified by the Japanese had also been synonymous with authority. 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 accomplishment stressed...instilling in the students a
fervent interest in the teaching profession, faith in the national
entity, and in the Imperial administrative policies. 56

Such was the fundamental background of the education of some 40,000 teachers
at the beginning of the American Military Government in 1945. The American Military
Government recommended that normal schools should be reorganized on the three-year
high 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.

The normal schools and teachers' colleges were assigned early on by the
Department of Education to assist in orienting elementary and secondary teachers in
educational philosophy and introducing new teaching methods and texts. "Short Session"
courses, lasting twenty days (usually in the summer vacation) were one of the major in-
service training programs for unqualified teachers and principles at the time. They were

56 Ouno, K.I., Chosen Kyouko Kangken (The Views of Korean Educational Problems
Seoul, Korea; Bureau of Education, 1936), 264.
carried out by the normal schools and teachers' colleges, sponsored by the Department of Education and aided by the American Military Government. 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 principles were trained by these in-service training programs in the summer of 1947.\textsuperscript{57}

To promote a decentralization of authority in the direction of the people, and to create a looser learning atmosphere, a new concept of schooling was needed. The Military Government embarked on a variety of training programs ranging from scholarships and guided tours in the United States to short-term workshops or institutes, held in selected Korean cities. The Military Government further sought to meet some of the pressing material needs by making available more adequate teaching aids, including many American textbooks.

After 1945 Korea, for the first time, had the opportunity to use its schools in the cause of freedom. To understand fully the implications of this changing role of education the Korean leaders needed time to re-examine their problems in a politically and economically secure-setting. They needed time to assimilate new educational knowledge and techniques; and they needed time to test these new tools on the ancient Korean soil.

Most important of all, attempts were made under the Military Government to

\textsuperscript{57}Korea, the Ministry of Education, (A Document on the Department of Education Under the Interim Government of Korea), Seoul, 1948, 46.
widen the professional horizons of Korean educators in order that they might better compare their authoritarian educational heritage with the American democratic methods.

**THE FUNCTION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN 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 position 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."\(^{58}\) 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.

As the head of 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.

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

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designed to maintain a proper relationship among men in a hierarchical social order.

Confucian ethics taught that "ruler and subject" represent one of the five natural relationships in the human community. Government was, therefore, not based upon law, but was regarded essentially as a "government of great law"--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 unique characteristics of the Confucian heritage allows the government to guide the social development. The government enjoys the trust of the people. The people who work for the government are selected from high standards, are capable and constitute the nation's brains.

In his 1948 inaugural speech, Syngman Rhee, the first president of the new Korea, emphasized a new spirit for nation-building with the following concluding remarks:

Although a new government is indispensable for building a new nation, a nation can never be built without a new spirit. A noble state cannot be erected with a corrupt action of throwing away old ways. Only through daily striving forward, can we recover the time we have lost during the past forty years and compete with the civilized nations of the world.59

From the onset, President Rhee was strongly antipathetic towards Japan, and against communism which prevailed in North Korea, as reflected in the most frequently emphasized verbal expressions of 'antipathy toward Japan,' 'patriotism.' 'anti-

59 The Office of Public Information, Collected Speeches of President Syngman Rhee (Seoul; Office of Public Information, Republic of Korea, 1953), 3.
communism,' and 'march North for immediate unification.' His prior concern was on unification of the divided country with national security from community.

THE EXECUTIVE POWER AND ITS CONTROL OF EDUCATION

PRESIDENCY

The President headed the executive branch of the government, under a system of government similar to that of the United States. The most significant fact presented in the provisions of the Constitution of the Republic was "the power of the Presidential office." As George McCune pointed out, it was apparent that "the new government did not intend the Presidency to be a passive office." 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.

As the head of 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.

THE STATE COUNCIL AND ITS FUNCTION IN EDUCATION

60Ibid.


62Ibid.
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.\(^{63}\)

The State Council, of which the president was Chairman, thus consisted of the Prime Minister and Heads of Cabinet Ministries, 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 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.

**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

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counties later became the local school districts which organized "gun" boards of education for administration of elementary schools.

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.

THE CHARACTER OF THE RHEE REGIME

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. 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 the "Father of the Nation." This was the first step toward the establishment of twelve years of an autocratic regime.

THE POLITICAL PARTIES AND THEIR POSITION ON EDUCATION

Korean political parties had not witnessed party politics in the modern sense of the term until the middle of the 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 circles supported them in the coming assemblies rather 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. 65

In fact, the absence of ideological foundations served to broaden the powers of personal leadership, rather than to strengthen party politics. 66 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. 67 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


66 Ibid, 4.

candidates. Only twenty-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 Hanguk Minchu-Dang (Korean Democratic Party) which was largely supported by the rural landlords. The leftists 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.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL TO EXPEDITE INDEPENDENCE

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 became 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.\textsuperscript{68} Formed at the top as a leadership faction with degrees of centralization and extreme lack of local sources of power. It had no sound programs, ideology, or vested interest of its own, nor 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 Korean 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. Only a fractional minority of the KDP (Korean Democratic Party) criticized the provision, chiefly because of the financial deficits.

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 function because of the explosion of the Korean War on June 25 of that same year.

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 in schools, and Japanese technical terms were removed from the textbooks and publications. Extracurricular activities of the students were stressed at all school levels, and as much as one per week was allotted to

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69Oh, op. cit., 425-527.
70Ibid., 427-431.
civic-moral training as well as anti-communist teaching.\textsuperscript{72}

The politically based principles of education were directly or indirectly implemented in the new Republic's education. This was obviously the reflection of a personal susceptibility of President Rhee, who had fought against these two foes throughout his life. Korean education undoubtedly was practically confined by the chains of political machinery from its inception.

**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" (Hanguk 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 the American stand for a unilateral government in South Korea and led an active campaign for the elections. Its campaign platform called for land redistribution, nationalization of major private enterprises, and minimum wage and unemployment security systems.\textsuperscript{73} 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 grimly believed that a politically controlled


educational system would prevent millions of youngsters from achieving their original goals of education. 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:

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.

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 system 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.

IMPLEMENTATION OF DEMOCRATIC IDEAS AND DECENTRALIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Formal educational planning in Korea did not begin until after the war, when the most acute problem facing education was the restoration of heavy losses in faculties and

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74Ibid., 62-64.

75UNESCO, op. cit., 102-103.

in teaching personnel. As an energetic rehabilitation program, the Ministry of Education prepared the Compulsory Education Accomplishment Plan, 1954-1959, with the support of the United Nations Korea Reconstruction Agency (Ministry of Education, 1953). The plan aimed at achieving a ninety-six percent level of enrollment of the school-age population by the end of the plan period, to be accomplished by building an additional 30,000 classrooms. The plan was deficient in funding from the beginning year, however, and secured only thirty-eight percent of the requested amount. Thus the enrollment ratio remained around eighty percent throughout the planning period.

Conflicting statistics have been given for the total Korean enrollment in all schools; probably the most reliable figure is that given for 1957-58 of nearly 4.5 million all told, or about one-fifth of the total population. Of these, seventy-nine percent were in kindergartens and primary schools and only sixteen percent in middle and high schools; three percent were in vocational schools and two percent in institutions of higher education.77

The Korean Ministry of Education stated that on January 1, 1960, 95.1 percent of adults (twelve years old and over) were literate.78 Over 5,000 Koreans were studying abroad in that year; unfortunately comparatively few of these, the best qualified Koreans, returned because they were able to get better jobs in foreign countries.

One of the salient features of educational change during the post-independence

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78 Education in Korea (1960).
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), their boards, and also the school boards at the provincial and national levels were truly a step toward democratization 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.

The Korean Democratic Party (KDP) overwhelming 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 of 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 a nation's education. The politically oriented system of national education provides no opportunity for investigation and research, and which refuses to tolerate criticism, deprives itself automatically of the means of progress. The hierarchical
structure of the system which had been controlled by the politically appointees actually hinders the development of the 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. 79

The executive authorities, however, opposed the idea on the establishment of Boards of Education. The Ministry of Education explained 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 a burden 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. 80 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, provisional, and local levels, contained various modifications from the initial proposal drawn by the Ministry of Education. 81

80Ibid., 124-126.
81Oh, op. cit., 439-442.
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.

**THE PROTESTANT CHURCH AND ITS EFFECT ON EDUCATION**

The private schools in South Korea belong to the various Presbyterian, Methodist, Roman Catholic, and other missions, which began their activities in Korea towards the end of the nineteenth century. 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 solidarity of purpose for establishing their own interests. Furthermore, according to official government sources, more than two-thirds of the cabinet ministers were active members of Protestant churches, 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

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message of the churches. The voice of the churches, on education 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 restrictions 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.

Relations of these missions with the Japanese became increasingly difficult from 1937 onwards, and many of the schools were closed; activities were again interrupted by the Korean War. Since the armistice the importance of the Christian-supported schools and colleges has increased because of their use of modern and efficient methods and because sometimes through their subsidies they were able to employ superior teachers. Thus the mission schools came to be thought of as the best schools: this was by no means always true.

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 the North and the
South. 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 of 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 over-powering fact of the national security policy, however, unnecessarily imposed serious restrictions on the movement of the civilian population and on the elaborations of the educational development.

**THE TREND TOWARDS AUTOCRACY FED BY THE POLITICAL TENSION**

As predicted by the political leaders and military experts, immediately after the main unit of the American troops were withdrawn from South Korea in late August 1940, Communist-inspired guerilla warfare broke out.\(^3\) On October 19, 1948, only two months after the establishment of the Republic, a regiment of the South Korean army revolted against the government and seized the port-city of Yosu, in the southernmost part of the country. As soon as the rebels took over the city, they established a people's committee and tribunals which executed some five hundred local officials and policemen.\(^4\) 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 labored to restore these two cities and took nearly two weeks to put down all the rebel forces. The government estimated that a total of 1,500 deaths

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\(^4\)Ibid., (October 27, 1948), 4.
(including civilians) had been caused by these rebellions.\textsuperscript{85}

Before the memory of these bloody incidents were obliterated, another communist-controlled rebellion broke out on the island of Cheju, about one hundred miles from the southwest coast of the Korean peninsula, in early March of 1949. The government sources indicated that these revolts originally began in the Communist cells of a small specially trained group of soldiers sent by the North Korean government. Approximately 50,000 civilians joined the revolts. Young students were very active in the rebel movement. As a result, more than 13,000 people were killed by both sides.\textsuperscript{86}

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. During the months after these revolts, freedom of speech had been almost stamped out by the new security rules. Newspapermen were frequently arrested. The United Nations Special Committee 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.\textsuperscript{87} Between October 1948 and May 1949, the government authorities closed down seven important newspapers and one news agency. All publications known to abet or incline towards the left were burned, which was similar in many cases to that which had been exercised

\textsuperscript{85}Ibid., (November 12, 1948), 9.

\textsuperscript{86}Ibid., (April 29, 1949), 7.

\textsuperscript{87}The United Nations General Assembly Official Records (GAOR), 4th session, September No. 9 (A/936), 28.
during the Japanese colonial days.\(^8^8\)

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 authorities 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.\(^8^9\) 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 students strikers were evidently influenced by the communist guerrillas, and had been connected with the Yosu-Sunchon incidents.\(^9^0\)

The government authorities announced that "students must study and must not play a role of politics."\(^9^1\) 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 leaders of the group composed of socialist


\(^9^0\)Ibid., 49.

\(^9^1\)Korea Times, May 8, 1950, 12.
and anti-American students. The conservative leaders of the radical student groups and 
Korean Unification Alliance were tried and sentenced to long prison terms. These 
student movements gave a great impetus to the government authorities suppression of 
academic activities. As a result, even ordinary academic circles were banned.

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

EDUCATION UNDER THE NEW REPUBLIC: AUGUST 15, 1948-SEPTEMBER 25, 1950

On August 15, 1948, the Republic of Korea was officially recognized. With its 
birth Koreans, for the first time in forty years, had the complete responsibility for solving 
their own problems. In 1948, the government tried to develop the new system of 
education through enlightenment of teachers, in-service training, various meetings and 
seminars. The first American Education Team to Korea gave enthusiastic support to the 
whole process.

Before and after the Korean War life-centered education with project method and 
problem-solving learning was emphasized in poor educational surroundings with poor 
materials, facilities, and equipment. This was a major change in the educational timeline, 
a change-over from the previous system of rote learning and passive acceptance of facts, 
to the more American system of teaching concepts and ideas, to be used in any 
imaginable situation. Again, the all-important hand of Dewey's pragmatic teachings is 

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92 Ibid., May 18, 1950, 6.
visible here, and his theory that students ought to be equipped with all the materials necessary to be able to solve problems with their own thoughts, not prescribed solutions handed down from generation to generation.

The Education Law of 1949 set forth in detail the aims and principles of education in accordance with the Constitution. Under the new Constitution of the Republic, provisions were set up for the formation of the new educational system. However, the new system was not basically changed from the fundamental pattern of education which had been formulated during the three years of American Military Occupation.

EDUCATION IN THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

Among all of the pressing problems of the new government, education was not forgotten. Article 16 of the Constitution of the Republic of Korea, which was adopted by the National Assembly on July 12, 1948, clearly provided for a national system of education. It reads:

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.93

However, as late as 1954 Korea was still struggling to realize the "free and compulsory elementary education."

With the inauguration of the new government, a Ministry of Education, structured

essentially the same as the former Department of Education, was formed and a Minister with full cabinet rank was chosen.

When the new Republic was established in August 15, 1948, the important task of the Ministry of Education was the construction of an education law. In spite of the unexpected series of political transformations, however, the changes in the educational system occurred rapidly. Under the new Constitution of the Republic, provisions were set up for the formation of the new educational system.

THE NEW EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The National Assembly passed the Education Law 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. This law which was constructed without any coercive influence from foreigners was the first of its kind in Korean educational history. 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.

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 (Articles 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. This was a remarkable step towards the decentralization of the school system. 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 (Articles 9-10). Further significant features were the
guarantee of maximum academic freedom to produce true scholarship, and the provision of school taxes (Article 13).

Another noteworthy provision was the placing of great emphasis on scientific and technical education. Every provision in the Educational Law clearly showed that the law was set up directly by the Koreans themselves in an attempt to solve their own problems. 94

The South Korean educational system has been based on constitutional provisions and the Education Law of 1949. Many of the elements created originally under the U.S. Military Government were adopted into the Constitution of the first Republic and written into the Education Law. The Constitution of the Republic of Korea declares:

1. All the people have the right to education equally according to their abilities.

2. The people are obligated to have their children receive at least a primary education and other education ruled by law.

3. Compulsory education is free.

4. Educational autonomy and professionalism as well as their neutrality in politics are guaranteed.

5. The nation will improve people's lifelong education.

6. The educational system for formal and non-formal education and its operation as well as fundamental matter dealing with educational finance

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94 Choe, Byung Sook, Ibid., 76-77.
and teachers' status will be ruled by the law.

The new legislation stated in detail the principles and objectives of education in the Republic of Korea. Article 1 read:

The purpose of education is to achieve a well-integrated personality, to develop qualifications of citizenship to serve the development of a democratic nation, thus contributing toward the realization of the ideal of co-prosperity of the human race which coincides with the spirit of Hongik-Ingan.\(^95\)

The fundamental principles of education, under the ideal of Hongik-Ingan, which means "universal prosperity to mankind" aims to make every individual's personality perfect and enable the person to sustain his or her life and fulfill responsibilities as a citizen, thus contributing to the development and prosperity of the nation. The ideal of Hongik-Ingan was used to relate a basic principle to the general aims of modern education.

To realize these abstract purposes, and to achieve the general aims, the seven following basic principles were adopted in Article 2 of the Education Law:

1. To develop knowledge and habits necessary for the sound growth and maintenance of the body, and to cultivate an indomitable spirit.
2. To develop the patriotic spirit and love for the people in order to maintain and strengthen the national independence, thus participating in the advancement of world peace.
3. To enhance and perpetuate the national culture, thus contributing towards the creation and development of world culture.
4. To foster the truth-searching attitude and scientific thinking for creative activities and rational living.

\(^95\)Republic of Korea, Education Law, Ministry of Education, National Law 86, 1949, 1. Translated by the writer from the Korean text.
5. To develop high esteem for responsibility and love of freedom, thus maintaining well-adjusted community life with the attitude of faithfulness, cooperation, and respect.
6. To cultivate an aesthetic sense in order to be able to enjoy the beauty of nature as well as appreciating and creating sublime arts; effective utilization of leisure for a harmonious and bright life.
7. To develop the attitude of being thrifty and foster the habits of making strenuous efforts in the work at hand, thus becoming an efficient producer and an intelligent consumer for the sound economic life.  

These basic principles laid down by the Ministry of Education was an effort to blend modern concepts of education with traditionally approved social values. Ideas such as participation in the advancement of world peace, contribution toward the creation of world culture, scientific thinking and creative activity, love of freedom and well-harmonized community life, and effective utilization of leisure can be considered modern concepts of education which were new to Korean educators. On the other hand, however, these principles contain many other traditional concepts such as indomitable spirit, patriotism, enhancement of natural culture, faithfulness, etc. The fact that the enlightened are now supposed to spend their leisure time, if and when they find some, in some socially redeeming manner is characteristic of practicalism. Practicalism and Pragmatism call upon their adherents to always be looking to further their scientific and technical knowledge, to always be looking to benefit mankind, not idly debating on moot subjects.

Although these seven points bear some resemblance to the "Seven Cardinal

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96 Education Law, 1.
Principles of American Secondary Education,\textsuperscript{97} they were apparently directly 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.

Byung Hun Nam saw this combination as reflecting a typically Korean mindset which allows democratic education to be pursued without abandoning centuries-old ideals and traditions contradictory to democratic development. The Korean people sought this democratic education without relinquishing their ideals and traditions. Thus, overemphasizing these traditionally approved social values in schools might produce effects running counter to modern democratic ideas of education.

Efforts were made to utilize various social institutions other than educational institutions, and to make schools independent of partisan politics and sectarian religion. All educational enterprises and endeavors were to be founded on the principles of freedom of the individual and respect for human rights. Articles 3, 4, and 5, of the Education Law stated:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{Article 3.} The objectives of education shall be realized not only in schools and other education institutions, but also in the political, social, economic, and cultural life of the country.
  \item \textbf{Article 4.} The educational system and facilities, contents, and instructional methods shall be founded on the basis of individual freedom and respect for others, thus, developing one's capacity to the fullest extent.
  \item \textbf{Article 5.} Education shall be carried out in an accordance with the principles set herewith, and shall neither be utilized for
\end{itemize}

the interests of partisan politics nor as a tool for propagating any individual views and opinions. No national or public schools shall provide sectarian or religious education.\textsuperscript{98}

Obviously, these articles express the basic principles of democratic education and enactment of these laws clearly indicated the desire of the Korean people for decentralization of education as originally planned by the Military Government. The Korean people were making progress in managing their own educational affairs through local education committees. The statements are evidence of how the Koreans were inspired by American educators during the Military Government. If these principles were closely observed, they could influence the development of a democratic Korean society.

Soon after achieving independence, the new Republic passed various educational laws, especially Nos. 86 and 178, designed to institute a system of universal and free primary schooling of six grades, followed by three years at a middle school and three years at a high school. Among all of the provisions of the Constitution, its most remarkable feature was to clearly stipulate educational responsibility. Article 16 of the Constitution laid down the educational provision. It reads as follows:

\begin{quote}
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.\textsuperscript{99}
\end{quote}

Article 16 reflects that the leaders of the new Republic and the Constitutional

\textsuperscript{98}Education Law, 1-2. Translated by the writer from the Korean text.

framers believed that education was an essential element for achieving the democratic ideal of government.

But the implementation of this provision was first delayed by the war and then, by the inability of the central Government to finance such a system. In addition, the long distances of the homes of some children from the nearest school or the inability of the parents to pay for textbooks, stationery, and suitable clothing—apart from other payments kept children of poorer parents out of school.

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 3 on the following page, the enrollment increased from 1,424,796 or forty-six percent of 3,097,84 of the school-age children in 1945 to 2,844,321 or eighty-six percent out of 3,342,015 of the school-age children in 1950. This figure represents that the enrollment fate 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, enrollment increased about nineteen percent. Such a vastly increased elementary school enrollment resulted not only in a need for more teaching and school facilities, but also directly affected secondary and higher education as well.

**THE NEW PLAN TO IMPROVE 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 were made in revising curricula and teaching methods. Teachers'
salaries were raised substantially to develop quality instruction.

**TABLE 3**

THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN ENROLLED AT ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Enrollment</th>
<th>Number of School-Age Children</th>
<th>% of Enrollment to the school-age children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>1,424,796</td>
<td>3,097,284</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>2,158,443</td>
<td>3,221,342</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>2,844.321</td>
<td>3,342.015</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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, focused on the fullest development each individual child based upon ability. It was hoped that children would then contribute these talents to the society and the nation as responsible citizens.

The new aims of compulsory education stipulated in the Educational Law were:

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 a 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 an independent life by providing training in fundamental skills likely to be useful in his future occupation and his phenomena.

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

6. Development of a 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.100

The Education Law represents the reforms in the approach to learning combining Confucianism with practicalism in that the discipline of a person from early childhood onward is necessary to fostering self-discipline in the adult. This is essentially a Confucian tenet brought to bear on practicalist thought. Nothing can be accomplished for the good of mankind if the person attempting to benefit it does not have self-discipline or the foundations of discipline and hard-work instilled in them from early childhood. It is another way in which Confucianism aided Korea and helped to develop her own unique brand of pragmatism.

In fact, Korea urgently needed a fundamental change in the child not only in terms of 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 his nation to the rest of the world. These principles were preserved in Article 94 of the Education Law as the fundamental goals of compulsory education in the Republic of Korea.
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.

During 1948 and 1949, many different organizations were formed to study such fields as child growth, community schools, core-curriculum, educational evaluation, classroom management, and counselling. 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 action. Solutions, however, were no easy tasks and such accomplishments undoubtedly required many years of tireless efforts.

To solve these urgent problems, the Ministry of Education set for the Five-Year Development Plan in 1949. This plan included 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 the Korean language at all levels.

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101 Kim, Do Sung, "What was the New Education?" Sae Kyo Yuk (The New Education), XI (September, 1959), 18.
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.¹⁰²

The Ministry of Education was, in its own way, also attempting to facilitate the ideals of practicalist teachings by laying down a foundation of basic living standards as to instill within the child the rigors of learning. If a child is allowed to become slipshod in his regular mode of life, his or her thinking made become slipshod as well, less able to grasp the finer points of arguments or ideas.

During the first year of the program period (1949-1954), remarkable progress was made. Though the government was unable to finance these programs, the contributions of the Parent-Teacher Associations and educational grants from various foreign agencies made the programs financially possible.

The Ministry of Education encouraged voluntary study groups. At the same time, the government organized curriculum study committees in each local community as well as in the provinces. Local school officials and classroom teachers were enthusiastic to attempting, within the limitation of government regulations, to develop their curriculum in accordance with the new principles of curriculum construction which they had just

¹⁰²Kyong Hyang Sinmoon (Daily Newspaper), March 21, 1950, 2.
THE PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES OF SCHOOLS

The Republic of Korea adopted with little change the school system which was established by the Military Government. The organizational pattern of the 6-3-3-4 plan was kept without modification, except for a change of names of secondary schools. The former junior middle school was called middle school, and the former senior middle school was called high school. The purpose and objectives of schools at each level were specifically stated in the Education Law of 1949.

The aims and seven objectives of elementary schools were stated as follows:

Article 98. The purpose of primary school shall be to provide the fundamental education which is necessary for civic life.

Article 94. The following shall be the objectives of the primary schools in order to accomplish the purposes stated in the preceding article:

1. Development of the student's ability to understand and to speak correctly the national language which is necessary in his daily life.
2. Cultivation of student morality, sense of public duty, and cooperative spirit by developing understanding of the relations of the individual, society, and the nation—especially to foster the spirit of independence with racial consciousness and international cooperation by fostering the understanding of community, national tradition, and present state of the nation.
3. Development of student's ability to understand and to deal intelligently with daily natural phenomena.
4. Development of the student's ability to understand and to deal with the quantitative relationship which are necessary in daily life.
5. Development of the student's ability to lead an independent life by providing training in fundamental skills likely to be useful in

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his future occupation and his daily activities.
6. Development of the student's basic ability to be able to appreciate music, arts, literature, and other things which will make daily life joyful.
7. Development of the student's daily health habit for the harmonious growth of body and mind.\textsuperscript{104}

The purpose and objectives of middle school and high school were also stated in Articles 100, 101, 104, and 105.

\textbf{EXPANSION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION}

The Korean secondary schools showed conclusive signs that would continue to be highly selective institutions. In 1949, less than half of the applicants for secondary schools were accepted while only approximately thirty-four percent of the entire elementary school graduates continued their education.\textsuperscript{105}

In 1949, the Ministry of Education developed a building plan which aimed at accommodating forty percent of the elementary school graduates by 1954. However, as the Ministry admitted, the prospects for a successful building program were indeed gloomy considering the needs of the elementary schools. A further handicap to expansion was the particularly acute financial situation of the secondary school. It was estimated that parents would be required to support about four-fifths of the secondary school budget for 1950, a situation which not only added a further restriction to the type of students who could continue their education but which made size of secondary enrollments dependent on the wealth of the population.

\textsuperscript{104} \textit{An Outline of Korean Education}, op. cit., 15.

\textsuperscript{105} Ibid., 44.
EXPANSION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher followed in much the same pattern as the other educational levels; by 1949 there were many students enrolled in educational courses which, like the other educational levels, were fostered by provincial and local authorities. The purposes of these courses varied from being a substitute (among the adult population) for regular elementary and secondary education, to providing the national government an opportunity to "re-educate the people who had received unsound and false ideologies under the Japanese." 106

TRENDS IN EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT AND PRACTICE

In analyzing the trends in education since 1945, the Ministry of Education reported attempts to eliminate the Japanese authoritarian practices from the schools. The military candidly acknowledged, however, that development toward more democratic practices in the schools had lagged due to political and academic difficulties. 107 The military probably should have added what was probably the main cause prohibiting faster educational progress; namely, the low professional level of education personnel.

The Ministry of Education proclaimed, in 1950, that the current motto for education was "nationalistic democracy." (The objectives of education as set forth is that the educational law was definitely in keeping with "nationalistic democracy."")

This new motto did not alter any of the trends in place since 1945 but it placed added emphasis on the cultivation of patriotism. The reason for the need to increase the

106 Ibid., 44.

spirit of nationalism was the existence of the Communist North and the mutual animosity between the North and the South Korean governments. It was felt that a satisfactory bulwark against Communism was needed.

Another Korean source reported at least two distinct educational trends during this period in the elementary schools. The first trend was noticeable prior to the establishment of the Republic of Korea's government when many progressive elementary schools were installing their version of child-centered education. It was during this period that the term "new education" became popular among Korean educators and such terms as the Dalton-system and project method were topics for discussion. Attempts were made to be cognizant of individual differences and group methods of learning replaced the teacher-centered lecture. Observation, field trips and discussion became the important techniques for instruction and a few schools bravely demonstrated these innovations to all comers.\(^{108}\) Again, the link to practicalism is clear; the schools were no longer relying upon traditional methods of lectures and textbooks to teach material, but were taking the children to experience for themselves firsthand the subject they were learning about. It gave them the opportunity to accumulate practical, working knowledge of the subject. This was something that was unheard-of in the olden days.

After the establishment of the R.O.K. government, this analysis continued, enthusiasm began to wane for the methods of "new education." Teachers tended to retake

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their positions as sovereigns of the classroom curtailing the freedom recently enjoyed by the students. The reason for regressing toward the more traditional practices were interpreted by this source as resulting from insufficient understanding on the part of the teachers of the modern tools which they had attempted to use. Though teachers had paid lip service to the new classroom methods they had still retained authoritarian ideas resulting from their own education and experiences.\textsuperscript{109}

**CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTIONAL METHODS**

For many years in Korean schools, curriculum was no more than the textbook. In the old schools, curriculum was nothing but Confucian classics, which had been used for many centuries. Reading, writing, and reciting them represented almost the entire activity of the school. Different subjects were taught without any attempt to relate their content and their implications to actual life. During this period, therefore, there were no such activities as curriculum development on the part of individual teachers or schools.

Occupied by Japan for thirty-six years, and by a caretaker U.S. Military government for three years, Koera did not begin to develop its own system of education until 1948. That process was short-lived, and an American presence was soon prevalent again as a result of the Korean War. Therefore, the vestiges of the Japanese colonial experiences and the two periods of U.S. involvement in Korea remained and influenced the course of education.

The Japanese left behind a set of academic traditions and practices that today form

\textsuperscript{109}Ibid., 6.
an integral part of the Korean educational system. These characteristics include large class sizes, heavy academic emphasis, moral education, deep respect for the authority of the teacher, and the examination system for entrance into high schools and the university.\textsuperscript{110} The following two observations are good examples of the persistence of social forms even when nations strive for a unique political orientation:

Almost immediately following the Japanese departure in 1945 the Japanese language, the picture of the Mikado, and the Imperial Rescript disappeared from schools and Shinto shrines from the face of the countryside. But "moral education" and rituals did not. The schools continued their mass morning exercises. Students marched onto the bare playfields in formation to the blare of military music, lined up in rigid rows, bowed to the principal, and listened in cathedral silence to his morning moral talk. Moreover, it did not take long after the Republic of Korea was duly constituted for Syngman Rhee's picture to appear in every school in the nation.\textsuperscript{111} Certain features of the characteristic life of Koreans secondary school in 1952 are worth mentioning. Every morning, students gathered on the parade or playground and assembled in military formation to salute the Korean flag and hear a brief speech by the school principal. After this daily ceremony they were marched into classrooms under the command of their student platoon and company leaders. Girls and boys were in black Japanese-style uniforms.\textsuperscript{112}

The loss of national sovereignty and the ensuing colonial rule forced the nation to waste away nearly all of the first half of the twentieth century. Korea's achievement in education is to some extent a result of thirty years of colonial rule by a nation also

\textsuperscript{110}Herbert Passin, \textit{Society and Education in Japan} (New York, 1965).

\textsuperscript{111}Wilson, 76-77.

renowned in the history of development, not only for rapid advancement in education, but also for unprecedented rates of economic growth.

Another unique contribution to the shaping of education and economic development in Korea was the intense involvement of the United States in the liberation, reorganization, and defense of South Korea.

The U.S. Military Government determined to use education in Korea as a major vehicle for the democratization of society. For this to be accomplished, three principle efforts were necessary: the extension of educational opportunity to all Koreans; the inclusion of democratic values and practices in the curriculum; and the creation of an infrastructure and educational administration that would maintain democratic practices.

The U.S. Military Government found itself short of trained teachers; with practically no teaching materials in the Korean language, and with strong traditions acting against the democratic practices endorsed by American educators. Efforts of the U.S. Military Government received strong support, however, from Korean educators and the public in general. The following actions were taken:

1. Some 1.7 million textbooks were printed and distributed by April 1946; by 1948 the total had risen to 15 million books.

2. Efforts were made to eliminate Chinese characters in favor of Han'gul, the Korean alphabet.

3. Local education committees were created to supervise schools.

4. All schools were made coeducational.

5. Education was made compulsory through the 9th grade, and a three-year middle school separate from high school was created.
6. Four-year colleges were created, and Seoul National University was founded.

7. More Koreans were trained as teachers.

8. More than one million adults were enrolled by 1948 in "civic schools" for literacy and basic education. Illiteracy among adults over 19 years of age was reduced from seventy-eight percent in 1945 to forty-one percent in 1948 (and to ten percent in 1954). 113

9. By 1948, 2.4 million children were enrolled in elementary schools, more than 100,000 in secondary schools, and almost 90,000 in technical/industrial schools.

10. A national youth movement, which reached an audited membership of 1,154,821 in 1948, was created. The movement contributed approximately 12 million 8-hour work-days to community development projects, as well as enrolling 80,000 youth in skill-training programs and training 100,000 leaders.

Harold Koh sums up the record as follows:

In the three-year period...the number of elementary pupils increased by 82 percent, the number of secondary pupils by 184 percent, and the number of available teachers for each level increased by 55 percent, 569 percent and 268 percent respectively...largely as a result of the vigorous teacher training programs...Decentralization seemed to have been effectively accomplished by introduction of "local control" on education through popularly elected school boards. 114

But not all of the proposed changes survived the institution of the Rhee regime in 1948. Coeducation was universal only in primary schools. The nation could not afford


compulsory education through the 9th grade, and universal primary education was not attained until the late 1950s. Local control of education was abandoned in favor of the strong central Ministry that persists today. The youth movement became highly politicized and had to be abandoned. Koh observes:

Whether the American Military Government succeed in its aim to "democratize the spirit" of the educational system...is open to debate. Even today, the pattern of student-as-passive-observer is prevalent in Korean schools, showing perhaps that merely restructuring the educational system does not guarantee ready acceptance of a foreign concept.\(^{115}\)

During the period of Military Government, effort were made to develop curricula which would suit the new educational system. Emphasis was placed on utilizing community resources such as social institutions, governmental offices, historical places, farms and fields, and markets as sources of knowledge and educational experience, for if education is to improve living, the curriculum must be developed on the basis of life needs and conditions in the community.

When the Republic of Korea was established, the Ministry of Education adopted to a large extent the principles and practices set forth by the Military Government. The curricula prescribed for the elementary and secondary schools by the Ministry of Education were almost identical with those organized under the Military Government except for some minor adjustments in time allotted to each subject.\(^{116}\)

\(^{115}\)Ibid., 61.

\(^{116}\)UNESCO. Educational Condition in the Republic of Korea (Pusan, Korea; UNESCO-UNKRA Educational Planning Mission, 1952), 63-65.
During the post-occupation period, the "new education" movement and practice of curriculum making were the fashion in Korean schools. Some Korean educators called this "the Curriculum boom period." Dr. Oh, Chun-suk said that the educational reorganization under the Military Government brought "a great hope for a new era in Korean education in which freedom of the individual is respected, individual differences are recognized, and living education prevails." \(^{117}\)

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 issues 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. By stressing citizenship, and the responsibilities of citizenship, the early thinkers were trying to ensure the fact that the people would not revert back to passively learning through the teachers' lectures, but through their own experiences and knowledge. This would make sure that no one person could forcibly control the minds of the public, since theoretically they were learning and experiencing all sorts of new ideas on their own merits, without government propaganda.

TABLE 4

TIME ALLOTMENT TABLE FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>1st grade %</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>4th</th>
<th>5th</th>
<th>6th</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Life</td>
<td>10-15</td>
<td>10-15</td>
<td>15-12</td>
<td>15-12</td>
<td>15-12</td>
<td>15-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>10-8</td>
<td>10-8</td>
<td>15-10</td>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>10-15</td>
<td>10-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>18-12</td>
<td>15-12</td>
<td>15-10</td>
<td>10-12</td>
<td>10-12</td>
<td>10-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>12-10</td>
<td>15-10</td>
<td>8-10</td>
<td>8-5</td>
<td>8-5</td>
<td>8-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td>10-8</td>
<td>10-8</td>
<td>8-10</td>
<td>7-10</td>
<td>10-8</td>
<td>10-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field Work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7-8</td>
<td>7-10</td>
<td>7-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extra-curricular</td>
<td>5-2</td>
<td>5-2</td>
<td>5-8</td>
<td>5-8</td>
<td>5-10</td>
<td>5-11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total (100%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Hours per year</th>
<th>840</th>
<th>875</th>
<th>945</th>
<th>980</th>
<th>1,050</th>
<th>1,080</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weekly Average</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In carrying out the new directions of elementary school functions, as is seen in Table 4, such fundamental subjects as "social life" and science courses were taught
through the first six grades levels.\textsuperscript{118} 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.

The curricula for both elementary and middle schools comprised Korean language, social studies, science, arithmetic, health, art, and music. From the fourth grade vocational subjects were also included. Physical training, "practical arts and homemaking" were introduced in the syllabus of both essentially on the same lines as that of the middle school though the student could specialize either in the arts, sciences, or in philosophy. Morals and natural history were later added to the regular syllabus. Religious instruction was excluded from all school curricula under Article 5 of the Education Law, and the teaching of Japanese was prohibited.

Certain elements of nationalism were sometimes seen, such as, anti-Japanese and anti-Communist, particularly in the history and civic textbooks for upper levels. These texts were rewritten in to bring out the history of the nation's struggle for emancipation from "the evil hand of Japanese aggressors" and for "the possible dangers and destructive way of communism" to individual freedom and world peace.\textsuperscript{119}

The basic policy and criteria for the elementary school curriculum, both public and private, were set in force by the Ministry of Education. Local leaders in education

\textsuperscript{118}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.

\textsuperscript{119}As was described above, such impressive phrases as "democracy and freedom," "world peace," or either "anti-Communism" are often found in revised textbooks; Kongmin (Civic or Community Life) and Kuksa (National History).
were merely authorized by the law to select a few optional courses among such simple "daily-living" training course as "homemaking," while in most urban schools, sources were designed to meet the local needs.

However, both curricula and teaching methods have been severely criticized, above all, for the emphasis on learning by rote instead of intellectual effort, for the slavish following of textbooks, and for the pursuit of impractical hobbies. The product of a middle school was not really qualified for any occupation and was usually unable to find a paid job. In the high schools the old emphasis on literary subjects has persisted, and most of the students chose to learn over 2,000 Chinese characters, thus encouraging the deep-rooted tendency to formalism and an exclusive reliance on memory. Korean textbooks on social studies have been described as most unrealistic, and similar unreality and formalism characterized the teaching of mathematics and scientific subjects.\textsuperscript{120} These characteristics persisted at the university level, where entire classes were taken up with professors reading their lecture notes at dictation speed and there was a lack of discussion.\textsuperscript{121}

**RESEARCH AND DISSEMINATION FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF INSTRUCTIONAL METHODS**

Since 1945, education in Korea slowly shifted from the totalitarian Japanese system of education to the democratic system based on decolonization. In 1948, the


government tried to develop the new content and method of education and new system of education through enlightenment of teachers, in-service training, various meetings and seminars. The first American Education Team to Korea gave enthusiastic support to the whole process.

EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE FROM THE UNITED STATES

Throughout the period under the Military Government, Educational aid from the United States had been provided under the auspices of the United States Army. Beginning on January 1, 1949 the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) was given this responsibility.

Operating with the long range goal of aiding the Republic of Korea to become economically self-sufficient the ECA instituted several educational programs. The direct assistance provided to these programs could be classified under two categories:

1. Technical aid through the consultative and advisory services of specialists, and
2. Material aid through the importation of essential equipment and supplies.122

A variety of programs for training the workers and managers of manufacturing and commercial concerns was developed in coordination with the Korean government. Other programs involving aid from the United States included technical assistance to the

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Korean schools and provisions for selected Korean technicians to study abroad.

Unfortunately, before the technical aid from the United States had reached full strength the North Koreans invaded the Republic, shattering all hopes of an early economic recovery.

**CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE ECA**

The advisory and Consultative activities of ECA personnel were divided into five sections.

1. In-service training
2. Management training
3. Korea Technical Institute
4. Assistance to schools
5. United States-to-Korea information exchange

**GROWTH IN INSTITUTIONS AND ENROLLMENT**

The Educational Law provided for compulsory education to take effect on June 1, 1950. This was the natural culmination of the program instituted under the Military Government when, in 1946, and each succeeding year all six-year olds were required to attend school. By the end of 1949 the Ministry of Education estimated that eighty-one percent of all children of school age were attending elementary schools.

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123 Ibid, Introduction.


Although hindered by inadequate financial support and consequent shortage of classrooms, the enrollments in the elementary schools continued to increase showing by 1950 over twenty percent increase since 1948. School construction lagged far behind need and the number of schools conducting double sessions grew steadily with the existing shortages being further aggravated by the destruction of 696 classrooms "by storms, floods, and rebellions."126

Before and after the Korean War, life-centered education with project method and problem-solving learning was emphasized in poor educational surroundings with poor materials, facilities, and equipments. After returning of the government to Seoul, great developments were achieved in educational institutions, educational facilities and methods of teaching, in the instructional field, unit learning and problem-solving learning were disseminated into educational practice with discussion method, survey learning, and field trip study.

During the 1950's, Korea's conception of the purpose of public education was confused. This was the result of post-liberation conflicts between foreign ideas and Korean traditions, post-war values disorientation and the unquestioning, unconditional acceptance of foreign ways of thinking. However, the economic development of the 1960's brought with it an increasing national self-consciousness and new reflections on the educational ideas of the past.

At this time various kinds of additional teaching methods were introduced;

126Ibid.
community-centered learning, programmed instruction, the buzz way of instruction, and audio-visual instruction were of major concern.

In later part of 1960, experimental learning, independent learning, discovery, and spontaneous, cooperative learning were also known to practical teaching.

Although an ample variety of instructional methods were introduced, they were not fully digested by the teachers as well as the learners. More than merely confusing the purpose of certain techniques among Korean educators, the mistaken notion that quantity of educational effort would, without fail, lead to a stronger, more democratic Korea. Quality of education continued to suffer to insure this desired quantity.

In 1969 some remarkable movements in the instructional field began. They were:

1. Goal-oriented Project for Instructional Effectiveness conducted by Central Education Research Institute.
3. Education Development Project directed by Education Research Institute of Yonsei University.
4. Project for underachievers in Middle School conducted by Human Development Research Institute of Ewha Women's University.
7. Utilization of various modern equipment.
TEACHING METHODS

In spite of so much enthusiasm for the new education among teachers, little change was made in teaching methods in Korean schools. Many Korean and American experts in this field observed that while there was so much talk about new education, progressive education, learning by doing, etc., "teachers in general did not show clear understanding of the learning processes." Field observers agreed that in most schools, both elementary and secondary, memorization, verbal concert repetition of correct answers, and abstract discussions were still the prevailing instructional methods.

During the period of the military Government, it was repeatedly stated that the success of a democratic society depends to a large extent upon the cooperative participation of individuals with traits of tolerance and open-mindedness, sense of responsibility, respect for the rights of others, leadership, concern for group welfare, and the like. In order to develop these traits, the school should provide conditions in which these democratic activities can take place. An extensive effort was made along this line by the staff of the Teacher Training Center. As a result, many Korean teachers and school administrators were impressed and inspired by the new teaching methods. But

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127 Hackwonsa, Korea: Its People and Culture (Seoul; Hackwonsa LTD., 1974), 200-201.

128 UNESCO, Rebuilding Education in the Republic of Korea, 128.


130 U.S. Department of Army, Report of the Staff of the Teacher Training Center, 22-31.
when it came to actual teaching, "they seemed to disregard everything that they learned about teaching methods." 

Overcrowded classrooms, and the age-old entrance examination were the two main factors which hindered the development of sound instructional methods in Korean schools. When a teacher had over eighty students in one classroom, no teaching method would be very effective. Besides, since high schools and colleges selected their students by a method of written examination which would test the amount of knowledge the applicant stored, primary schools were considered responsible for preparing for the secondary school entrance examination, and secondary schools were held responsible for preparing for the college entrance examination.

When the Republic of Korea was established, the Ministry of Education adopted the educational program established by the Military Government. Although obvious efforts were made to preserve the fundamental spiritual elements of Korean culture, the aims and objectives of school education set forth by the new Republic incorporated the modern philosophy of education advocated by American education advisors during the time of the Military Government.

**TEACHER EDUCATION**

The major policy of the Ministry of Education on elementary school teacher

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132 USAMGIK, Summation, No. 20, May, 1947, 72.

133 Oh, Chun-suk, op. cit., 10-11.
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 some cases) in jamming over a hundred children into one classroom in most urban schools. A double-shift system was therefore indispensable to accommodate all the children enrolled at elementary schools throughout the country. The total number of children enrolled at elementary schools reached 2,844,321 early in 1950. This number represented approximately eighty-six percent of the total elementary school-age children.\(^{134}\) 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 ration, 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 every child had attended school, there would 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, and provided two sessions a year during the summer and winter school holidays. Each session continued a total of 120 hours of instruction within twenty 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 objectives of this system were to "conduct proper personnel administration and enhance the efficiency of education." The Korean Teachers Association protested that it discriminated against teachers who were very active in the association movement. Finally, it became impossible to apply the system objectively.

**DEMOCRATIC ORIENTATION AND REORGANIZATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION**

**THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS AS A MAJOR MOBILIZATION CENTER FOR DEMOCRACY**

The major educational agency for illuminating democratic ideas to successive generations of citizens had come to be secondary schools. The government authorities had been insisting that the secondary schools were key institutions for producing useful citizens in democratic society, such as technologists, school teacher, civic servants,

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agriculture assistants and supervisory workers of various kinds. The middle and upper ranks of business consisted almost entirely at 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 permanence. This assignment falls primarily on the high school for two reasons: first, adolescence is the period of development most conclusive to such instruction; and second, the high school is the last level of the school system virtually all youth will experience.137

**CONFLICTING CONCEPTS OF TEACHING PROCESSES**

The basic assumptions for the revision of secondary education was to provide learning experienced for students which would help them acquire democratic attitudes and habits based upon their interests and abilities, and as well, to achieve democratic process of the nation. To facilitate these new demands, it was essential for secondary schools to focus on the fact that all phases of learning procedure be based on democratic principles and methods. Nevertheless, the teaching procedures used in the schools were

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137 This description is 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.
not much differentiated from that in traditional education. For example, in the societies of 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 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 ideas and social and political practices, but ruled out consideration of such controversial issues 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.¹³⁸ 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.

¹³⁸Ibid., 6-8.
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 administered to select the most brilliant students for college education. As a result, this made the examination the end goal of all education; the traditional system returned.

The ideas of progressive education or education for "life adjustment" called by Koreans "New Education," which had been drastically introduced to Korean education during the American military occupation period, was overwhelmingly favored by the leading liberal educators, known as "progressive educational reformists" during the post-independence period. The leaders of these groups under the impetus of some liberal political elites, vigorously challenged the over-simplification of the traditional view on the responsibility of secondary education in terms of narrowly defined intellectual tasks. The major challenge over the secondary school's intellectual role had centered on the agreement that such functions as the teaching of social proficiency, physically 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.

139 Oh, op. cit., 408-414.
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 a few years during the post-liberation. The advocates for this new movement had paid their fullest attention to considering student's background--their abilities, aptitudes, interests, and motivation. 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 in harmony with the conditions of social life for which students were being prepared. Since it is not possible to give specialized instruction to every student in a public school system, it is therefore the goal of educators to provide each child with the basic tools necessary to master any situation. For instance, it may be impossible for a school to teach their students all of the classics, but it is possible for them to teach them to read critically, and to provide them with the criteria to judging whether or not a work is a classic.

The conservative educators and leading parents' groups, however, openly attacked the "new educational ideas," saying that they did not fit Korean values of education. They sharply argued that the new education could destroy the sanctity of mental disciplines and intellectual traits. In support of their position, they pointed to the waves 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

\[\text{140} \text{ Ibid., 491-494.}\]
new, pre-war traditionalism and post-war progressivism. Rather, these two attitudes
stood side by side and continued to contend with each other.

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 a 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-enforced by the Republic's Education Law of 1949.

Middle schools at the time were more likely of the 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: agriculture,
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 1950.141

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 schools was
an ideal system in determining a pupils aptitudes as well as his normal development with
more homogeneous peer groups. In order to avoid an extremely large school system

141 Korean Education Association, Daehan Kyoyuk Yonkam (The Yearbook of the
(particularly in urban areas), it seemed wise to retain the separated systems for the effective operation of the 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. Due to this, 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.\textsuperscript{142}

**THE NEW OBJECTIVE OF THE SECONDARY EDUCATION**

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

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.\textsuperscript{143}

On the basis of the objectives listed above, it can best be 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 schools education.

The goals of the high school, as stipulated in the Education 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 Education Law:

\textsuperscript{143}Article 101 of the Education 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 a forum for 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 wind, which are necessary in contributing his talent to the nation and his society.

**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 the 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 modifications. 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 he recommendations of the Curriculum sub-committee of the Special Committee of the Secondary School Reorganization (SCSSR), revised the secondary school curriculum in particular emphasis on the following major areas: (1) social studies, (2) humanities and the arts, and to some extent, (3) sciences, with the idea of establishing a well-rounded and
flexible curriculum.\textsuperscript{144}

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 a democratic education. Furthermore, since the international problems were becoming an important area, more attention had been given to the history and the culture of the people of various countries. Many high schools had added a course in world geography, which surveyed the economic, cultural, and political characteristics of different countries.\textsuperscript{145}

\textbf{STRENGTHENING HUMANITIES AND ARTS COURSES}

The Special Committee on Secondary School Reorganization had described the vital essence of the humanities and practices as democracy to pupils' lives in these words:

\begin{quote}
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 direction 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
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{144}\textit{Ibid.}, 57-100.

\textsuperscript{145}Central Education Research \textit{Institute, op. cit.}, 57-64.
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 programs, 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.  

**IMPROVING SCIENCE EDUCATION**

Since the post-liberation 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. Science is most frequently identified not only with the great technological advancements geared towards 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 method.

This point was stressed by the Special Committee of Secondary School Reorganization, that the recent scientific discoveries emphasized the importance of every

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147 Korea Central Education Research Institute, *op. cit.*, 92-95.

citizen's knowing more about both the method and the application of scientific knowledge to the affairs of men. 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.

In carrying out this aim, the development of science education was one of the crucial underpinnings 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 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. The Committee further commented: The special programs for science teacher preparation were extremely 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 advise against automatic learning. 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

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150 Ibid., 14-15.

151 Ibid., 15-16.

152 UNESCO, op. cit., 45-46.
middle and high school curricula. (currently, science courses including mathematics were taught approximately between twenty and twenty-five 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). 153

5. A special research allowance for science teachers should be provided as an incentive program for better instructions. 154

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 towards a pupil's capacity of earning a living functioning as a prospective citizen in a democratic state. The eminent advocates for this new education firmly stressed:

153 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. The Korean Annual Report, 1953, 216.

154 The Office of Public Information of the Republic of Korea, Korean Report (Seoul, Korea, 1950), 41-42.
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; attitude 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.  

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

REORIENTATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS ON THE BASIS OF Democratic PRINCIPLES

One of the emerging necessities for secondary schools 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 Japanese school system. The Japanese system of education during the pre-war period, as was mentioned earlier, required alls students to be heavily indoctrinated in the spirit of the traditional morality and Japanese nationalism. Both the Confucian family ethics preached incomes and the Samurai (warrior) spirit of the state ideology taught in

the schools were the pillars of Japanese education. The Japanese education strictly emphasized the three principles of "obedience" to superiors, "filial piety" to parents, and "loyalty" to the Emperor of the State. 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 judgement, 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 and financial support of the Ministry of Education, 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 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.\textsuperscript{157}

Some difficult problems, however, had to be decided since the programs were unable to accommodate 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-terms of in-service 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 for 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 perspective 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.\textsuperscript{158} 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 rapid growth of the secondary school enrollment.\textsuperscript{159} As a result, two major types of secondary teacher training institutions were legally authorized: a two-year

\textsuperscript{157}Lee, Hae chang, Moon-kyo Hangjong Ilgo (A review of Educational Administration), (Seoul, Korea: Kyoyuk-sa, 1950), 24. (Mimeographed).

\textsuperscript{158}Ibid., 25-26.

\textsuperscript{159}Ibid., 26.
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 faculties 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 the 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 35,856 students by May 1950.\(^{160}\)

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 were subject-matter centered in their teaching, the teacher's 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-tern in-

service training programs at each teachers' college in the national universities. This was necessary for the promotion of the liberal arts and in rider 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.

Before turning to the educational system established by the Republic of Korea's Government, it is necessary to take into account the extent of the destruction caused by the Korean War, when twenty-five percent of classrooms were destroyed and another twenty-five percent damaged, while over ninety-five percent of the existing laboratory equipment was lost.¹⁶¹

Yet barely had the nation started to build its own educational system, when the Korean War broke out and schools were again devastated. Many buildings were destroyed, others occupied as military billets. North Korean forces systematically looted all schools for furniture and equipment. Even the blackboards were taken from the walls.

Summary

Traditionally, Korean schools has stressed theoretical, literary, and abstract learnings to the expense of the technical, scientific, and practical side of education. Schools had been considered as institutions designed to create scholars, and scholarship was frequently measured purely in terms of memorization of preferred subject content. Traditions die slowly. Korea's post-war schools were still laden with a heavy preference

for the humanities, barely acknowledging the sciences.

Under the U.S. Military Government, preparation for reconstructing the structure of education was the major task. Inasmuch as both freedom and democracy must rely upon education, it was only natural that the U.S. Military government, as well as Korean leaders, consider educational reorganization the foundation of the new Korea.

For three years, under the most unfavorable political and economic conditions, Korean teachers and school officials were taught and trained by American education advisors and experts in various educational fields. As a result, many Korean educators gained considerable knowledge of modern theories and democratic principles of education, and realized what had happened to their schools during their long isolation from the outside world.

In their haste for immediate achievement, Koreans often attempted to ignore the centuries of tradition. The few bold teachers who had superficially grasped modern educational theories and had attempted to translate these into classroom practice became discouraged at their failure. Newer educational theories that had been brought to Korea implied a greater freedom on the part of the students, a greater opportunity to participate in the give-and-take of free discussion, and equal opportunity among all children for education. Yet many of the Korean homes were fostering practices in direct opposition to those being introduced by the schools.

With only a superficial knowledge of modern theories and practices of education, and often lacking a depth of academic preparation as well, Korean teachers often sought refuge in the harshly uniformed methods of the past. Progress was further frustrated by
the lack of basic educational research concerning the needs, interests and abilities of Korean children.

The second stage in the growth of education began in 1948 when the government of the Republic of Korea was established for the first time. Considerable attention was given to the expansion and improvement of the educational system as a means of improving the overall development of the nation by this new government. The Education Law, as promulgated in October 1949, sets forth the purposes of education as follows: all the nationals were to contribute to the natural prosperity of mankind through the development of democracy, by nurturing the integrity of individuals equipped with the ability to lead independent lives and become qualified citizens with Hongik Ingan (philanthropic) ideals. "Philanthropic ideals," indeed, are supposed to serve as the basic guiding principle of Korean education. More pressing, however, was the problem of how to educate the people against Communism along democratic lines. Thus, the first Minister of Education placed emphasis on patriotism based on democracy.

The two terms which were being given considerable attention by Korean educators during the post-war period were New Education and moral education. The former term had come into prominence after liberation from the Japanese, and had been used since that time as a sort of rallying cry for the Korean teachers bent on modernizing the schools. moral education, defined as obedience to the State, had occupied an important place in the curriculum under the Japanese. Educators in post-war Korea were again concerned with moral education, not only as a means to strengthen the allegiance of students to their nation, but also as a basis for revitalizing ethnic standards debased by
Korean education, like other phases of Korean social and cultural life, was in a stage of ideological transition. In his study of Koran education with emphasis on educational development under the Republic of Korea, Donald K. Adams pictured education under the Republic of Korea, as a laboratory experiment wherein new ideas were being tested and old theories discarded.

Though the manner of educational control was often directly antithetical to the principles set forth in the Education Law, the foundation for the change appeared to have been laid, for the Korean leaders were becoming increasingly aware of the existing discrepancies between their educational theory and their educational practices.

Education, however, became paralysed all too soon as a result of the sudden outbreak of war. The North Korean invasion took place on June 25, 1950, and whatever economic improvement had been made after the Liberation was destroyed. Virtually all educators and students had to make refuge away from battlegrounds, while young male students again took up arms.
CHAPTER III

THE POTENTIALITIES OF INTEGRATING KOREAN CONFUCIANISM, PRACTICALISM AND AMERICAN PRAGMATISM

Chapter III attempts to look into some of the conceptual characteristics of the educational ideas embedded in the post-World War II educational reconstruction, and how these educational ideas affected the process of modernization and educational change in Korea. The objective of this chapter is to review the various influences on education that resulted from the American presence in Korea, to assess the extent to which the unique educational achievement of the nation can be attributed to that presence, and to evaluate the influence of American Pragmatism on the development of the post-World War II educational reconstruction.

To examine the development and the educational ideas of the Korean government in the years directly after the Korean War, namely the 1950s and 1960s, some questions will be answered about these events. This study will answer the following questions:

1. What were the educational philosophies, pedagogical theories, and educational methods in post-World War II Korean education from 1945-1965?
2. What factors contributed to American pragmatism's influence on Korea's educational system, particularly on basic education, educational method,
and curriculum?

3. What has been the educational significance of the merger of American pragmatism with more traditional Korean thought?

THE KOREAN WAR, 1950

During 1949-50, United States' policies on Atlantic defense and the Marshall Plan for aid to Europe had priority over Pacific points considered essential to American defense. In January 1950, Dean Acheson, speaking to the National Press Club in Washington, outlined the "defense perimiter" of the United States in the Pacific as including the Aleutians, Japan, the Ryukyus, and the Philippines, a view which had also been expressed by General MacArthur in 1949.¹

Aware of these views and knowing that they could have a significant role in a short war, Congress was warned by the American Ambassador J.C. Muccio to Korea in June 1950 that the Soviet Union appears to have calculated on a relatively quick and easy North Korean victor, assuming that only Republic of Korea forces would have to be faced. He informed Congress of the unprepared-ness of South Korea's defense forces. This calculation seemed realistic in the light of the situation in the Spring of 1950.

The war started with the invasion of the North Korean armies on Sunday, June 25, 1950. The United States had done little to create a South Korean military machine. In contrast, the Soviet Union had done its formidable best for the Communist North Korea. Russian T-34 tanks spearheaded the ground assault, Russian combat aircraft flew cover,

¹United States Department of State Bulletin, 23 (Jan. 1950), 115.
and the Russian artillery laid down support fire.

Only an accident of history, the absence of the Soviet Union from the UN Security Council, saved South Korea. The U.S. pushed through the Security Council a resolution for UN condemnation of the Communist rampage and for a UN response to it.²

Within weeks, a sixteen-nation UN military force was in operation, under U.S. leadership, against the Communist North Korean invaders. By the autumn of the invasion year, the North Korean columns had been all but wiped out and the UN forces were on the Yalu River, the frontier between Korea and Manchuria. In October, regular troops of the People's Republic of China, with no warning, crossed the Yalu and engaged the UN forces.

The savage fighting seesawed up and down the peninsula, mainly round the 38th parallel, until the middle of 1951, when cease-fire talks began. After two more years of negotiation and sporadic fighting, there finally emerged a formal armistice, which brought the peninsula's basic situation right back to where it had been when the North Koreans had resorted to force in 1950. The truce negotiations were once suspended and dragged on for over a year before agreement was finally reached on July 27, 1953.

During the war, the Republic of Korea Government continued to function. Although it had only been proclaimed less than two years before the Communist invasion, it twice had to evacuate its capital, and no less than six times had to move the central administration and re-establish it elsewhere. Wartime confusion was at its height in

1951 when the only part of South Korea that had not been overrun by the Communists was a small area in the southeastern corner of the peninsula, known as the Pusan perimeter.

At this time the President and the Ministers, as well as a rather attenuated National Assembly, carried on their functions in Pusan. Essentially on lorries, they fled southward, and crowded into an already desperately overcrowded city. Offices were somehow found, hastily refurnished with boards, packing cases, and cardboard, and the ministries and departments began to function. Often there was no fuel, and in temperatures of zero degrees to ten degrees Fahrenheit, the office staff worked at their files in mufflers and overcoats. Where and how they lived is a mystery. As a United Nations report said:

The Republic of Korea has stood up to the strains of war remarkably well. The government apparatus did not disintegrate, despite difficulties, confusion, and danger. As districts were liberated... the civil administration...was quickly re-established...The National Assembly, although still inexperienced and sometimes lacking in a sense of responsibility, has remained an active force.

The report went on: "This Commission believes that...Korea will, with slowly acquired experience in administration...continue to develop the institutions of democracy."³

EDUCATIONAL DAMAGE AGGRAVATED BY THE WAR

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

twenty percent of them were damaged, while over eighty percent of the existing
laboratory equipment was lost or burned by bombardment. The UNESCO Education
Mission, estimating it slightly differently, provided further details:

...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 twenty-three percent were totally
destroyed, 4,976 or eleven percent half destroyed, and 13,971
or thirty percent suffered other damages. Available reports
also indicated 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.4

The war period was also remarkable in that it caused a serious shortage of
teachers. Many of the teachers were killed or missing when the Communists cruelly
swept through the major cities and towns in South Korea. A great many teachers were
also called to military duty when the Conscript Law was passed in 1951. As a result, the
Ministry of Education indicated that about thirty-two percent of college faculty members
were unable to return to their posts when the armistice was concluded in 1953.5

The war greatly reduced the number of students from elementary schools through
universities. An approximate twenty-two percent of the total enrollment of elementary
schools, thirty-two percent of secondary, and forty-six percent of college and university
enrollments were reduced during the three-year wartime period.6 It was indeed not only

4 UNESCO, Rebuilding Education in the Republic of Korea, 83.
the heavy damage and destruction of school buildings and equipment, but the tragic loss of many young school children, students, and teachers who could not be replaced that was heartbreaking.

**WARTIME EDUCATION**

The Korean War set back the educational system and hindered the steady growth of modern education in South Korea. But regardless of other shortcomings, an extraordinary evidence of the widespread desire for education was demonstrated during wartime. Every effort was made by the people to restore educational services.

When the government of South Korea twice evacuated its capital at the height of the wartime confusion, millions of internal refugees were scattered in the small area of the "Pusan Perimeter," the only area in South Korea not yet overrun by the Communists. According to government sources, the number of internal refugees in this area was estimated to be five million.7

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 the overcrowded Pusan area. The government, with 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.8 Although the government had limited resources, parent groups and

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8Oh, *op. cit.*, 453-454.
various social institutions made earnest efforts for their children's education. While the battles were still being fought, reconstruction was begun.

Refugee school camps, mostly clay houses, tents, or temporary barracks, were built by the parents in most cases. They were furnished not with desks and chairs, but with straw sitting mats on the dirt floor used even during the worst parts of winter. A foreign educator observed and described this wretched plight as follows:

One might see a class of schools in 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; an evening class lit with a few flickering candles in the bitter cold of the windowless lecture room of an underpaid teacher.

But with the coming of the warmer spring season, many schools started holding classes outdoors near hovels into which the children could run for shelter if rain fell.

Though the Education Law had set sixty as the maximum number of students per class, the teacher-pupil ratio was often over one hundred. Table 5 on page 181 shows the loss of classrooms in the elementary schools, as well as in other educational institutions during the war.

As of September 1951, only seventy-four percent of the compulsory age group were enrolled in the elementary schools. The main reasons for the non-attendance of pupils were: (1) poverty and (2) distance of the school from the homes of the children.

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9 Ibid., 454-455.

10 Reeve, op. cit., 88-89.
Though elementary education was recognized in the Educational Law as a national responsibility, the brunt of the financial burden continued to be borne by the parents.

In theory, the cost in terms of the Parent-Teacher Association contributions and other schools fees was voluntary, but in actual practice even elementary education was on a pay-as-you-enter basis with the cost varying from school to school. Merely clothing the children adequately for school and providing for school lunches produced insurmountable obstacles to many parents. The second cause for non-attendance, the great distance between the schools and the students' residences, had continually plagued Korea. Korea's agricultural population, though not on dispersed farms as in parts of some rural nations, was widely scattered in small villages. Under the pressure of a war economy with military expenditures receiving high priority, the government could not fulfill the educational needs in many of the smaller Korean hamlets. It became obvious that elementary education could not be realized by the entire Korean population until the national government, through larger financial expenditures, assumed a larger share in the costs of the elementary schools. With the losses of the facilities and teachers, secondary school enrollments were by necessity temporarily curtailed, and secondary school education became even more exclusive.

In 1952, it was estimated that twenty-six percent of the elementary school graduates were entering middle school and that fifty percent of the middle school graduates were entering college. These data show that many Korean boys and girls

11Education in the Republic of Korea. United Nations Civil Assistance Command, Civil Affairs Section, Pusan, Korea, June, 1952, 43. (Mimeographed).
terminated their education at the ninth grade. Furthermore, seventy-five percent of the high school graduates would not be eligible to continue their education in college.\textsuperscript{12} The terminal characteristics of neither the middle nor the high school were given adequate consideration in the general secondary school curriculum.

Nearly all of the secondary school students had aspirations for a college education and the secondary curriculum was geared narrowly to this one purpose. The graduate of high school would probably work on a farm, as a clerk, or as a semi-skilled craftsman, yet his education pointed him only towards the professions and positions of high leadership.

With great financial assistance from major foreign economic agencies such 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),\textsuperscript{13} the number of refugee schools had increased to fifty-four elementary schools with an enrollment of 48,999 children, while sixty-four middle and high schools with 21,327 students enrolled 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, Taeku, Kwangju, and Chonju in February 1951 to ensure the continuation of higher education. These consolidation universities,

\textsuperscript{12}Rebuilding Education in the Republic of Korea. The Final Report of the UNESCO/UNKRA Educational Planning Mission to Korea.

however, concentrated primarily on education of those who had been evacuated from the

Table 5

Effect of War on Number of Classrooms*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classrooms</th>
<th>Number of Classrooms Before 1950</th>
<th>Number of Destroyed or Damaged</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elementary Schools</td>
<td>34,294</td>
<td>23,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Schools</td>
<td>4,716</td>
<td>3,544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colleges and universities</td>
<td>3,468</td>
<td>1,721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42,478</td>
<td>28,965</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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, composed of member representing each college and university. Corresponding with the general call for the war mobilization of the country in 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 to conduct military training programs. One Seoul newspaper's editorial statement pointed out that it "was to be expected in a wartime country, since the Military Academy in Seoul
was now in enemy hands the consolidated universities needed to function as army officer recruitment stations as well as universities.\textsuperscript{14}

There had also been a remarkable trend towards 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 as 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 three-hour long strict military theory courses with indoor training on Saturdays. After completion of the fourth year, all male students were to be conscripted as cadet corps members of other military personnel without further formal military training.\textsuperscript{15}

\textbf{NATIONAL WAR-TIME EDUCATIONAL POLICIES}

With the invasion and subsequent overrunning of much of the Republic, most provisions of the Educational Law were necessarily temporarily postponed. The immediate problems of carrying on some semblance of an educational program in the area still unoccupied and providing for the tremendous number of refugee students became paramount. Every time that Seoul fell to the enemy, all government offices moved to Pusan. From its cramped quarters in this city, the Ministry of Education sought to provide leadership and unity to the many improvised programs of education. Immediately upon the stabilization of the battle lines the process of reconstruction began.

\textsuperscript{14}Seoul Shinmun (Seoul Daily), (July 13, 1951), 2.

\textsuperscript{15}Park, Sang-man, \textit{op. cit.}, 168-169.
THE NEW EDUCATIONAL POLICY FOR WARTIME NEEDS

ORGANIZATION OF SCREENING COMMITTEE FOR PURIFICATION OF TEACHERS

As soon as most of the parts of 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 mayor, the local school administrator, the school principal, the local police chief, and a leading citizen.\(^\text{16}\)

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 as its chairman and the rest of its members from the District Public Procurator's office, the Bureau of Educational and Social Affairs, the Provincial Bureau of Police, and other 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 occupied by the enemy, or had ever held any responsible position offered by the Communist administrators. As a result of the Committee's judgement, approximately a quarter of the total elementary and secondary school teachers 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.

\(^\text{16}\)New York Times, June 8, 1951, 3.
On May 21, 1951, the Assembly passed a resolution against the executive policy that recommended that all teachers be 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.

**ENLARGING THE SUPPLY OF TEACHERS**

To meet the increasing wartime demand for elementary and secondary teachers, the government took several steps to enlarge the supply of teachers. At the elementary level by 1953, teachers were being chosen by three means:

1. Graduates of normal schools (all normal schools became national schools as of April 1950 because compulsory education was a national responsibility.)
2. Temporary elementary teacher training institutions
3. Those persons who successfully passed the elementary teachers examinations.

The secondary teachers were being selected by five means:

1. Graduates from temporary teacher training institutes in the provinces (two to six months in length) and two temporary institutes in Seoul (one and one-half year in length)
2. Graduates of regular four-year and two-year normal college
3. Graduates of the teacher training institutes usually attached to liberal arts or engineering colleges (two years in length, but often shortened to meet urgent demands)
4. Those persons who successfully passed the secondary teachers examination
5. Those elementary teachers selected without examination on the basis of merit.\footnote{17}

\textbf{THE NEW EDUCATIONAL GOALS}

In March 1951, Dr. Paik Nackjun, the Minister of Education, issued Education Ministry Ordinance No. 19, which set a new educational goal. The new "wartime" objectives of education briefly stated in the Ordinance stipulate: "We must recast all our educational ideas and practices because of the new situation the war has created for us."\footnote{18} 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 people in the right direction of social changes."\footnote{19} In carrying out these new objectives of the "wartime education," the New Educational policy was primarily aimed at the principal theme of "learn to live."\footnote{20}

The new "wartime" education reflected that practical education was required if the country was to make any substantial progress as a modern industrial state. The Korean leaders realized that Korea could not survive nor could her soldiers learn quickly the


\footnotetext[19]{Park, \op. cit., 141-143.}

technologies of modern warfare, unless the Koreans were taught practical knowledge. Because of the education that came before was not intended primarily to improve living or to meet individual needs, but rather to serve as a means of training and conditioning the people to be useful submissive citizens of the state, the goal was not only to improve the individual but also the improve the position of the nation on the international scene. It is this pragmatic frame of mind that helped the Koreans to overcome this disastrous war period.

A specific objective was presented as the general goal for each individual student— from an elementary school child through a college student. A skill basis was designed as a specific objective for a student to obtain by which he might be able to contribute to the nation and to meet his own needs.21 To achieve this aim, the school had to provide a sufficient guidance program for a student to concentrate on a single-subject area with comprehension. This objective might be far from the widely recognized theory among many scholars that a school should provide a "well-rounded" educational program for "wholesome" development of the individual student based on his ability.22

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, needing a quick-achievement of the goals given the particularly short period.

In order to increase the students' learning efficiency and practical experience, the

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21Ibid., 159-160.

programs of the Student Defense Corps, under which the various extracurricular activities were considered to be a corp are in the total school program to fit a wartime education. For example, male students were repairing tables, charts, 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.

School activities were extended to workshops in the factories, business circles or on the farms in the hope of utilizing practical experience and putting it to use. Students were assigned in accordance with their interests to the types of activities. In fact, this kind of new educational program "on-the-job-training" was common in the vocational or technical schools in many parts of Europe. This further cemented the existence of practicalism in Korean society by its very nature. These types of activities were exactly what the Silhak scholars called for in their demand for scientific knowledge, and practical know-how. In tandem with the traditional textbook learning and classes, the students were able to receive hands-on training and gain working knowledge of their chosen vocational fields. The word "vocational" is also important since it displays the shedding of the old stigma that used to be attached to anything not esoteric in nature.

THE WAR AND ITS CONSEQUENCES IN EDUCATION

Although the Korean War had seriously damaged the country's infrastructure, it seemed that the people had acquired important experience which was necessary for the reconstruction of modern Korea. The three-year period brought about a remarkable

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23 Park, *op. cit.*, 127.

24 Oh, *op. cit.*, 456-460.
social change by transforming traditional concepts and attitudes. This social trend required a new form of education to meet the demands of an emerging society. A gigantic military establishment was a huge burden on the nation's economy, but a version of the military installation evolved which was transferrable to civilian sectors, saving the government much-needed money.  

**TRANSFORMATION OF THE PEOPLE'S BEHAVIORAL PATTERNS**

After the national liberation from the Japanese colonial rule in 1945, Military Occupation authorities established democratic institutions. Korean intellectuals welcomed these new doctrines that would be guiding principles in the future Korean society. Theories of government, economy, and education were newly adopted while people rapidly turned over their traditional ways of living. Costumes, entertainment habits, women's hair styles, and even speech patterns quickly changed. Aged people were scandalized at the frequent use of English in newspapers and magazines.

Schools taught the principles of democracy--freedom and equality--but nothing was emphasized on responsible and constructive ways of cooperation. Students enjoyed hearing what John Locke had advocated, "sovereignty rests with the people who at time have the rights to abolish and reconstruct government."  

Student demonstration followed but merely added to the chaos in the college communities. The National Assembly members sat down in the comfortable Assembly-

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hall chairs and spent all day long condemning, accusing, and reproaching one another without any purpose. All spoke of freedom of speech and assembly, but there was little understanding as to what those concepts meant. A well-known native scholar lamented that, "this is a tragic phenomenon of a backward nation happening normally in a transitional stage." Without democratic experience and with only a few words from Christian missionaries, this liberal idea was lauded and "freedom," as it was, indeed, became the post-liberation period's universal password.

The most significant changes caused by the war to Korean society were not only in the material but also in the non-material aspects of the culture. The war had stimulated the people of South Korea to an awakening of their own national consciousness and a re-evaluation of their self-interests. In the early period of the war, hundreds of thousands of refugees were forced to leave their homes to seek safety in the "Pusan perimeter." Those who returned to their homes after the war, found mass destruction. This painful experience caused the people to make an epochal change in their behavior and in their social values. 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 concluded that the creation of security for the masses of its people was of prime importance. The President of the United States, Harry S. Truman, made this comment:

Korea had become a testing ground in which the validity and practical value of the ideals and principles of democracy which

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27 Kim, H.M., op.cit., 57-68.
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 arresting Communism will stand as a beacon to the people of northern Asia in resisting the control of the Communist forces which have overcome them.28

The Korean War caused a second notable change which transformed the economy from a basically agricultural to an industrial one. During the war, the traditional contempt for technical works of craftsmanship was altered.

In the past, education was, to the majority of Korean people, a means of avoiding technical and manual or "blue-collar" jobs, which were 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 government officials 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 those who had superficial knowledge with liberal arts degrees. People began to believe that industry was one of the most effective means of raising their standard of living.

Technical education and industrial training programs received greater attention, and

technical schools were turned into producing units where students could earn wages.

The third change was 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 intra-family relationships between the older and younger members of the family. Since the moral principle was rigidly practiced, there was little room for the younger members of the family of society of the state.

A remarkable influence of the traditional morality was also apparent in the country's political climate. Professor Lee Han-been has pointed out:

A recent study of the social background of the political leaders showed that the elites of cabinet Ministers, National Assembymen, 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.29

The impact of this principle (that of the government being run on the highest levels by middle-aged, upper-crust men) thus has affected every aspect of the Korean society. This traditional moral code is indeed one of the major problems that the Korean society faced in the nations' liberation in 1945.

During the Korean War, the people realized that the ancient system of learning was not adequate in the modern day. In realizing this shortcoming on their part, they

29Lee, Han-been, Korea: Time Change, and Administration (Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center Press, 1968), 94-95.
decided that the practicalist approach was the only way in which they and their country was ever going to become a player in the increasing invasive global community. However, knowledgeable and educated men who had acquired a newfound freedom and respect started to show less modesty. To be a total person, one must have insight as well as knowledge. What is more, he must have modesty for the virtues of Confucian tradition. For the total person should possess five virtues—wisdom, modesty, honesty, compassion, and reservation. Education seeks to develop an ability to control and appraise oneself through autonomous internalization of orderly life.

During the three-year 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 Korean youths went into the Army and fought for freedom and the salvation of their country. In light of their distinguished service, the youth had been widely recognized by the old generation as the pillars of the nation. 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 from the traditional social pattern and to challenge the dominance of their parent's generation on decision-making processes. The supremacy of the age group was still accorded overt respect; however, that the Korean youth had become an even more vociferous force in decisions status had been made apparent not only in the urban society but also in the rural communities. The younger generation had now begun to break away from the traditional and social pattern
and to challenge the dominance of their parents' generation on decision-making processes. Decision making processes, both within the family and on the national level, thus, shifted from patriarchal and non-egalitarian patterns to a more democratic one with an equal basis between the older and younger generations.

The impact of this change was apparent in education when the new ideological forces challenged the authoritarian methods of teaching and administration. Teachers at the elementary and the 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 the secondary schools, a new idea was born to abolish the "military" type of disciplinary system and 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 authoritarianism to one in which the teacher acted as a guide to the students' own discovery of knowledge. The leading students of the Student Defense Corps now frequently became participants in the faculty's curriculum-organization committees and contributed their own ideas.

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 changes, however, as was anticipated, classroom disorders and campus disturbance 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 students' self-
discipline, inadequacy of 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 into the uncontrollable revolutionary forces in the early part of the 1960's.30

THE MILITARY CONTRIBUTION IN EDUCATION

The continued threat by North Korea 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 but it was actually extended to forty-five years of age because of the war.31 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. Since a great number of military men were recruited, extensive military training had given Korea a vast reservoir of skilled persons whose skills and talents were transferrable to civilian life. All experiences acquired in the military service later contributed to building a modern Korea. Samuel D. Berger, former Ambassador of the United States to Korea, witnessed the Korean Armed Forces' contribution to civilian development:

30 The authoritarian government of Syngman Rhee was toppled by the students' revolutionary forces, so-called "April-Students' Revolution" in April 19, 1960.

31 Article 6 of the Military Service Law stipulates that the Republic of Korean males may be conscripted at the age of twenty for a normal term of two years in the Army of three years in the Navy or Air Force. The maximum drafting age is forty years, but it may be extended to forty-five years in case of wars or other national emergency.
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 required 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.

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.32

One of the most significant roles in education carried out by the military forces was a campaign against illiteracy within its own Army units. A great number of the Army men who had been conscripted, particularly from the remote areas could not read or write, not even as much as their own name. In order to solve this emerging problem, the Minister 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 from business circles, and the remainder from its own Ministry.33 Its key role was to review general education programs within the Ministry and to make 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


33 Yukkun Shinmun (Army Weekly), March 19, 1954, 4.
general education program was approved by the National Assembly in January 1952.
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, had received
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 number of officers to enroll at departments related to his specialized
field for further academic work. The Defense Ministry also requested the Ministry of
Education on February 17, 1952, to cooperate in granting special admissions. This later
developed into the regular Reserved Officers Training Corps, which in 1957 was set up in
colleges and universities. Further more, to encourage those who wished to continue their
higher education while in the military services, the Ministry of Defense permitted
servicemen to take evening course 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.

Korean military activities in education had been dramatic in variety and
magnitude. These educational activities had extended far beyond the army camps: for
example, building schools and collecting literary campaigns for thousands of villagers.

Also, Korean educational military authorities had supplied a large number of tents to villages and often distributed 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 admirable action contributed by the servicemen was to provide numerous scholarship funds in order that poor students may continue their education. The funds for scholarships were collected largely from the servicemen's voluntary contributions.


With the armistice on July 27, 1953, the uppermost emerging problem faced by the Republic of Korea was the reconstruction of the national infrastructure. In carrying out the arduous task, the government gave, as its top priority, the policy on economic rehabilitation. A great proportion of its efforts concentrated on efficiency in education to train skilled manpower for economic rebuilding. A shift in President Rhee's major policy orientation towards economic recovery was demonstrated by a series of programs such as (1) a program to increase industrial production: (2) a vigorous financial stabilization program to stop inflation: and (3) institutional developments for a long-range
development plan. These programs were successful in promoting economic recovery.\textsuperscript{34} Foreign economic aid, however, 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.

The long range objective of the foreign aid programs to Korea, as stated on August 1, 1953 by the United States Foreign Operations Administrations, was to develop a "viable economy, capable, without substantial outside assistance, of (a) supporting a standard of living approximating that of 1949-1950 and, (b) supporting a military force adequate to deter external aggression and repel any invasions other than that by a major military power."\textsuperscript{35} In more detail, and with emphasis on the immediate Korean needs, the foreign aid objectives included:

1) Development of an economic base for effective ROK security forces
2) Prevention of diseases and unrest and raising of standard of living to minimum levels
3) Control of inflation
4) Training of skilled manpower
5) Increasing production, with primary emphasis on:
   a) Agriculture

\textsuperscript{34}Lee, Han Been, Korea: Change and Administration(Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1968), 82.

b) Manufacturing and mining

c) Electric Power and coal

d) Development of transportation systems

e) Improvement in Korean Morale

The above objectives demonstrate the multi-faceted problems of the reconstruction and rehabilitation programs for Korea. There was the need for increased production of food, fuel, textiles, power, transportation and communication facilities. There was also the need for more stable political conditions under which these improvements could be made. Perhaps most important of all these was the need for coordination between the foreign aid agencies and the Korean authorities in translating their joint plans into successful action.

As a first attempt at educational planning in Korea, the compulsory Education Plan (1954-1959) was developed with a six-year time perspective. Although the planning scope was confined to the compulsory elementary school level, the plan provided the Korean Government with valuable experience in long-term educational planning.

The Compulsory Education Plan was mainly concerned with the social demands of education. It based its goal-targets on the assessment of the compulsory school age population during the planning period. An enrollment projection was made for a six-year period. Based on this enrollment projection and using a legally established standard of sixty students per teacher in a class (Article 92 and 93 of the Education Law), the plan

\[36\text{Ibid., 17.}\]
identified estimates for teacher demands, classroom needs and financial resource requirements to achieve compulsory education.

The enrollment projection anticipated a target attendance rate of ninety-six percent of the compulsory school-age children. To reach this target, goal-targets of teachers and new classroom construction were specified annually from 1954 to 1959. They are shown in Table 6 below.

### TABLE 6
**GOAL-TARGETS OF ENROLLMENTS, TEACHERS, AND NEW CLASSROOM CONSTRUCTION FOR THE COMPULSORY EDUCATION BY YEAR FROM 1954 TO 1959**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Enrollments(%)</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>New Classrooms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>2,664,000 (88.84)</td>
<td>46,953</td>
<td>5,924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>2,877,000 (91.76)</td>
<td>49,602</td>
<td>5,929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>2,921,000 (93.47)</td>
<td>52,870</td>
<td>6,569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>3,188,000 (95.84)</td>
<td>55,857</td>
<td>6,269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>3,262,000 (96.00)</td>
<td>58,621</td>
<td>6,051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>3,550,000 (96.13)</td>
<td>59,957</td>
<td>5,644</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**PROBLEMS OF THE FARMERS**

Farmers in Korea, who comprise almost seventy percent of the nation's total population, experienced a difficult problem, basically because of the inadequate measures of the government's agricultural reform policy. The agricultural economy was in such poor condition that all but the largest and most alert landowners were pauperized. The
land reform totally shrank farm units and drained the middle class farmers. It almost wiped out private ownership.\textsuperscript{37} Local technical development, farm loans, management of farm products including shortage and selling that used to depend on farm owners now rapidly shifted to government control. Farmers in Korea now 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 the crops at high prices for their family needs. \textsuperscript{38} Obviously, an orderly system of financing loans and of marketing the rice and agricultural crops was essential to restore the well-being of the farmers.

Large industry and businesses were established. Their growth was closely associated with key government officials. In order to obtain government loans, industry and business owners often paid a considerable portion 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

\textsuperscript{37}Reeve, W.D., \textit{op. cit.}, 31-37.

unemployment rates soared. Newly formed industrial plants were dependent on increased domestic needs rather than being export-directed. Because of this condition, the proportion of raw material imported far exceeded the country's export earnings. Consequently, it has been widely recognized that popular discontent over economic stagnation was ascribed to the growing evidence of the failure of the government's economic policy, in addition to government corruption.

LABOR CONDITIONS

The office of Labor Affairs reported that as of December 1957, the labor population over fifteen years of age numbered 13,450,000, of whom 7,689,000 were economically active. Of this figure eighty-six percent were fully employed while fourteen percent were unemployed or partially employed. The employment ratio, however, increased by 1.4 percent during the year 1959, reflecting a progress achieved in the field of labor intensive industries. According to this report, for example, the number of skilled workers actually trained in the regular vocational or technical institutions in 1950 was only 12,700, which was 14,600 short of the 27,300 needed, particularly in the field of technical engineering where only four thousand engineers nation wide were supplied in that year, while nearly ten thousand engineers were demanded by the various types of industry. 39

In 1957, the Office of Labor Affairs set up twelve non-profit employment agencies, including one central vocational guidance center in Seoul, two capital, and nine

39Ibid., 13-16.
regional placement agencies throughout the country. These government sponsored agencies were in addition to the existing private placement offices. Through these public and private placement agencies, a total of 23,560 skilled and non-skilled workers obtained jobs in 1958.40

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 included everything but food, which mainly consisted of rice. 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 slightly provided for by subsidies from Parent-Teachers Associations.

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 workers who instigated a labor strike would swiftly find themselves denounced as communist instigators, and sent to jail. The laws and regulation for labor security and for the mediation of disputes existed in theory, but no one attempted to implement them into practice.

THE NEW ECONOMIC PLANNING

Awakened by the trend mentioned above, the United States Office of Coordination (OEC) officials and the Korean government strived to form a new policy

40Ibid., 15-16.
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 with their dissatisfaction, but it 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. 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. The United States International Cooperation Administration (ICA) 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. In carrying out this program from the late 1950's, taxes were

41Chung, op. cit., 34-35.

42Yunhap Shinmun(Yunhap Daily Newspaper), (August 16), 8.

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 slightly
checked, prices were leaning toward stabilization through government control, and
domestic savings were narrowly increased for the first time since the nation's liberation
on 1945.44 However, the living cost greatly exceeded the slow pace of economic growth.
Many manufacturing plants could not be adopted from the domestic markets to export
mainly because of the scarcity of highly skilled technicians and engineers. An added
burden was maintaining over a 400,000 minimum standing army to prevent another
possible invasion from the North which had easily swallowed a great proportion of the
national budget, which the government had to divert from industry. Again, a heavy
infusion of American economic aid came to be a dominant factor in fostering a period of
rapid growth in the nation's economy. All of this was most promising, yet there was also
the dead weight of sluggishness to overcome.

RE-ENFORCEMENT OF VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION FOR ECONOMIC
NEEDS OF THE COUNTRY 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

44Lee, Han-Bak, "The Post-War Economic Condition in Korea," Korean report,
Vol. V, No. 5 (May 1957), 46-47.
trained men was only dimly understood and little encouragement was given for educated technicians. The traditional disdain for manual occupations has also been a major obstacle to the development of technical fields of education.

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.

During the American military occupation from 1945-1948, the military authorities gave 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 the fiscal year of 1946-1947. 45 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 teacher equipment and facilities including classrooms, laboratories and machine shops, textbooks, and sufficient amounts

45McCune, G.M., op. cit., 95.
of budgets for higher teachers' salaries.

Since Korea was independent from 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 producer of human resources in long-term plans to meet the production needs of the country. This trend placed more emphasis on the basic skills of literacy, language, and the natural and social sciences, which was similar to the curricula of general academic schools. As a result, it was hardly expected to produce more skilled workers who could meet the requirements of modern industries.

Early in 1952, a representative of the United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), after a brief survey of the Korean situation, made recommendations in regard to foreign educational aid. Later, to fulfill the need for long range planning, the United Nations organized a mission composed of six educators representing five different nations. This group jointly sponsored by UNESCO/UNKRA, and usually referred to as the UNESCO/UNKRA Educational Mission, took six months to make its final report. These foreign educators, aided by such organizations already in
the field as UNCAK and World Health Organization (WHO) performed dual tasks. First, the nature of the current educational situation was ascertained by gathering as many accurate and pertinent facts as possible. Secondly, detailed recommendations were made for further action to aid the Koreans to rehabilitate and reconstruct their educational system.46 In December 1952, the UNESCO/UNKRA Educational Mission submitted its preliminary report to UNKRA. This document though neither exhaustive nor guaranteed to be absolutely accurate, as its authors pointed out,47 nevertheless was the most inclusive study of contemporary education to that date. Its significance may be further judged by the frequency with which Korean educators have since referred to its contents. In February of 1953, the UNESCO/UNKRA mission submitted its final report entitled, "Rebuilding Education in the Republic of Korea." In this report were included 108 specific recommendation for the overall improvement of Korean education and also a detailed five-year plan for United Nations assistance.

Later, in the development of educational aid to Korea, the FOA in planning its program of technical assistance was instrumental in having an educational mission sent to Korea to examine its vocational needs. Although the inclusive UNESCO/UNKRA reports had included a description of vocational and technical education and recommendations for improvement in these fields, more specific information was needed,

46 Educational Conditions in the Republic of Korea, A Preliminary and factual report by the UNESCO/UNKRA Educational Planning Mission to Korea, December 1, 1952, VII. (Mimeographed)

47 Ibid., VII.
especially since the FOA was considering the feasibility of a contractual arrangement with some U.S. institutions to provide technical aid.

To examine Korea's vocational needs a group of vocational education experts from the U.S. arrived in Korea in March 1954 and spent approximately one month in carrying out its mission. This group examined several vocational schools and many industrial and manufacturing plants. On the basis of its findings specific recommendations were made for technical assistance in vocational education including the role that could be played by any contracted American institution.\(^{48}\)

In addition to these and other foreign groups which went to Korea to conduct surveys, gather facts, and make recommendations, the organizations already in the field made continual analyses of the existing educational problems. UNCAK, and later KCAC, gathered and distributed much valuable data on the status and operation of Korean schools. Voluntary groups, both sectarian and non-sectarian, in carrying out a wide range of aid programs also obtained and disseminated much significant educational information.

**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. In view of a considerable change in economic conditions, it was indeed highly desirable that technical and practical training should be used to assist both cultural and technical developments of the country.

The only way of increasing the nation's economy and individual standards of living depended largely upon the qualitative production of skilled manpower with technical knowledge. There is almost no way to improve the nation's economy except by human resource development, since the country is extremely limited in natural resources or large sources of capital. Furthermore, the country is overpopulated in a small mountainous peninsula where only a quarter of the total land is available to cultivation.

Vocational education is the primary manifestation of practical and pragmatic knowledge. The basic precepts of both schools of thought require that the person be able to contribute some useful and tangible benefits to society, such as the McCormick reaper and the steam engine. Both inventions were the product of intelligent men using their practical knowledge of farm tools and steam to create machines that were ultimately beneficial to mankind. This was possible under the auspices of the practical and pragmatic realm of thought, where the erudite professors were not honored but the creative inventor.

1. Deterioration of Vocational aspiration: The lack of physical facilities and the scarcity of qualified teachers as well as poorly organized curricula and inadequate instruction were recognized as limiting factors that hampered the qualitative progress of vocational education in Korea. In addition, the traditional disdain for manual labor also weakened the vocational aspirations of many students who had been trained in a certain specialized field in the formal institutions. It was therefore a general trend that many vocational schools built at relatively high costs, were attended by students who were in most cases rejected by more
selective academic high schools. Under such conditions, very few wanted to
engage in manual labor or business and so few students went to vocational
schools.\textsuperscript{49} Furthermore, most of the graduates sought to avoid manual labor, and
unrealistically sought employment outside of their specialties. Even after their
entry into these occupations, they sought to change their current occupation.
Only a very small portion of these graduates indicated their intention to remain in
manual employment permanently.\textsuperscript{50}

However, the crucial factors, whether 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 the follow-up study conducted by the Central Education Research
Institute in Korea, for example, 775 of 1,208 agricultural high school graduates in
1957 indicated that they did not intend to engage in farm labor but wanted jobs
elsewhere, while only about 433 students desired to prepare their future career in
agricultural fields.\textsuperscript{51} This study also demonstrated that only 107 out 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,

\textsuperscript{49}Oh, \textit{Op.cit.}, 34-35.

\textsuperscript{50}Korea, Central Educational Research Institute, \textit{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), 92-93.

\textsuperscript{51}\textit{Ibid.}, 94-95.
while the overwhelming majority wanted to change their current employment for a "White-collar" job.\textsuperscript{52} The major reasons for changing their occupation, 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.\textsuperscript{53} In fact, it was undeniable that the average farmers' livelihood was maintained at a critical condition because of their lower income or wages.

2. Lack of Absorptive Capacity for Vocational High School Graduates: Korean Educational Planners, as well as laymen, tended to think solely on the former 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.\textsuperscript{54} Harbison and Myers have pointed out: a strategy of human resource development has three major components, of which formal education is only one. Simultaneous and equal

\textsuperscript{52}Ibid., 179-180.

\textsuperscript{53}Ibid., 82-85.

\textsuperscript{54}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.
attention should be paid to the building of incentives and the utilization of the possibilities for on-the-job training. 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." 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 generally quite inefficient and wasteful in contributing to 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 indicated that only about thirty-five 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 to their current occupations while the rest of the students disagreed.

The government's carelessly planned manpower training policy, particularly the formal institutional training programs, encouraged many selfish private businessmen to establish new educational institutions without any serious consideration of quality of education. Even the 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


56 Korea Central Education Institute, op. cit., 116-118.
supply and demand for a particular skilled-labor group. It is clear that even rudimentary manpower surveys helped the government to analyze the need for specialized skills, training facilities and educational programs. Incorrectly made 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 qualified graduates than the economic system could absorb. It was therefore not remarkable that a high rate of unemployment occurred, owing 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 point 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, ninety-two agricultural high schools with 24,506 students were far in excess of any foreseeable agricultural requirements. The same criticism can be made of the other vocational schools, excepting the normal schools.\textsuperscript{57}

In addition, the further difficulty of assimilation was due in part to the educational system itself for ignoring the social demands and espousing the wrong type of education. The balance between academic and vocation 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 vocational training programs

\textsuperscript{57}UNESCO, \textit{op. cit.}, 153.
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 public service, but very few provided programs for students to participate in actual agricultural work. When a great many vocational school students left school at the age of eighteen or nineteen, they still had no opportunity to acquire any degree of significant practical experience and went to their jobs without technical competence in 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. Due to Korea's previous reliance upon tradition and traditional values, there were very little vocational education schools in Korea. The acceptance of Practicalism which focused on pragmatic learning made Koreans realize and hasten to correct this shortage.

**EDUCATIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS BY FOREIGN SPECIALISTS**

Many educational recommendations were forthcoming from the numerous foreign educators who visited Korea between the outbreak of hostilities and the end of 1954. While not possible to enumerate these in detail, an attempt will be made to summarize the more important ones. The majority of the following recommendations came from the report of the UNESCO/UNKRA Educational Mission which, because of the scope and nature of its purpose, proved the most inclusive source. For convenience, the
recommendations have been grouped into seven categories:

1. Principles of Educational Aid

2. Curriculum and Teaching Methods

3. Administration and Organization

4. Finance

5. Teacher Preparation and Professional Standards

6. Plant and Equipment

7. Evaluation

**PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATIONAL AID**

Among the many principles underlying educational aid to Korea, the following was widely accepted by the foreign organizations:

1. Educational aid programs should be long-range ventures.\(^{58}\)

2. Educational aid programs in Korea should be administered under one agency.\(^{59}\)

3. An established educational leader should head the educational division of the agency responsible for educational aid in Korea.\(^{60}\)

4. The financial burden for educational aid should be shared by the R.O.K.

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\(^{60}\)*Ibid.*, 12.
government.\textsuperscript{61}

5. Educational aid should be planned in coordination with Korean authorities.\textsuperscript{62}

6. The administrative authority for educational aid projects should remain with the Koreans.\textsuperscript{63}

7. Highest priority should be given to training or advisory programs and the material aid to efficiently carry out such programs.\textsuperscript{64}

These seven principles were often violated, usually with good reason, by all agencies administering educational aid. Uncertain finances, for example, prohibited long range planning and necessitated reduction in the size of projects. Moreover, educational aid did not become the province of a single foreign agency but rather remained a function of both U.S. and U.N. organizations. Not until late in 1954 did there appear any hope of obtaining a professional educator to head the large educational aid program of UNKRA. Other deviations from the principles undoubtedly occurred in individual circumstances.

**CURRICULUM AND TEACHING METHODS**

The recommendations for the improvement of curriculum and teaching methods in the Korean schools ranged from the very general and philosophical to suggestions in


\textsuperscript{62}\textit{Ibid.}, 6.

\textsuperscript{63}\textit{Ibid.}, 6.

\textsuperscript{64}\textit{Ibid.}, 109-110.
particular subject areas. The various foreign agencies unanimously called for the Korean schools of all levels to be more cognizant of the needs of the Korean nation. There was also complete agreement among the foreign educators that instruction in the Korean schools should place less emphasis on memorization and more on reflective thinking and the applications of learning.

The UNESCO/UNKRA Educational Mission offered detailed recommendations to Korean teachers and administrators from the elementary schools through the universities, emphasizing particularly the need for: health education in the elementary schools, vocational education at the secondary level and professional education at the college level. This mission further outlined the role of foreign funds and foreign advisors in aiding the Korean schools to accomplish their various purposes. A United States vocational mission to Korea recommended that a limited number of pilot vocational schools be assisted by foreign sources to develop improved curriculum and school community relationships. This latter mission was also concerned with the need to closer relate the vocational curricula of the schools with the needs of Korean industries.

ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANIZATION

The basic recommendation with regard to improvement of the administrative and organization patterns in Korean education involved little that was not already included in the Educational Law. All foreign groups pointed out, however, the disparity between the theoretical educational power afforded the Korean people through their local and

65 Ibid., Chapters 3, 4, 5, 6.

provincial school boards and the existing highly centralized national control of educational matters. In light of the contrast between theory and practice, foreign educators suggested that slowly a decentralization in educational control should be brought about and that the power of public administrative officials over educational matters should be entirely eliminated.

FINANCE

The foreign recommendations to Korea regarding educational finance were general in nature and the UNKRA/UNESCO Educational Mission stressed the need for a U.N. consultant to make a more thorough examination. The other major recommendations called for the Ministry of Education to attempt to equalize educational costs and educational opportunities throughout the school districts.\(^{67}\)

TEACHER PREPARATION AND PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS

Four of the more important recommendations are listed below:

1. Leadership institutes should be established adjacent to institutions of higher learning to provide short, intensive courses for teachers and administrators. The U.N. should offer specialists to conduct these courses.\(^{68}\)

2. A national training center for fundamental education to be constructed and staffed with the aid of the U.N. and placed under the

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\(^{67}\)Rebuilding Education in the Republic of Korea, op. cit., 103-106.

\(^{68}\)Thomas E. Benner, Report on the Korean Educational, Scientific and Cultural Reconstruction, Urbana, Illinois, University of Illinois, March 6, 1952, 3. (Mimeographed)
control of the Ministry of Education. This center would serve to train fundamental education leaders and act as a research institution.\textsuperscript{69}

3. The professional qualifications of teachers should be raised by enforcing existing educational laws, developing a five-year program for in-service education, raise the educational requirements for elementary teachers, consider ways of reorienting secondary teachers training program, arrange for further study abroad, and offer scholarships both for students and for the faculties of these schools to go graduate study.\textsuperscript{70}

4. The normal school curriculum as it increased from three to four years should be improved by: increasing the ratio of professional studies to general academic courses, providing a thorough study of human growth and development, developing a stronger relationship with elementary schools and with the community. The U.N. should provide a small advisory for all normal schools and teachers colleges.\textsuperscript{71}

\textsuperscript{69}Rebuilding Education in the Republic of Korea, op. cit., 72-73.


\textsuperscript{71}Ibid., 83-85.
PLANT AND EQUIPMENT

Realizing that under existing physical conditions educational progress would be impossible, most recommendations called for sizeable foreign contributions for the repair of damaged schools and the construction of needed new schools. Benner, a UNESCO consultant, recommended that priority be given to the reconstruction of elementary schools. Benner also suggested that the U.N. should recruit a school architect to aid the Ministry of Education in its reconstruction problems. The UNKRA/UNESCO Educational Mission seconded Benner's recommendations and also proposed that reconstruction of normal schools and teachers colleges be given high priority. Both U.N. and F.O.A. consultants advised on the amount and type of material assistance the Koreans would need to re-equip their schools.

EVALUATION

Two inclusive suggestions regarding the evaluation of student progress and the use of student selection devices were forthcoming from the UNKRA/UNESCO Educational Mission.

1. The schools at each level should consider ways of improving their current means of evaluating student growth toward the stated educational goals. In using the popular paper and pencil examinations, more stress should be given to their diagnostic value. School record of the students' educational and health progress should be maintained.

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72Benner, op. cit., 4-5.

2. The National examinations for entrance to middle schools should be revised to be more indicative of the students' scholastic ability. The final goal should be the dispensing of both the entrance examinations to middle school and those of high school. These examinations would then be replaced by an evaluation based on elementary or middle school records.74

How can one measure what students have learned? How can one know when we have made progress in improving Korean education? Such questions have led UNKRA/UNESCO Educational Missions to these suggestions. Implicit in such suggestions, the Korean educational leaders have noted, was the need to define what students should know and to assess how well they have learned it. They put more emphasis on the value of mathematics and science in constructing curriculum and devising national achievement tests. The practical aspect of this position is that standardized exam should not determine the eligibility of the student to attend the school; but rather to specify the individual areas in which the student needs additional assistance.

**ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED IN THE EDUCATIONAL AID PROGRAMS**

Education, like the other areas of aid, suffered from the complicated administrative set-up through which Korean aid was controlled. When, in 1950, the war interrupted the economic recovery program, the United States Economic Cooperation Administration had charge of all U.S. economic aid to Korea. To meet the pressing war needs, the ECA, which had previously sponsored many technical training programs,
devoted much of its funds for relief supplies. As the war progressed, the ECA was relieved of the responsibility for civilian relief with its functions being absorbed in the program of the United Nations Command. As the war further continued, the major U.N. and U.S. organizations operating in the field became associated with educational aid. The U.S. 8th Army, through its Armed Forces Assistance, Korea (AFAK) program provided funds for school buildings and equipment. Voluntary contributions by military personnel, together with the use of military equipment and supervisory personnel, together with the use of military personnel, when such work did not interfere with military requirements, produced noteworthy results during the period of greatest need.

In 1953, KCAC inherited UNCACK's task of preventing disease, starvation and unrest in rear areas. Soon, however, KCAC's mission was enlarged to carry on reconstruction and rehabilitation projects not undertaken by UNKRA. While hostilities were still underway, UNKRA seconded technical specialists and other educational personnel to UNCACK and KCAC to assist in operating their programs.

With the stabilization of military operations and the subsequent signing of the armistice, UNKRA began assuming a larger part in the reconstruction programs. In 1954, when the various duties were redefined to curtail overlapping of functions, UNKRA was charged with the responsibility of providing educational aid. The demarcation of responsibilities, however, was tempered by prevailing conditions and remained quite flexible. KCAC and FOA both continued to operate programs of education aid.

FOA, coming into the aid picture in 1953, spent the largest part of its budget for
that year in "investment goods," but during 1954 developed a substantial technical assistance program. In the latter year, a contract was arranged with the University of Minnesota to carry out a three-year program designed to rehabilitate Seoul National University. By means of this contractual agreement Korean faculty members would be selected from this university for study abroad and foreign advisors would be brought to Seoul.

**EXAMPLES OF ADVISORY AND OTHER AID PROJECTS**

Besides procuring materials and supplies to assure the Korean schools of the bare physical necessities for conducting educational programs, the reconstruction program offered advisory or consultative services and a variety of opportunities for Koreans to advance professionally by study abroad.

1. To aid Korean personnel slated for diplomatic or commercial positions which required a fluency in a foreign language, and to aid in the training of foreign language teachers, UNKRA agreed to provide for the reimbursement and logistical support of a portion of the staff of the Foreign Language Institute. This Institute opened in February of 1953 and was still in continuation at the end of 1954. UNKRA had furnished books and equipment as well as a director and an English instructor. Plans called for the removal of foreign personnel as soon as qualified Koreans had been trained and the R.O.K. government was

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financially able to assume responsibility.\textsuperscript{76}

One of major undertakings to improve Korean teachers' education was in the form of three successive American missions sent to Korea. The first of these groups, named the First American Education Mission, was sponsored by the U.S. State Department and a voluntary organization. The specialists on this mission operated in Korea from October 1952 until June 1953. Emphasis by this group was given to in-service teacher education and workshops were held in several major Korean cities to contact as many Korean educators as possible.\textsuperscript{77}

The second American Education Mission operated in the field from September 1953 to June 1954. This group was jointly sponsored by UNKRA and two voluntary organizations, the American Korean Foundation and the Unitarian Service Committee. The greater part of the second Mission's effort was given to working at a teacher's college and a normal school, providing consultative services for these two institutions.\textsuperscript{78}

The third American Education Team, again, jointly sponsored by UNKRA and the previously mentioned two voluntary organizations, was larger than the previous missions. Extending the work of its two predecessors the twelve professional members of the third Mission arrived in Korea during September 1954 and were attached to teacher-training institutions, an education research institute and the Ministry of Education.\textsuperscript{79}

\textsuperscript{76}Ibid., 27.

\textsuperscript{77}Mary Tulock, \textit{Ibid.}, 4.

\textsuperscript{78}Ibid., 4-5.

\textsuperscript{79}Ibid., 1-2.
2. Among the projects not involving material aid were the many types of scholarship or exchange-of-persons programs arranged usually between the U.S. and the Republic of Korea. The Smith-Mundt Act was functioning in Korea by 1953 and there were attempts to activate a Fulbright program. UNKRA along with some of the other U.N. agencies conducted small fellowship programs for study abroad. UNKRA, the U.N. Technical Assistance Board, U.S. Department of State, FOA, and the R.O.K. Government all conducted exchange-of-persons programs. Most of these programs were still in the developing stage in 1954 but by 1955 it was hoped that extensive progress could be made.

THE GOVERNMENT'S NEW PLANNING ON VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

After 1957, the demand for technical manpower became even more acute. In accordance with this urgent necessity, the government, apart from the rising domestic political tension and chaos, encouraged the rehabilitation of vocational training programs.

The Presidential New Year's Message to the nation on January 3, 1957 clearly indicated that the government's new educational policy emphasized vocational and science education. The remarkable change of the new vocational education programs in the Presidential Message included the following:

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 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 also be 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 humanities 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 school 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. 80

As the message apparently indicates, vocational and technical education became of increasing national interest to initiate a more positive investment than ever before in the history of Korean education. The technical education institutions were established to meet the anticipated manpower for successful accomplishment of government's economic plans. Learning should be an exercise in doing and learned knowledge should be the sake of social application. It's the idea of modern progressive schools, where instruction

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becomes the instrument of cooperative intelligence directed toward the solution of problems of a society.

1. Administration Reorganization for Effective Function of Vocational Education:
As part of the major governmental economic policy, the Ministry of Education was placed under the coordination of other government agencies, for something that was usually 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 was partially reorganized. Under the new structure, a completely independent Bureau of Technical and Vocational Education was created within the Ministry, which had been merged with the Secondary Education Section in the Bureau of Common Education. This bureau had total responsibility for administrative processes of the nationwide vocational and technical education. Furthermore, the bureau virtually had the power to initiate regulations and standards, programming, and policy making for the development of vocational and technical education, although the final approval must be authorized by the Minister of Education, the President, or in some cases the legislature.

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, which used to

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8¹ 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 Korea must depend on the existing industries. Thus, 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., 59, 153.
be at a ratio of three to one. Towards the end of the Korean War, as Table 7 indicates below, the total number of students enrolled at 169 vocational high schools was 53,230 or twenty-seven percent of the total of the high school population while that of general academic high schools population while that of general academic schools reached 141,218 students at 308 schools at seventy-three percent of the total of high school enrollment.

Furthermore, as Table 8 shows on the following page, only twenty-five percent of the general academic high school graduates including male and female students sought college education in 1952, while seventy-five 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.
### TABLE 7

**MEMBERS OF SCHOOLS AND STUDENTS BETWEEN GENERAL ACADEMIC AND VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOLS IN 1952***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification of Schools</th>
<th>Number of schools</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Number Enrolled</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Academic High Schools</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>141,218</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational High Schools</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>53,230</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>477</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>194,448</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reprinted from UNESCO, *op. cit.*, 47.

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 allocated to produce a balance appropriate with the needs of the particular areas. Accordingly, the Ministry of Education figured out that the provisions 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 farther step toward informal training programs largely associated with non-formal educational institutions. In assuming this policy, the larger government-controlled manufacturing
TABLE 8
NUMBER OF GENERAL ACADEMIC HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES AND NUMBER OF COLLEGE ENROLLMENT AT FIRST YEAR IN 1952*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students (Sex)</th>
<th>Number of High School Graduates</th>
<th>Number of Enrolled in College 1st Yr.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male students</td>
<td>29,000</td>
<td>7,800</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female students</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reprinted from UNESCO, *op. cit.*, 143.

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.82

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 of in many cases there was tax exemption 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 closely aligned to the quantitative requirement of employments. Under the coordination

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with the Ministry of Education, a relatively stable progress had been made within their own companies.\textsuperscript{83}

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, possible burdens of vocational training schools seemed to be, more or less shifted to these enterprises of larger companies.

4. Revision of Vocational School Curriculum Based Upon Demand for More Vocational Subjects: When the educational system was reformed on 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 could 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.\textsuperscript{84} 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.\textsuperscript{85} As a result of such a firm recommendation, as Table 5 shows on the following page, general academic courses were mandatory in the curricula of all types of

\textsuperscript{83}Ibid., 73-81.

\textsuperscript{84}Oh, \textit{op. cit.}, 228-231.

\textsuperscript{85}Ibid., 228-232.
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.  

After a careful study, on September 24, 1957, the Ministry of Education adopted a new vocational education policy known as "Ministry of Education Ordinance No. 35." According to the Ordinance, the major emphasis on 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 were offered on the basis of the new standards for the allocation of fifty or sixty percent of total school hours.

The ordinance further specified that 770 school hours or an average of twenty-two hours per week should be concentrated on required subjects in the first year 490 school hours or fourteen hours per week in the third year.  

It also stressed 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 specified that twenty to thirty percent of the total curricula hours must be included in vocational


87 Ibid., pp. 545.
## TABLE 9

**GENERAL SUBJECTS TAUGHT IN ALL VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOLS IN 1950**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects:</th>
<th>Agricultural</th>
<th>Engineering</th>
<th>Commercial</th>
<th>Fishery</th>
<th>Home Ec. &amp; Nursing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral Education</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Language</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drawing</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Training</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual Work</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

courses. 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.

5. Long-Term Planning: In order to solve in part the educational unemployment problem in 1959, government authorities set up a twenty-year 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 stressed:

1. To increase the job opportunities as well as the output of industrial products, the government's investment in manufacturing plants of industry and business should be doubled within a first five-year period through the means of the national budget, foreign aid, and foreign loans. In doing so, private industry and business should also be encouraged to build their own enterprises in the productive areas. Concomitantly, most imported foreign goods and articles should be banned unless they are not directly related to productive value.

2. The government would concentrate its efforts on the priority of economic value of foreign policy rather than on the mere

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88 Ibid., pp. 545-546.

89 Ibid., 545-546.
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 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. 90

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 forty percent of the
annual national budget to twenty-five percent in 1959. 91

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 of Korean delegates abroad, therefore, seemed to be to
devote themselves more to the performance of economic diplomacy than to their routine

90 The Economic Planning Board of Republic of Korea, First Five-Year Plan for Technical
Development (Seoul, Korea, 1962), 6-7.
91 Ibid., 51-55.
duties of legatees.\textsuperscript{92}

However, during the last period (1958-1960) of the Rhee regime, the governing elite failed to follow-up on the recovery that had been attained. The Liberal Party concentrated on maintenance of political control rather than on economic development. The Liberal elites policy orientation was summarized by the following:

Instead of utilizing the legal framework for the political, social, and economic development of the country, they chose to exploit for their own power. Instead of moving forward toward the future, they satisfied themselves with exploitation of the present. Instead of adding to the momentum of recovery hitherto attained and directing it towards further growth, they chose to concentrate on consumption.\textsuperscript{93}

Thus, the political leaders devoted themselves to retaining power and increasing the chance for survival of the regime. Finally, the illegal third term election of Rhee in March, 1960 resulted in an April student revolt which terminated his term as presidency.

The ensuing military government (May, 1961-1963) with its successive Democratic Republican regime committed itself to national modernization and economic development under the political leadership of Park, Chung-hee. The national policy

\textsuperscript{92}Minister of Foreign Affairs stated that the government will start its utmost diplomatic efforts of 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 \textit{Yunhap Sinmun} (\textit{Yunhap Daily Newspaper}), December 16, 1959, 2.

\textsuperscript{93}Lee, Han Been, \textit{Korea: Time, Change, and Administration} (Honolulu: East-West Press, 1968), 82.
orientation of the Park administration has been characterized by such slogans as, "the task of national modernization," "the mission of national revival," "a self-supporting economy," and "an autonomous national defense posture." 94

SOCIAL EDUCATION AS A MEANS OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

During the post-independence period, the government of the Republic of Korea had concentrated its efforts on developing social education largely for the eradication of illiteracy, since nearly seventy percent of the adult population was illiterate at that time. 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.

In 1956, the Social Education Law was promulgated by the government. Through such a legal basis, social education has become an important part of national education. Article 2 of the Social Education Law briefly defined "social education" as systematic educational activities designed primarily for out-of-school youths and adults for aiming at a general upgrading of the cultural, social, and economic levels. 95

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.


95 The Social Education Law defines the term "adult education" as "social education," and its aims and functions are therefore similar to those of "traditional" adult education.
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. The general objectives and functions of social education might be summed up in three major categories: (a) the adult's personal development, (b) his social relations with his fellow men, and (c) his work life.

A far-reaching social education program was initiated after 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.

Furthermore, the government developed the new social education plan extending its efforts to such emerging areas as (1) a remedial program for technical or vocational skills of youth and adults, (2) in-service training programs for the effective services of public or private employees, and (3) the improvement of urban problems contributing to labor efficiency throughout the past decades of growth. Thus, the social education produced citizens of ability who were capable of coping with new challenges in the changing society.

Instead of providing a set of instruction for every situation, the new practicalist approach was to teach the individual methods to deal with any given situation. For the knowledge that has no immediate meaning in a student's life cause the further isolation of school from society. As Dewey said that active student involvement based on pragmatic inquiry into immediate problems would guarantee that any subject taught would be "relevant."
In his autobiographical report, Park persistently emphasizes that the task of national reconstruction and economic development must be accomplished after the revolution. Park's quotation on goals of the military revolution is:

I have to re-emphasize that the case of the military revolution was the revolutionization of the national industry...Of course, there involved innovations in the political, social, and cultural areas, but I (as a leader of the revolution) gave a focal point to the economic revolution.  

Thus he wanted to see curriculum become more directed toward society and science than the humanity classes. Educational policies were made to aid government's economic policies. As Dewey believed strongly in education as the agency of cultural transmission, this process would relate knowledge to current issues. The educational background was crucial to President Park; it was here that educated men-power were produced to help Korea achieve economic success.

Throughout Park's post-1961 presidential speeches, his basic orientation was toward "national modernization" and "economic development." His persistent economic emphasis on development resulted in the establishment of a powerful planning agency (EPB), and the adoption of a Five-Year Economic Development Plan beginning with 1962.

According to the second constitutional amendment of November 1954, the

96Park, Chung-hee, The Nation, Revolution and I (Seoul: Hyang moon-sa, 1963), 259.

position of Premiership was abolished and the activities of the Planning Office were shifted to the newly established Ministry of Rehabilitation, commencing January 1955.

Within the Ministry, in 1958, an Economic Development Council was formulated with the following responsibilities:

1. To assess the effectiveness of proposed projects on economic development and recommend available policies for their achievement;
2. To identify major problems in the developmental process, and create strategies for their solutions;
3. To determine the priorities of the development programs;
4. To adopt newly developed techniques for resource allocation and evaluation.\(^{98}\)

Thus, during the Rhee administration, a number of agencies engaged in planning had appeared. But their legal status was assigned to a staff or advisory organization and their main functions were confined to matters relating to ministerial budget allocations and economic recovery programs.

However, after the military revolution, a national planning and coordinating system has been created for comprehensive long-term economic development plans. The first elaboration of development planning was the Overall Planning Bureau, established in June 1961.

After the military revolution of 1961, educational policy appeared to be correlated with President Park's development policy even though the greatest concern of political

leaders was toward economic development planning.

Education planning was viewed as a part of manpower planning for economic development and educational planning was subjected to the economic planning agency. Against such a situation, the Korean Federation of Educational Association (KFEA),

emphasized the importance of educational planning being integrated into the economic planning. Furthermore, they argued on behalf of the institutionalization of educational planning as a presidential commission. The result was the formation of the National Council for Long-Term Comprehensive Educational Planning. The Council initiated the development of educational planning through coordination of the planning to parallel economic planning through coordination of the planning functions by economic and educational ministries. Thus, educational planning after 1961 was formed more in relation to economic planning, even though the integration of educational planning with other national development planning remained unsolved. Furthermore, educational planning in the late 1960s seemed to be characterized by being developmental in terms of the autonomy for goal-setting in not only educational but also national development. Producing a man of ability draws attention to a question of whether one is capable of coping with new challenges in the changing society. It calls for earlier identification of individual aptitudes and provisions of relevant learning experiences which ensure the maximum development of individual potential. Educational efforts were directed toward developing inquiry skill and basic learning abilities in major subject areas. Individual

aptitudes planned to be detected earlier and relevant learning experiences were to be provided to help students chart the career path to self-realization.

President Park's philosophy of leadership is derived from his political view of national self-reliance. President Park said in his book, Our Nation's Path:

We can import the form of democracy but not its roots.
Belatedly, we now recognize the necessity for "Koreanizing democracy."\textsuperscript{100}

In another work, he emphasized:

Our ideal is to restore our independence, beginning with an economic and social revolution and connecting us to a spiritual and cultural revolution through the rediscovery of our individual egos. In this sense, the ultimate objective is the modernization of human beings. Modernization in the developed countries required a spiritual revolution ahead of any economic and social revolution. Much can be accomplished when national "energy" is tapped by a strong philosophy of leadership and when the capability of a revolutionized and self-awakened nation is totally mobilized.\textsuperscript{101}

President Park viewed education as a "key factor to determine the prosperity of our society today as well as tomorrow."\textsuperscript{102} President Park's aim of education was:

...to train talented youths who can positively contribute to nation-building. Such education is goal-oriented. Both teachers and students must have a definite goal in mind. It has been said, proverbially, that the cultivation of men of ability is the most important undertaking for the future

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{100} Park, Chung-hee, \textit{Our Nation's Path}, (Seoul: Hollym Corp., 1965), 121.
\bibitem{102} Park, \textit{The Nation, Revolution, and I}, op. cit., 125.
\end{thebibliography}
of a nation, men of ability will not be trained except through education. Therefore, education provides the driving forces for national development and prosperity.\textsuperscript{103}

In his other speech,\textsuperscript{104} education received special consideration for economic development. Particularly the quality development of education and the improvement of science and technical education had been frequently emphasized to support developing programs.

The economic development of 1960s led to a demand for a set of basic standards to point out long-range goals in education for the next hundred years, and to guide contemporary progress in the schools of Korea.

On December 5, 1968, after the early announcement of the Second Economy policy, President Park promulgated the National Education Charter which states that Koreans must resuscitate the noble spirit of our forefathers and thereby a new and glorious fatherland to be passed on to our descendants.\textsuperscript{105}

The main ideals of the Charter can be summarized as:

1. Creativity and the "pioneer" spirit,


\textsuperscript{104}Budget Message of President Park, Chung-hee, presented to the National Assembly from 1965 to 1967.

\textsuperscript{105}Following the presidential initiation to institute the Charter, the Ministry of Education had prepared its draft with the support from the group of senior scholars. The draft was discussed by the Council for the Charter of National Education under the chairmanship of President Park. Upon the approval of the National Assembly, the Charter was promulgated in the name of President Park, Chung-hee.
2. The spirit of social cooperation, and
3. Patriotism and love of the Korean people

Plans have been made to strengthen education for public ethics so that schools at all levels will reflect the standards established by the National Charter of Education, and the new post-war generation of Koreans will be imbued with the ideals of the Charter.

The second part of the Charter clarifies the objectives of national education which are based upon the individual, social and natural ethics. It stresses a harmonious development of individual creativity, the cooperation of people, and their national prosperity, on the balanced basis of national tradition and modernization.

A quotation espousing this belief in the Charter reads:

...We will give the foremost consideration to public goods and order, set a value on efficiency and quality, and, inheriting the tradition of mutual assistance rooted in love and respect and faithfulness will promote the spirit of fair and warm cooperation. Realizing that the nation develop through the creative and cooperative activities and that the national prosperity is the ground for individual growth, we will do our best to fulfill the responsibility and obligation attendant upon our freedom and right, and encourage the willingness of the people to participate and serve in building the nation.106

In elementary and middle schools a new and enlarged "ethic" course includes the subject matter of the old separate "anti-communism" and "social ethics" courses as well as the ethical standards of the Charter. In high schools, "ethics" which had been a part of the curriculum for social studies courses became a separate subject. In colleges, "public ethics" has been a required course ever since for freshmen. The Charter recommended

the creation of an independent, creative, and moral individual as an ultimate goal of education. As for basic principles in solving educational problems, the Charter suggested encouragement by taking pride in national identity, accomplishment of sound personality, preparation for the future, pursuit of excellence, humanization of the field of education and reinforcement of the educational function of society. To shape the desirable character of the youth, education seeks to develop self-concept, a sound value system, and a sense of pride as a cultured citizen through experiential learning.

The virtue movement has been integrated into educational efforts to shape a desirable attitude of youths. The spiritual aspect of education is emphasized by extracurricular activities which include teacher-student training and youth activities aimed to develop group consciousness and self-discipline. Education seeks to develop an ability to control and appraise oneself through mountain climbing, camping and autonomous internalization of orderly life.

For Koreans, community, democracy-consciousness, and spiritual tenacity are important elements of quality necessary to lead the future society. They regularly participate in meditation, mountain climbing, and camping. Student training centers provide facilities for these activities.

Exemplifying this spirit in national education, the Charter has been adopted as a principal guideline for the educational modernization in Korea. The government was concerned with the "efficiency" of education, and turned off its concern toward the vocational high schools and higher education to meet manpower demands of economic
development. The planning strategy was stated as follows:  

1. To maximize educational investments by means of the further reduction of illiteracy and improvement of the quality of graduates of compulsory education on the assumption that this will eventually result in an increase in skilled manpower; and  
2. To develop technical education to meet the manpower needs of industry.

This basic planning orientation toward manpower development in education continued to be emphasized throughout the 1960s.

Main consideration was given "to improve the curricula and teaching methods to maximize the efficiency of education with limited resources; to upgrade the secondary level elementary teacher training schools to junior college level; and to establish institutions for in-service training of teachers and administrators." 

In the late 1960s, the planning strategy placed emphasis upon internal efficiency of education by modernizing instruction and learning activities, as well as upon "external productivity of education by meeting both the manpower demand and educational demand of the nation.

Thus, the pre-1961 planning strategy was oriented toward fulfilling social demand for education, whereas during the 1960s the planning orientation was characterized by an intention to fit the nation's manpower requirements for economic growth.

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The First Five-Year Educational Development Plan (1962-66) took a problem-solving procedure in goal-setting. First of all, it analyzed educational problems at the various school levels, and established the planning objectives for solving problems; if then, identified available measures for achieving the objectives; and finally, set forth goal-targets to be attained during the plan period. Special consideration was given to solving unemployment problem for the educated which resulted from the over-supply of manpower.\textsuperscript{109} Accordingly, the plan considered only the increase of student clientele based upon the fixed entrance rates at the elementary, middle, and high school levels, and a decrease of college students to meet the industrial manpower needs in professional areas.

**RECONSTRUCTION OF CURRICULUM**

In 1954, there were at least three noticeable movements to refocus the effort of the schools. First, there was the attempt at every level, but particularly in elementary grades, of making the curriculum more practical and life-like. Secondly, there were efforts to increase the vocational and technical offerings in the secondary schools and colleges. The third and the most important movement was to introduce the idea that technical and practical pursuits, as well as the traditional studies, could be an effective medium for cultural development. Some progress was made toward all three goals but major

\textsuperscript{109}In 1960, only 2.2 percent of the middle school graduates, and 8.1 percent of the high school graduates were employed. Particularly, it was estimated that 9,000 (sixty percent) individuals of 15,000 college graduates remained unemployed. See Draft of Five-Year Educational Development Plan: 1962-66 (Seoul: Central Education Research Institute, 1961), 68, 73, and 188.
improvements awaited a new philosophy of education and better trained teachers and administrators.

The curricula of elementary and secondary schools were authorized by the Ministry of Education in 1955. The standardized timetable in each school curriculum was prepared with the consideration of the following: (1) separated subjects were to be integrated into a related overall course; (2) a number of hours were allocated for extracurricular activities in that pupils may be provided the opportunity to develop their personalities, interests, and abilities; and (3) secondary school subjects were specially divided into the required and elective ones, but vocational courses were required for every student.\textsuperscript{110}

The authorized timetables were applied to the public and private schools until a new curriculum was promulgated by the Ministry of Education in 1963 in order to relate school education with social and economic demands. In the new curriculum, emphasis was extended toward both moral education and vocational courses at all schools levels. The new curriculum was prepared by a committee for curriculum reconstruction which had held two hundred meetings for intensive study since its inception in 1958. Basic principles underlying the new curriculum construction were:\textsuperscript{111}

1. To provide students with selected fundamental knowledge and skills,
2. To ensure consistency and integration in the sequence and scope of the

\textsuperscript{110}Oh, Chon-suk, \textit{op. cit.}, 483.

\textsuperscript{111}"Introduction" to Curriculum (Seoul: Ministry of Education, 1963).
courses offered at different school levels,

3. To enforce vocational courses in each school system,

4. To add a "Moral Education" course as a regular subject in each school system, and

5. To create a new unit system in both the academic high school curriculum and the newly developed vocational high school curriculum.

The new curriculum was put into effect in the public and private school systems throughout the 1960s. Table 9 on page 234 reveals the changes in the subjects and the total time allotments of each school curriculum which were identified between 1955 and 1963.

**VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM**

The curricula of vocational high schools was authorized in 1963. It was divided into general and professional courses which consist of required and elective courses. Subjects such as Korean language, social studies, Korean history, mathematics, general management and physical education were common requirements to all vocational schools.

Elective courses of mathematics, physics, chemistry, geography, politics, and economics, music or fine arts, and foreign language were arranged differently according to the types of vocational high school. Professional courses differ between agricultural, technical, commercial, and fisheries and marine high schools.

**TEACHER QUALIFICATIONS**

Two of the major goals of post-war Korean education were to increase the
quantity and improve the quality of the Korean teachers. During the 1950s, regular certification for an elementary school teaching was based upon graduation from normal school which took place at the end of the twelfth grade. However, changes in educational requirements of elementary and secondary school teachers were made in 1961. The first five-year plan attempted to improve teachers' educational qualifications. Educational qualification of elementary teachers had been upgraded requiring graduation from a junior college. Graduates from junior college of another type or four-year college were qualified to teach at an elementary school after an additional six-month training period for high school graduates and a four-month training period for junior college graduates, and five to eight weeks training for four-year college graduates.

Before 1961, certification for middle school teachers was based upon completion of junior collegiate work and for high school teachers, upon a four-year collegiate background. A minimum of work in the professional study of education was required also. For teachers already in service, limited facilities were available for vocational institutes and part-time study in certain centers of higher education, which would enable them to upgrade their qualification from middle school to high school. After 1961, middle school and high school teacher certifications were unified into secondary teacher certification. This certification was based upon completion of collegiate work at the four-year college level or advanced studies in the graduate school of education. Vocational teachers were trained at the respective vocational colleges.\(^\text{112}\) Also, college graduates

with professional study for twenty credits in education before graduation, or four to six months training after graduation have been qualified to teach at a secondary school.\textsuperscript{113}

**CHANGE IN SCHOOL SYSTEM**

The first five-year plan (1962-66) was concerned with only minor changes in teacher training and vocational educational institutions. Accordingly, it set forth goal targets for instituting junior teacher colleges and professional colleges. As a means to improve the quality of education, the planning goal was to upgrade the normal high schools toward a junior college level. Also, an attempt was made to institute five-year professional colleges to meet the qualitative changes in school systems, curriculum construction, and teacher qualification and training have been adjusted to this educational plan.

**THE IMPACT OF THE AMERICAN PRESENCE IN KOREA**

One of the major contributions to the shaping of education and economic development in Korea was the intense involvement of the United States in the liberation, reorganization, and defense of South Korea.

U.S. presence in Korea since 1945 can be divided into three distinct periods: occupation of Korea by the U.S. Military Government from 1945 to 1948; United States participation in the Korean War from 1950 to 1953; and United States participation in Reconstruction from 1953 to 1962.

The U.S. Military Government was determined to use education in Korea as a

major vehicle for the democratization of the society. For this to be accomplished, three principal efforts were necessary: the extension of educational opportunity to all Koreans; the inclusion of democratic values and practices in the curriculum; and the creation of an infrastructure and educational administration that would maintain democratic practices.

The U.S. Military Government found itself short of trained teachers, especially as Japanese teachers were repatriated; with practically no teaching materials in the Korean language; and with strong traditions acting against the democratic practices endorsed by American educators. Efforts of the U.S. Military Government received strong support, however, from Korean educators and the public in general. The following actions were taken:

1. Some 1.7 million textbooks were printed and distributed by April 1946; by 1948 the total had risen to 15 million books.

2. Efforts were made to eliminate Chinese characters in favor of Hangul, the Korean alphabet.

3. Local education committees were created to supervise schools.

4. All schools were made coeducational.

5. Education was made compulsory through the ninth grade, and a three-year middle school, separate from high school was created.

6. Four-year colleges were created, and Seoul National University was founded.

7. More Koreans were trained as teachers.

8. More than one million adults were enrolled by 1948 in "civic school", 
later called "social education", for literacy and basic education, helped illiteracy among adults over nineteen years of age to be reduced from seventy-eight percent in 1948 to forty-one percent in 1948 (and ten percent in 1954).  

9. By 1948, 2.3 million children were enrolled in elementary schools, more than 100,000 in secondary schools, and almost 90,000 in technical/industrial schools.

10. A national youth movement, which reached an audited membership of 1,154,821 in 1948, was created. The movement contributed approximately twelve million eight-hour workdays to community development projects, as well as enrolling 80,000 youth, in skill-training programs and training 100,000 leaders.  

Harold Koh sums up the record as follows:

In the three-year period...the number if elementary pupils increased by eighty-two percent, the number of secondary pupils by 184 percent, and the number of available teachers for each level increased by forty-four percent, 569 percent respectively...largely as a result of the vigorous teacher training programs...Decentralization seemed to have been effectively accomplished by introduction of "local control"

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of education through popularly elected school boards.\textsuperscript{116}

But not all of the proposed changes survived the institution of the Rhee regime in 1948. Coeducation was universal only in primary schools. The nation could not afford compulsory education through the ninth grade, and universal primary education was not attained until the late 1950s. Local control of education was abandoned in favor of the strong central Ministry that persists today. The youth movement became highly politicized and had to be abandoned. Koh observes:

> Whether the American Military Government succeeded in its aim to "democratize the spirit" of the educational system...is open to debate. Even today, the pattern of student-as-passive-observer is prevalent in Korean schools, showing perhaps that merely restructuring the educational system does not guarantee ready acceptance of a foreign concept.\textsuperscript{117}

Nam, Byung Hun faults the U.S. Military Government's relative lack of attention to higher education:

> Inasmuch as a nation depends on its colleges and universities for its enlightened leadership, it may be questioned whether the concentration of the Military Government upon elementary and secondary education was wise.\textsuperscript{118}

However, much of what had been built during that period of 1945 to 1948 was


\textsuperscript{117}Ibid., 66.

destroyed between 1950 and 1953. Not only were thousands of physical facilities
demolished, but much of the human capital of teachers and administrators trained in new
educational principles and procedures were lost in the tragedy of the war. This time,
American assistance focused at the primary and secondary level on the provision of
material aid rather than on reform of curriculum of other attempts directly to influence the
content of education. Much greater investments were made in the expansion of higher
education.

Approximately $19 million was spent during the period for higher education. Most ($17 million) of this went to Seoul National University, where the objective was to upgrade the facilities "to the point where the programs there would compare favorably to those of high-ranking universities anywhere in the world."119 The largest single technical assistance grant was to the University of Minnesota, for staff training in Korea and the United States, the formation of a Graduate School of Public Administration, and the upgrading of the faculties of Medicine, Agriculture, and Engineering. The project provided for three hundred person-years of staff training, with 226 Koreans going abroad and fifty-six members of the faculty of the University of Minnesota coming to Korea.

By 1956-1975, the third largest foreign student enrollment in the United States was from Korea, behind only Canada and Taiwan. One in every twenty foreign college students in the United States was a Korean, many of whom majored in Social Science (29.4 percent) or Humanities (17.9 percent).

Enrollment in the Natural Sciences and Engineering were proportionally lower than those for other foreign students. Finally, almost $9 million was expended on the development of a teacher assistance program provided by George Peabody College of Teachers. In addition to Seoul National University, this program benefitted several other universities, the eighteen normal schools, and some preschool programs. Between 1956 and 1962, technical assistance was provided in the fields of textbook preparation, science education, early childhood education, educational research, library science, the teaching of English as a second language, and in-service teacher training.

U.S. foreign aid and technical assistance were critical for the rapid expansion of educational opportunity at the primary and secondary level, both at the end of World War II and at the end of the Korean War. The provision of massive amounts of aid and materials freed up for the Korean government a considerable lump of capital that could be put toward investments with more rapid returns.

SUMMARY

Long after Western society had realized itself in the Renaissance and the Reformation, and liberated itself from rule without representation through the American revolution and the French Revolution, Korea remained fast asleep. Only after the two foreign invasions in the middle part of the Yi dynasty era- the Japanese in 1592 and the Manchus in 1636-did Korea's leaders awaken to the need for the modernity and a modern

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120 Ibid., 276.

national defense. Two great scholars lived at that time-Yi Hwang (1501-1570) and Yi I (1536-1584) - whose Confucian learning surpassed that of their contemporaries. Their thought, however, was high speculative in nature and aloof from reality.

It was therefore practicalism, Silhak, that first proposed to augment the metaphysical learnings of Confucianism with research into practical problems. Practicalism, expanding its scope by absorbing knowledge from China and broadening contact with European thought, carried the first torch for national modernization. Scholars of the Practical Learning such as Yi Ik, Hong, Dae-yong, Park, Chi-won, Pak, Jae-ka and Chong, Yak-young made a strenuous effort to embody their theories into state policy and to utilize them for national projects. But the political situation existing at that time prevents the government from accepting their ideas.

Although Practicalism failed to achieve any great political results, it offered many plans for a better society, including reforms in government, taxation, education, and national defense. Silhak scholars emphasized the importance of learning for governing one's self and people with a practical approach, and valued not only the result of study but also the process of approach used. Their attitude toward learning was characterized by an extraordinary critical spirit, positivism, and pragmatic approach to their subjects. Evidence attributes to them the change from the hitherto speculative approach to positive and pragmatic methods in study. That is to say, they tried to draw truth not from abstract conception but from the results which were consistent with the purpose of human behavior. From this point of view, practicalism is consistent with the pragmatism of America. For example, Park, Chi-won regarded utility as the fundamental truth, on the
other hand William James compared truth with a cashier's check.

In America, people had immigrated and wanted to establish a new nation in a new land. It was natural that the abstract thoughts of Puritanism, which is based on Calvinism could not give any help to that dream. As Kallen wrote in his book *William James and Henri Bergson, Individualism*\(^{122}\), the American people could not make any progress with their belief in Calvinism. Thus, pragmatism was developed as an antithesis, for they were expecting scientific knowledge and decided to focus their efforts on this knowledge.

Confucianism, long the supreme principle of government, had made too rigid a distinction between the aristocrats and the common people, regarded knowledge of the Chinese classics as the ultimate status symbol, and discriminated greatly against women. The principle of equality advocated by the Christian religion, therefore, found ready acceptance among the oppressed commoners and women.

Practicalism allied itself with the Western learning and the Western learning was in turn closely allied to the spread of Roman Catholic doctrines. The scholars of Practical Learning, as a matter of fact, sped the penetration of Catholicism into their society despite the fact that those in the ruling class looked upon Christianity as subversive because it brought to question the whole Confucian system of allegiance on which their hegemony rested. Since Christianity contradicted traditional Confucian thought, Government leaders for a long time severely oppressed Christians. Consequently Christianity, despite the fact that it had made great contributions to social reform in other parts of the world,\(^{122}\)

had little practical effect in Korea.

The modernization drives launched by both Practical Learning scholars and Christians failed because feudalistic politicians either opposed or neglected them. Thus the Korean people lost a precious opportunity to reform their society before they were drawn into the whirlpool of imperialistic encroachment.

The post-war educational reconstruction strategy was oriented toward fulfilling the demand for education. In accordance with a social demand for equal opportunity of education, the strategy was directed towards a quantitative growth with the maintenance of "status quo" in educational systems.

In particular, the Compulsory Educational Plan (1945-1959) had as its main target the attainment of a ninety-six percent attendance rate for the elementary school population in the final year from seventy-six percent in 1954. Based on this enrollment target, projections of classroom construction and teacher demands were incorporated into the plan. Practicalists urged the government to render to the people the rights and privileges of education to introduce compulsory education for all children of the ages for elementary schooling. They urged to adopt the Western school system as their education system proposing to establish primary, secondary, and higher educational institutions. Because until the latter part of the nineteenth century education in Korea had been generally a private affair. The whole classical concept of education inherited from the Chinese thwarted the realization of the quality of educational opportunity. The use of a written language of Chinese characters at the expense of a development of a vernacular literature created a perpetual gulf between the people and their culture. A system of
private education, the expense of which made it unavailable to all but the more wealthy Koreans, aided in continuing a class system of education. Although toward the end of the nineteenth century the Korean government, influenced by Practicalists, instituted a series of reforms thereby creating a public system of education, little significant advancement had been made in this direction at the time of the Japanese annexation.

Post-war Korean education was still immersed in the general economic difficulties the nation had been facing since becoming a republic. The war had eliminated all budding progress towards the development of a viable economy. However, a large reconstruction program, incorporating foreign as well as domestic funds, was making steady progress though equipping and maintaining a huge Korean army was absorbing a great proportion of the reconstruction funds.

The damages wrought on educational facilities were beyond description. Over half of all school buildings were destroyed, and what remained were quite useless without drastic repairs. The educational structure inevitably had to be reorganized under the wartime necessities.

Following the armistice, rehabilitation of the educational system was undertaken at a feverish pitch with the active assistance of international agencies such as the United Nations, Korean Reconstruction Agency, and the U.S. Government. Under the impetus, the status of education was restored to pre-war levels, not only in physical facilities but also in the quality of teaching as well.

As the traditional ascriptive social structure lost its legacy since the late nineteenth century through a series of drastic social changes, education had become one
of the most powerful sources of mobility for individuals. It was also the primary instrument for training and supplying qualified manpower for nation-building.

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 on their interests and ability for a useful contribution to the nation. One of the 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 high schools, were now fully accredited upper secondary schools, and their graduates received the same type of diploma as that received by graduates of general academic high schools. These newly organized vocational high schools emphasized primarily the practical requirements of the particular branches of specialization in educational programs in which the student intended to earn his livelihood.

During the 1950s, under the leadership of President Rhee, national development policy was strongly oriented towards its security and unification for nation-building; whereas under the Park administration, the orientation was more towards focusing on economic development for national modernization with a long-term perspective. President Park's attempt to modernize the nation, eliminating waste involving rituals, was only an issue of the 1960s. What he did about it was exactly what Yi Ik (1681-1763), tried hard to do during his lifetime. The fact is, many of the problems the pioneer
thinkers sought to solve in their lifetimes were ubiquitous in our everyday life. Though Silhak scholars died long ago, their practicalism is a lasting heritage of Korean society just like Pragmatism has been influential in American society even after John Dewey's death.

After the war Korean leaders as well as foreign advisors laid great stress on the expansion of technical training establishments. In spite of a dearth of trained teachers, the ravages of war which destroyed many of the facilities, and a preference among many Korean students for the abstract and theoretical rather than the concrete and the practical, there were by 1954 hopeful signs of progress. Aided by successful government propaganda, the enrollments in the vocational schools and engineering colleges had increased, showing that official recognition of the need for a broader concept of education was reaping rewards. The ultimate purpose of learning, according to Park, Chi-won, was to seek an ethical standard with which one can verify knowledge and make judgements. He maintained that knowledge and practice are like "two wings of a bird." Thus, knowledge should refer not only to abstract understanding but also wisdom translated into practice. An abstract theory could not defeat old Confucian feudalism. Korea could not do without people with scientific knowledge.

However, Korean educational planning received less consideration from the political leaders than did the national economic development planning. During the 1960s, the planning strategy was characterized by controlling educational expansion to fit manpower requirements for economic growth as a means to improve the "efficiency" of education. Unemployment of graduates from the high schools and colleges was a serious
social problem. After the military revolution in 1961, the government was concerned with the efficiency of education. Further planning strategies have moved toward a balanced achievement of economic and educational demands with anticipation of developing both the quantitative growth and qualitative changes of Korean education in the future.

While the pre-1961 educational plan specified goal targets only in the quantitative aspects of education, the post-1961 educational plans specified goal-targets in qualitative as well as quantitative aspects of education. Consequently, after 1961, to improve the quality of education, higher educational qualifications were required for elementary and secondary teacher certifications. In addition, in-service training has been systematically used to improve the professional qualifications of school teachers and administrators.

Practicalism may be described as the idea of seeking to promote Korea's modernization by educational reform and development. Education had turned away from an exclusive concern for pure theory to emphasize technology, the practical and productive skills needed for building a nation. Schools were encouraged to specialize in vocational fields as the government realized that human resources were necessary for the economic development of the country.

Along with a Confucian tradition that highly revered scholarship, the Korean people were motivated to seek as much education as possible. The most striking feature of education since 1945 was a tremendous quantitative growth. According to the statistics from the Ministry of Education, there were in 1965, a total of 5,125 elementary schools with a total enrollment of more than 4.9 million students. This was
indeed ninety-five percent of the entire number of children of school age in the country. At the end of World War II, the country had only 2,834 elementary schools with a total enrollment of less than 1.4 million in both north and south.

The rapid expansion of institutions was more pronounced in secondary education. There was 348 high schools with about 70,000 students in both North and South Korea in 1945. The Republic of Korea now has 1,866 middle schools and 742 high schools with a combined enrollment of over 2,415,896. A rapid increase is also manifested in the higher education.

Such a rapid expansion of education is attributed, first of all, to the Korean people’s enthusiasm for education. A price had to be paid, however, for such rapid expansion of education: quality had to give way to quantity, physical facilities became increasingly inadequate, and many schools suffered from a lack of competent teachers.

However, education had improved the quality of labor, which in turn contributed to the nation’s rapid economic development. Education also contributed to a fairer income redistribution in Korean society by narrowing the wage gap among those with different levels of education.

Since 1945, a significant change has been introduced to Korean education: autonomy in educational administration. This change in educational administration after the liberation was not accompanied with democratic practices at the outset. The old practice of school administration, however, has been replaced by new practices as time passed.

In 1948, the Korean government tried to develop the new contents and methods of
education and a new system of education through enlightenment of teachers, in-service training, various meetings and seminars. Before and after the Korean War, life-centered education with project method and problem-solving learning was emphasized in poor educational surroundings with poor materials, facilities, and equipment. Over and above these problems, the country still lacked the progressive leadership needed to get the war-shattered economy off the ground for sustained growth.

Throughout the 1950s, the government failed to provide sufficient stability and clear direction in the affairs of state. Under these conditions, it was nearly impossible to mobilize the creative energies of the Korean people. However, through the Confucian virtues of perseverance and concentration, the people of Korea managed to rebuild the country from the ashes of the Korean War. In the early 1960s, more effective government leadership emerged and set "liberation from poverty" as a top national goal. For the first time, the government of the Republic of Korea, since its independence in 1948, began to move towards a new direction in which educational policy was part of an over-all economic policy as a mean of the nation's modernization. The authorities were convinced 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 conditions, illegal methods of earning money had, through sheer necessity, become firmly implanted and almost habitual among influential economic groups. The nation has since carried out six successful five-year development plans, which completely transforming its economy over the span of only a generation or so.

The educational ideas imbedded in educational theory in post-World War II have
significantly contributed to the development of Korea, influencing greater number of Korean people:

1. It is reasonable to believe that the development of democratic pattern of education has originated from those ideas illustrated above of human liberty and equality which were the dominant ideas of Practical Thought.

2. The concept of modernization has its root in educational ideas of Practical Thought.

3. The nationalistic or autonomous education has also its root in the educational ideas of Practical Thought, which has been emphasized in Korean schools.

4. Korea has lost her sovereign independence because of the forced annexation of Japan in 1910, however, the educational ideas stressing nationalism remained alive in the Korean people during the post-World War II Educational Reconstruction period, and even today.

5. Furthermore, it appears that Korea's rapid economic progress during the 1960s is a witness of the zeal for education, which also finds its source in the educational ideas of Practical Thought.
CHAPTER IV

SUGGESTIONS FOR THEORETICAL INTEGRATION IN THE EDUCATIONAL PLAN FOR RECONSTRUCTION

In the previous chapters, the relationships among the educational system, the analysis of planning activities, educational development and the society and economy were discussed. The main concern was confined to formal education in elementary and secondary schools.

In Chapter IV, suggestions for the theoretical integration of Korean Confucianism, Practicalism, and American Pragmatism in the educational plan for reconstruction will be discussed. The significant contribution of educational programs to the changing socio-economic demands in Korea, which explains how it was possible for Korea to achieve development in the political, economic, social, cultural, and other fields in spite of many internal and external difficulties are also discussed.

Some mistakenly think that Korean thinking in Practicalism had lost its magnitude. The fact is the influence of the school still echoes in some reawakened Koreans' consciousness. It still stirs some reflective minds. It's influence has contributed to the school's role in modern Korean society.

Korean practical thought sprouted in the seventeenth century among the disgruntled Confucian scholars, concerned by the formalization of Confucianism. They expressed fears that such metaphysical subtleties were driving Confucian teachings into a highly abstract metaphysical arguments that were only creating narrow partisan splits.

Out of this spirit of dissatisfaction arose a new school called the Silhak.
Its followers pointed out that the state was losing sight of the essential qualities and real purposes of Confucianism and only by a return to the original teachings of Confucius and Mencius could confusion be cleared away and well-being be restored to state and people. The representative scholars of this school, Yu, Hyong-won (1622-1673), Yi Ik (1681-1763), Hong, Dae-young (1731-1783), Park, Chi-won (1737-1805), Chong, Yak-yong (1762-1836), and others, concentrated upon studying practical problems such as economics, educational systems, legal systems, and the like.

Practical Learning allied itself with Western learning, which in turn was closely allied to the spread of Roman Catholic doctrines. The scholars of Practical Learning, as a matter of fact, sped the penetration of Catholicism into their society, despite the fact that those in the ruling class looked upon Christianity as subversive, because it made people question the whole system of allegiance on which their hegemony rested.

Discontented lower officials and skeptical intellectuals (Sonbi) were ready to embrace Catholic creeds. However, it is a mistake to think that the new religion was inspired largely by foreign missionaries. The initiative came from within Korea. One of the most important aspects of Catholic conversions in Korean society was indeed the fact that the doctrinal study was inspired spontaneously by Koreans themselves, especially those with a bent towards Silhak thought. Since Silhak scholars were as empirical and practical as Western pragmatists, they naturally showed an unusual interest in the new Occidental scientific knowledge that accompanied Christendom.

Yu, Hyong-won (1622-1673) is widely known by his pen name, Pangye. Pangye's basic political tenet concerns the farmland system in which he saw great faults.
He was acutely aware of the need for land reform involving distribution, taxation, cadastration, utilization, tenure, and tenancy. He assailed the government for the lack of control in governing the ownership of land from which all other problems arose. He also attacked influential landlords for their unrestrained appropriation of land for their own benefit.¹

It was a time in which Korean society was primarily agricultural. The prompt solution of the problems of farming and the accompanying taxation was always key to those who wished to regulate national life and maintain peace. Pangye sought a practical solution to cope with the excessive abuse of power by an elite few. His remedies were threefold: First, a fair redistribution of farmland to public servants, sadaebu (men of the learned class), as well as to those from whom taxes were collected; second, the nationalization of land of retired or deceased officials and the redistribution to their heirs of a reasonable amount of the land; and third, the implementation of land readjustments projects so as to aid the development of farming and rural life.

Pangye's main achievement was the Pangye Surok, which means The Essays of Pagye, a work of twenty-six volumes. In his essay on social reform, which is included in Pangye Surok, he proposed, among other reforms, the establishment of a new land system under which equitable benefits could be had by all men, abolition of the existing social structure, and the establishment of equality for all people, and the promotion of a new learning. At the very outset of his Pangye Surok, he states:

Land, as a matter of fact, is the mainstay of human life. Errors in land management inevitably create manifold calamities—economic decline, unemployment, confusion in population survey and military conscription, an increase in trials and penalties, bribery, and moral deterioration. No efficiency is in sight in the operation of government so long as the calamities continue. Land constitutes the foundation of life, the nation, and the individual.²

Pangye's theories, though easily adaptable, had no immediate bearing on the government's policy-making since he was not a man of political power or influence. Yet his influence on Korean thought was significant. For Pangye, the central problem of all education was to keep knowledge alive, to prevent it from dying. His whole stand regarding education was that knowledge should be proved, and that what is proved should be utilized. As such his theoretical learning is explicitly indicative of modern positivism. His progressive Silhak element in educational philosophy sounds very much like Alfred North Whitehead, who held that "scraps of information have nothing to do with culture. A merely well-informed man is the most useless bore in God's earth." Pangye was a pioneer in reform theories and the related school of Silhak which was nourished by Yi Ik (1681-1763) and brought to its peak by Chong, Yak-yong (1762-1836), a Westernizer who was no less in the Westernization movement than Japanese Westernizers of his time.³ Pangye's clan was traditionally of the Namin (Southerner), a minority party that had seldom been in power. His successors, Yi Ik (Songho) and Chong Yak-yong

²Ibid., 20.
³Ibid., 18.
(Tasan), were also from the Southern faction. Their regime was short-lived, easily toppled by the aggressive Noron (Old Doctrine) faction.  

Yi Ik, Songho, who developed Pangye's reform theories into a deeper sphere, was once offered a minor position. He declined it and devoted his life to perfecting and teaching Silhak ideas. There were aspects other than factional strife regarding the tendency of these intellectuals in the Yi dynasty to give up careers in officialdom.

Learning, for instance, in the Confucian philosophy was the main content of the higher examination (kwago) which was the sole entrance to official careers, and the conventional Chinese school of thought conflicted with the positive thought current in Silhak. This doctrinal conflict between Silhak and Confucianism emerged as another reason why the sonbi (intellectuals) leaning towards Silhak withdrew themselves from officialdom, which was the utmost goal of every learned man.

The most stimulating of Songho's new ideas was humanitarianism—concern for the underprivileged, along with a sense of responsibility to improve their lot in life. He called for agricultural reforms as:

1. redistribution of land to self-employed farming families;
2. reduction of costs of both farm-tenancy and agricultural loans;
3. and expansion of land under cultivation.

Yi Ik believed that institutions should aim primarily to serve the real needs of the people. For him and for the group which followed Practicalism (The Silhak school of

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thought) the well-being of the people was the primary concern. The King, they insisted, could not exist without the people, but they could exist without him.\footnote{Ibid., 235.}

This was a startlingly democratic notion, especially at a time and in a society in which the hierarchical principle was believed to be inherent in nature itself. But the Silhak scholars refused to accept the idea that men were born unequal, that their social status was predetermined. It is similar to the same notion that spawned Pragmatism, born out of defiance against the Predestination of Calvinism.

In addition to land reform, Yi Ik wrote a book entitled Concern for the Underprivileged, which openly advocated a broad range of social and political reforms. He also advocated that the rights and privileges given to the officials and the Yangban (upper ruling class) must be abolished, with all the policies instead emphasizing the general improvement of life for the people. He urged the government to render people the rights and privileges of education. This book united the Silhak movement with Western ideas, contrasting with and repudiating the established Tonghak learning, which was devoted to traditional Confucian and Buddhist classics and philosophy. Silhak was a bridging movement that was used as the womb in which the modern spirit was conceived. Its adherents sought to reanimate the morality of Confucianism and to reform the society into a more progressive one in which all individuals would be guaranteed opportunities to obtain social positions in accordance with their abilities and efforts. Thus, it was by Songho that the first attempt was made at a democratic principle in which all people,
disregarding social status, are to work for society. He declared that "even those in the privileged class are to work also" (on farmland, for example) and this indicated his intention of a gradual evolution of society.\(^6\)

Sungho, who ushered in the flowering period of Silhak, was a Westerner. He showed great attachment to the development of scholarship by his disciples. His efforts in this direction were aimed at bringing the school of Practical Learning to a culture beyond the framework of a school of thought. Sungho's ambitious attempted was implicit in his crusty remark: "A learning that can not benefit people is useless. Keep your knowledge alive or throw it away!"\(^7\)

Hong, Dae-yong, whose pen name was Tamhon (1731-1783) started where Songho left off. Tamhon's "Imha Kyongnyun" (meaning the outlook on the world from the wood) contains his theories of social innovation, which were aimed at assuring the national security as well as the security of the majority of people (especially farmers at all levels). Some striking features of his assertions are as follows:

1. In utter disregard of social status, all people of appropriate ages should engage themselves in work. Even those in the learned class (yangban) should be punished if they do nothing and maintain parasitic existences.

2. In utter disregard of social status, men of integrity and talent should be appointed to important positions in government. Men of no ability,


\(^7\)*Ibid.*, 46.
meanwhile, should be treated to mean positions, even if they are sons of ranking ministers of state.

3. All children above the age of seven should be taught at schools and to this end a school should be established at each village. Equal educational opportunities should be assured for all youths without regard to their class, and public servants should be selected not by higher examinations but by a rational screening system.

4. All people should be allowed to express opinion in written form disregarding social status.  

He pinpointed the hereditary tendency of upper-class people to idle away time, referring to the fact that when learned men tried technical work they became objects of scorn and backbiting. Tamhon also advocated in his work, Tamhonso (Naechop), in which he wrote about learning, society, state and history, that:

People are enslaved in old theory. They don't even stop to think about whether or not that theory is worth following. Therefore, even if the truth is in front of them to discover they don't even think to consider it. They are blindly following old out-of-date theories, leading their lives without improvement.  

Thus knowledge and practicality are inseparable, for the purpose of seeking knowledge is to acquire the facts through trial and error, and to make people's lives more comfortable. Here we can find the empiricism of England in the philosophy of Korea.

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8Ibid., 58.

9Choi, Min Hong, Ibid., 103.
Bacon (1561-1626) indicated in his *Novum Organum*, that people frequently believe what they hear regardless of its real existence. Tamhon, as well as Bacon, distinguished real existence from appellation. He emphasized the elimination of traditional prejudices when he argued for practicalism. By directing his philosophy towards a solution of social problems and by bridging a scientific attitude to reasoning, he added weight to Practicalism.

Tamhon's friendship with Park Chi-won (1737-1805) dates from their thirties. The warm relations between the two, so entirely different in temper, and yet so congenial, throws an interesting light on both. Park Chi-won, who is known by his pen name, Yonam, outlived Tomhon. He was a reputed member of a scholarly clan, though his life was marked by privation and adversity. Yonam did not enter an officialdom that could have brought him to a complacent and even affluent life. His learning made him think critically.

Yonam believed that metaphysics, which concerned itself with philosophical questions despite the fact that the country's social and economic problems were greatly affected by wars, could not help improve the situation of impoverished people. For him, knowledge without social and economic progress is worthless. In this view, Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914) was a philosopher comparable to Yonam. Peirce emphasized that his pragmatism had to do only with the consequences of actions. His concerns were always with the intellectual purport of ideas; with their emotive aspect he had nothing to do with, and this for the obvious reason that feelings and emotions as such do not directly entail consequences in action.
It will serve to show that almost every proposition of ontological metaphysics is either meaningless gibberish—one word being defined by other words, and they by still others, without any real conception ever being—or else is downright absurd; so that all such rubbish being swept away, what will remain of philosophy will be a series of problems capable of investigation by the observational methods of the true sciences—the truth about which can be reached without those interminable misunderstandings and disputes which have made the highest of the positive sciences a mere amusement for idle intellects, sort of like chess—idle pleasures its purpose, and reading out of a book its method.\(^{10}\)

For them, philosophy has its own worth when it is united with the logic of science. Yonam's rebellious career upon which he voluntarily embarked began in his early thirties when he met Tamhon. With Tamhon, he exchanged ideas and information on the Copernican theories and other scientific ideas, and continued to work closely with him until Tamhon's death.

Yonam spent some time contemplating and writing in Yonam, as isolated village in Hwanghae-do, from which his pen name was derived (Yonam means "the swallow peak"). During his time in Korea, commerce and technology were despised, a factor retarding the transformation of the country into a modern nation-state. Yonam tried to correct this mistaken view of authoritarian bureaucrats.

Yonam's opportunity to see firsthand vigorous Westernization in Ch'ing came in 1780, when he accompanied Pak Myong-won in his official courtesy call on the intelligent Manchu ruler, Emperor Ch'ien-lung (1736-1796), at his birthday celebration.

As he set out on his grand journey, Yonam started writing his famous *Yolha Ilgi* (*Jehol Annal*). This work, in the *Fourteenth Volume of Yonamchip* (*Yonam's Essays*), is a unique book of observations on striking civilizations under Ch'ien-lung. This work is a collection of twenty-six books all dealing with twenty-six different but related subjects, being encyclopedic in scope. It is a patriotic reportage as well as a creative work with a definite intention to awaken Korean leaders from mental inertia.

Yonam was amazed not only by the vigorous modernization in the Ch'ing but also by the Manchu's intelligent utilization of things for Yiyong Huseng (better living) and their pragmatic approach to living:

> Things we found during our journey from Peking to Jehol were all in neat order. Even the stables for cattle and pigs, the stacks of fuel and manure were orderly and clean. They know how to make use of commonplace things. This was the root of their richness and honesty. Such utilization makes one rich, which in turn makes him honest. How otherwise can one become rich and virtuous?

Park Chi-won urged that agriculture could benefit from the development of commerce, and that the agricultural technique used in China, especially in irrigation and sericulture, be imported, along with Chinese advancements in porcelain and metallurgy. He also favored improvements in transportation, both on land and by the sea, for the encouragement of trade.

For the use of science skill for the betterment of life, he advocated in his *Seventh*

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Volume of Yonamchip, as:

The best way to learn is very simple. If someone knows something that you need to know, you should ask him even if he is a servant of yours. If you hesitate to ask because of your pride you will never learn the real meaning of knowledge. There is no difference in social status in learning. Once you have learned, you have to use it to make your life better. The ultimate purpose of learning is to seek an ethical standard with which men can verify knowledge and make judgements. Knowledge and practice are inseparable just like the two wings of a bird. Thus, knowledge should refer not only to abstract understanding but also wisdom translated into practice.\textsuperscript{13}

On this point of view, William James (1842-1910) agrees, believing that knowledge must make a difference to something, someone, somewhere. For the justification of a science, James espoused:

\begin{quote}
Science fits all the known facts and was no alternative system of hypotheses known which fits equally well. We may therefore say truly that scientific theories are adopted simply because they work, i.e., because their consequences are satisfactory.\textsuperscript{14}
\end{quote}

Echoing James, Dewey's condemnation of dualism was the central feature of his philosophy. From the time of the Greeks, he said, the philosophical tradition tried to support moral values by appealing to contrasts between knowledge and opinion, between eternal and changeable subjects, and between textbook learning and empirical truth. Moral values were thought to be too esoteric to be supported by the lowly artisan, so they

\textsuperscript{13}Choi, Min Hong, \textit{Ibid.}, 105.

\textsuperscript{14}Morton White, \textit{Science and Sentiment in America} (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 204-205.
had to be defended by knowledge of what Dewey scornfully referred to as "antecedent reality" and "ultimate being". If one could show that moral truth is established merely by adhering to Platonic ideas, one could raise it to the level of metaphysical, mathematical, and logical truth, above mere opinion, mere practice, and mere sensation. In this way, moral truth became a body of necessary, immutable, absolutely certain propositions.

According to Dewey, when modern science emerged, it upset this ancient philosophical position, because it used a refined version of the despised artisan's method in arriving at those modern exemplars of knowledge, the beliefs of the new astronomy and mechanics. Thus, Dewey believed that knowledge and action are intrinsically connected, and once this was recognized, the old way of supporting values was undermined. Once it was fully recognized that metaphysical authority as conceived by the Greeks and the medieval scholastics could no longer be used as a basis for immutable moral values, only religion remained as a support for those values. It could no longer be said that immutable metaphysical principles underlay moral thought and practice, and that therefore, those who wanted their ethics immutable were forced to seek dubious aid from Locke, Kant, the Scottish philosophers, or other moderns in quest of certainty.15

The American genteel tradition, with its contrast between science and morals, represented a dualism against which Dewey rebelled when he abandoned his early idealism under the influence of evolutionary doctrine. He said of the latter:

The philosophic significance of the doctrine of evolution lies precisely in its emphasis upon the continuity of simpler to

15Morton White, Ibid., 272.
more complex organic forms until we reach man. The development of organic forms begins with structures where the adjustment of environment and organism is obvious, and where anything which can be called mind is at a minimum. As activity becomes more complex, coordinating a greater number of factors in space and time, intelligence plays a more and more marked role, for it has a larger span of the future to forecast and plan for. The effect upon the theory of knowing is to displace the notion that it is the activity of a mere onlooker or spectator of the world, the notion which goes with the idea of knowing as something complete in itself. For the doctrine of organic development means that the living creature is a part of the world, sharing its vicissitudes and fortunes, and making itself secure in its precarious dependence only as it intellectually identifies itself with the things about it, and, forecasting the future consequences of what it going on, shapes its own activities accordingly. If the living, experiencing being is an intimate participant in the activities of the world to which it belongs, then knowledge is a mode of participation, valuable in the degree in which it is effective. It cannot be the idle view of an unconcerned spectator.16

For them the truth of a proposition is measured by its correspondence with experimental results and by its practical outcome. Yonam believed that knowledge that contributes to human values is real and that values adhere in the means as vitally as they do in the end itself.

Yonam's society was characterized by structural components based on the Chu Hsi ideology: a bureaucratic hierarchy of authority, a norm of impersonality between classes, a substratum of vast local communities conformed to a morally oriented social order, and a weakly organized national economy.

These structural factors were well suited to an efficient bureaucracy. But Yonam saw these factors as responsible for Korea's slow pace in a race with Ch'ing China and

Tokugawa Japan, which were more advanced in their national development. He naturally sought to modify bureaucratic behavior so Korea might modernize. In his article, "Petition on Mutual Discourse," he criticized discrimination against illegitimate male descendants and petitioned the king to abolish this system. Another scholar named Yi Su-won advocating the breakdown of class barriers, urged equality of opportunity in government and education, as well as commercial development. As they advocated new studies other than the Confucian classics and subjects, they emphasized the need to educate the people and promote scientific and foreign language studies. At the same time, they pointed to the need to import advanced knowledge and technology from abroad, promote trade and develop commerce, establish a banking system, as well as a mining industry, fisheries, fruit cultivation, and stock breeding. Their advocacy of the breakdown of class barriers was revolutionary.\(^\text{17}\)

For Yonam, the ultimate aim of learning is what can be proved and utilized; herein lies its virtue which is the result of well-being. He tried to draw truth not from abstract conceptions but from results consistent with the purpose of human behavior.

In the practical learning of Yonam's era, the man nearest to Yonam himself, both in personal and historical interest, is Chojong, Park Chae-ga (1750-1805). Chojong went even further. Having visited the Chinese court three times in search of his principles, he formally proposed to the Korean government to send trading ships to China regularly, and that some of the Western technicians employed by the Chinese court should be

\(^{17}\text{Andrew C. Nahm, Korea: A History of the Korean People (New Jersey, Hollym, 1988), 129.}\)
invited to Korea to impart their knowledge to the young.

While serving as editor of the Kyujanggak, he had access to King Chongjo and used every opportunity to persuade the young monarch to import Western technology, to open trade with as many countries as possible, and to correct errors in the political and social structure of his day. He insisted that the politically overextended and spiritually bankrupt Chu Hsi doctrine offered no solutions to pressing administrative problems.

Chongjo was a relatively intelligent monarch devoted to scholarship. This is illustrated by his project to establish the Royal Office of Academic Compilation, Kyujanggak. Chojong and two of his lifelong friends, Yi Tok-mu and Yu Tuk-kong, had never thought of becoming government officials because of their illegitimate birth, but were appointed to the editorship at the king's order. The social discrimination against men of illegitimate birth, however gifted they were, was so strong that the three were more surprised when given the position. The position whet their scholarly stimulation.

Chojong believed that conceptive rules accepted by reason and sense can not give meaning to the human being's life, philosophy of life puts its base on experience and intuition. Chojong believed that to fully understand anything people must experience that particular concept. It is not sufficient for them to have abstract knowledge. Things understood by reason mean nothing but the surface of phenomenon. The real goal of should be unceasing activities to improve a human being's life. It is the real core idea of

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18 The Kyujanggak was not merely an office of publication with a large library. It also played an important role in royal affairs. A good many of the royal books in the library are presented presently preserved in the Seoul National University Library.
philosophy that truth can only be understood by our knowledge working in life itself.

This is one of the main concerns shared by Chojong and Dewey. Dewey said:

The great problem for modern man was to heal the breach between morals and science which had opened up after the medieval synthesis had broken down. This could be accomplished only by resting moral knowledge on science properly conceived. Armed with such knowledge, philosophers could participate in a great effort to make society over by applying science to individual conduct and to social institutions.\(^{19}\)

Dewey was not content to argue that ethics was closely tied to natural science. He also challenged a more fundamental part of traditional philosophy by arguing that logic, should free itself from subservience to metaphysics and recognize that it too was not radically different from natural science. Therefore Dewey's struggle against dualism and Chojong's struggle against neo-Confucian metaphysics coincide with each other in the following strands:

1. Their views of the connection between scientific knowledge and action
2. Their efforts to show that moral and logical beliefs are different only in degree from the pragmatically analyzable beliefs of natural science
3. Their attempts to apply their pragmatic or instrumentalist theory of scientific knowledge and ethical judgement to the concrete problems of man, chiefly in education and politics.

Both of them thought that philosophers should apply their conclusions to change the world. Thus both were interested in education. Chojong detested literary, dialectic,

and authoritative methods of teaching, which used the abstract conception of the past rather than the method of science. He argued in his *Treatise in Northern Studies* (Pukhagui):

> There are close relationships between phenomena in nature and real scientific knowledge. Success in a human being's life depends on how well people use their knowledge with a creativity to produce the proper tools to make a difference in living.²⁰

In regard to this point, Dewey says that since the philosophical tradition misconceived the nature of knowledge, it was bound to misconceive the process of education. Dominated as society was by class divisions, he said, it set up its education according with the philosophic dualisms it encouraged and, as a result, divorced learning from doing, as the possession of a detached leisure class. Dewey's educational philosophy emphasized the centrality of learning by doing, of treating it as a habit of intelligent inquiry rather than storing facts which had no capacity to predict and control the future. Dewey insisted that in a democratic society which sought to break down class barriers, the classroom should be a miniature social community which encouraged fluent, free, and democratic social intercourse. The new anti-dualistic school was oriented toward intelligent activity, centered on the child, freed from the formalism of mere drill and rote learning, and dedicated to viewing its curriculum as an instrument rather than as a catechetical and canonical texts regarded as purely esthetic objects that endowed their owner with social status. This was what exactly Chojong, Tasan, and other reformers

tried to accomplish.

However, Chojong's proposition came at an unfortunate time. The government was then becoming aware of what it considered to be the menace of Catholicism. The Western technology which Park Chae-ga so admired was closely associated with this religion. The contact with Peking was reduced to a minimum, the importation of books was banned, and even the Chinese translations of Western books already in the country were destroyed.

Yonam and Chojong believed that there was an advantage to a country with a favorable trade balance. Ironically, Koreans never voluntarily opened trade with other foreign countries. They were forced by the Japanese to open the country to consume Japanese articles.

Chojong's essential economic thought was crystallized in the 1770s, in his Treatise in Northern Studies (Pukhagui). Opposing classical physiocrats, Chojong wrote in his Pukhagui:

There is an opinion among the learned that a good many merchants should return to farming... Why? Agriculture and industry are both bound to become stagnant without a commercial boom that stimulates productivity.  

Chojong discussed agricultural problems and showed how to achieve economic stability, insisting that agricultural and commercial industries be regarded as important. In his Treatise on Northern Studies, he represented an indigenous movement stimulated

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21Park Chae-ga, Treatise in Northern Studies (Pukhagui), (Seoul: Chong-jo and Soon-jo Sarok, 1798), Mercantilism.
by indigenous conditions. He advocated that will and interest are primary to improving the popular welfare. Scientific technologies could be used to produce better products. He urged that Korea should use the new technology for modern transformation. Once the path was found, Korea will be on her way to a balanced prosperity.22 In this way, William James' instrumentalism corresponds to Chojong's theory, proposed many decades before James.

Chojong did not overlook the point that a sumptuary policy directed at the already hard-pressed masses was the main obstacle to national growth. In regard to the relationship between consumption and production, he said:

Our poverty is derived not from the lack of natural resources but from the inability to exploit them. Why are we at once frugal and needy? Something is amiss. The national economy can be compared to the principle of a well. Water keeps running from a well from which the water is adequately consumed, whereas water stops running from a well which is deserted by people. Similarly, silk or fine porcelain industries are doomed to ruin if people refrain from consuming the goods. We grow poorer if we do not exploit what we produce.23

He revealed a striking economic vision when he wrote:

The propensity to consume is a factor which stimulates production. This in turn attracts the employment of labor, savings and reinvestment. Consumption is the object of all economic activity upon which our ultimate aim, wealth, depends.24

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22 Choi Min Hong, Ibid., 108.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.
Chokong considered the large number of jobless yangban one of the social problems with which the government had to cope. In fact, jobless yangban were steadily increasing in number year after year. The government left little room for them, nor was there a practical answer to the problem. Chojong recommended that the government advocate commercial practice for this parasitical manpower. He said that the government should provide some loans if necessary to induce them to enter commerce, a way of living the yangban class traditionally looked down upon. He stated that the metaphysics which those jobless yangban were speculating upon and the fact that they never engaged in menial labor, was decaying their government. He construed real scholars to be essentially active.

Chojong urged that Korea should open trade with China, Japan, Vietnam and other countries as well. He insisted that Korea should introduce advanced techniques of shipbuilding from Ch'ing China to enable her to develop maritime trade. For that purpose, he argued the government must open its ports to China, import technology and simultaneously increase trade activities. In regard to international trade, he wrote:

Why not offer our abundant cotton, potatoes, hemp, and marine products for foreign wool, drugs, military arms, and books. While trading, we could learn a great deal about advanced Western technologies and ideas.25

Chojong held that the government should invite Western Catholic scholar-priests, as the Ch'ing emperors had done a long time ago to Koreans in astronomy, agricultural technology, medicine, architecture, mining, shipbuilding, etc. He stated:

25Ibid.
Why should we be afraid of Catholic creeds? Catholicism is no more a religion that is Buddhism. We found worthy things to learn even from shipwrecked foreign sailors...\textsuperscript{26}

Chojong was dedicated to reform. If he was not a successful reformer, it was partly because he was not in a powerful position. He was convinced that society could be improved only by reforming its professional statecraft.

A rebellious and liberal-minded philosopher named Chong Yag-yong (1762-1836) brought the Silhak movement to full maturity. Chong took the pen name of Tasan, by which he is remembered. Much of Tasan's achievements lay in reconciling Confucianism with the Western religion, Catholic Christianity, which in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had entered Korea. As a twenty-three year old university student, Tasan wrote his first rounded philosophical treatise. His aim was to reconstruct Confucianism.

Under the slogan of "Self-cultivation and good government," he developed the theme that man is not an isolated but is consistently and essentially social. From birth, he is subject to the relationship between parents and their offspring. He grows up as a member of a closely-knit family. As a citizen, he is bound by the ties between ruler and subject. All through his life, the individual is restrained, guided, and deeply influenced by the relationship of husband and wife, of senior and junior, of teacher and student, of friend to friend, and of employee to employer. To consider the needs of an individual as separate and distinct from his social needs and duties is unrealistic. To think that an

\textsuperscript{26} Ibid.
individual's personal needs and his social duties are in different categories, and are basically antithetic, is a violaties reason. Practically speaking, there is no divergence between "self cultivation" and "mutuality". What is good for others, especially for the members of our own community and for those in our intimate circle, is good for us--and visa versa. The goal is well-developed individuals in a well-regulated society. Tasan accepted the five-fold relations (sovereign-subject, husband-wife, father-elder son, elder-younger siblings, and friend-to-friend) as self-evident. But he rejected the tradition that they were vertical and he redefined them horizontally. They were not hierarchical, he concluded, but reciprocal. Obligations and duties to one another; elder sons give as well as receive respect; husbands expect obedience from wives but also have the duty of caring for them, just as kings should rule only so long as they rule well. These were the convictions Tasan developed during his student years. This was his interpretation of Confucianism. This was the Silhak way.27 The year in which he wrote them down was 1784. Although Practical Science failed to achieve any great political results, it offered many plans for a better society, including reforms in government, taxation, education, and national defense. This spirit was subsequently incorporated in the social reform initiated by Christianity introduced into Korea from China in the early nineteenth century.

Tasan eagerly studied all the Western books he could obtain, and in addition became a Catholic, for which he was banished in 1801 to a remote island where he

27 Yi, Ki-back, A New History of Korea (Seoul, Ilchokak, 1984), 31.
remained for eighteen years. During his exile he worked out in detail his ideas for reform, including land redistribution to the farmers and insurance to them of a fair share of their crops, reorganization of both central and local administrations, abolition of slavery, and development of technical education. Tasan believed that education's main purpose was to enrich human beings' lives.

In his essay, Tasan criticized Confucian scholars of his period:

The universal pattern-principle of Neo-Confucianism was no more than a metaphysical concept being abused as the tool of political privilege. For the Sung Confucians, the laws are one and the same and the world is controlled by one supreme pole which is Li, a moral law upon which human conduct is to be modelled. How can all matter be attributed to one principle? They may know the outlook of the world, but they do not have any solution for the problem existing inside the world. Knowledge without any scientific facts to support it is not real knowledge.

Tasan's reaction to "the empty metaphysical speculations" in the Sung tradition led to his break with the immediate past and his return to the fundamentals of Confucian learning under the influence of modern science and technology which was being introduced in Korea with the spread of Catholicism. In his treatise on pseudo-Confucians, he wrote:

How can we trust sciolists who cannot adapt themselves to the changes of time? True Confucian learning is to contribute to practical statecraft, whether military, civil, or financial. It cannot be achieved by a man who boasts merely of futile

28Han, Woo-keun, Ibid., 326.

knowledge in literature or by a man who merely postulates himself deeply to his seniors in an impeccably polite manner and with his long sleeves... What about today's common sense view of learning? If a man does not debate on the vain metaphysics of the Li but concerns himself with practical ideas, he is condemned as a man of mean learning.  

Evidence of Tasan's interest in natural science and technology was his construction plans for the fortification of Suwon, then Hwasong, as the emergency capital at King Chongjo's order. Not only did Tasan provide the construction plans, but also the complete diagrams and descriptions of how to construct and utilize key tools, and of how to construct the roads. His methods were revolutionary for Korea, and his methods saved considerable expense, labor and time. At the very outset of his "Sonsol (Plans for the Castle)" which were directly addressed to the monarch, Tasan emphasized the need for a comprehensive master plan based on sound research. 

One of the interesting devices made by Tasan was a model windlass, the ancestor of modern cranes and elevators which was actually used for the construction of the fortification. In his "Kijung Tosol (a Crane Principle), Tasan said:

The construction of the windlass was made possible after research on the revolving principles of various pulleys used in the past...By using this new windlass, builders can raise heavy weights with only the dynamic of a child's one arm. Shown herein are the diagrams of frames, shafts, pulleys, and the structure of the crane...If one pulley is capable of lifting one hundred kun (one kun equals .6 kg.) with the dynamic

30 Chon, Syngboc. Ibid., 159.

corresponding to only half the weight (fifty kun), the same weight (one hundred kun) can be lifted with one quarter of the energy, if two pulleys are used. Hence, if eight pulleys are used, the crane's lifting capacity amounts to twenty-five times as much the power of the pulley...\(^\text{32}\)

Tasan's outlook on the changing social conditions, and his attitude toward modern technology was revolutionary. He advocated the importance of scientific knowledge whenever possible. In his essay on "Modern Technology" he said:

A very distinctive difference between humans and animals is that humans can develop their skills to make a world a better place to live. Even if we do not have bountiful land, if we develop agricultural skills and use it properly, we can harvest more in a small area of land. If an army can improve their arms with modern technology they will not be defeated, and even in the medical field, if a doctor is skillful in handling and treating patients he can save more people's lives. So it is not a matter of what we have now, it is a matter of how we cultivate ourselves with the proper knowledge.\(^\text{33}\)

Dewey also had in mind the school's social responsibilities to provide children with realistic programs, enabling them to live fruitful lives in the new emergent industrial society. In his *The School and Social Progress*, he said:

The great thing to keep in mind, regarding the introduction into the school of various forms of active occupation, is that through them the entire spirit of the school is renewed. It has a chance to affiliate itself with life, to become the child's habitat, where he learns through directed living, instead of being only a place to learn lessons having an abstract and remote reference to some possible living to be done in the future. It gets a chance to be a miniature community, an embryonic society. This is the fundamental fact, and from this

\(^{32}\text{Ibid.}, 166.\)

\(^{33}\text{Chong, Tasan, Ibid., Vol. 11.}\)
arises continuous and orderly streams of instruction. Under the industrial regime described, the child, after all, shared in the work, not only for the sake of the sharing, but for the sake of the product. The educational results secured were real, yet incidental and dependent. But in the school the typical occupations were free from all academic stress. The aim is not the economic value of the products, but the development of social power and insight. It is this liberation from narrow utilities, this openness to the possibilities of the human spirit, that makes these practical activities in the school allies of art and centers of science and history.34

About the relationship between schooling, the human industry and achievement he said:

It is through occupations determined by this environment that mankind has made its historical and political progress. It is through these occupations that the intellectual and emotional interpretation of nature has been developed. Thus these occupations in the school shall not be mere practical devices or modes of routine employment, the gaining of better technical skill as cooks, seamstresses, or carpenters, but active centers of scientific insight into natural materials and processes, points of departure whence children shall be led out into a realization of the historic development of man. The occupation supplies the child with a genuine motive; it gives him experience at first hand; it brings him into contact with realities. It does all this, but in addition it is liberalized throughout by translation into its historic and social values and scientific equivalencies. With the growth of the child's mind in power and knowledge it ceases to be a pleasant occupation merely and becomes more and more a medium, an instrument, an organ of understanding--and is thereby transformed. Consequently, under present conditions, all activity, to be successful, has to be directed somewhere and somehow by the scientific expert--it is a case of applied science. This connection

should determine its place in education.\textsuperscript{35}

Dewey continuously advocated the importance of the scientific method of education. He said:

If we go back a few centuries, we find a practical monopoly of learning. Learning was a class matter. This was a necessary result of social conditions. There were not in existence any means by which the multitude could possible have access to intellectual resources. These were stored up and hidden away in manuscripts. Of these there were only a few, and it required long and toilsome preparation to be able to do anything with them. A high-priesthood of learning, which guarded the treasury of truth and which doled it out to the masses under severe restrictions, was the inevitable expression of these conditions. But, as a direct result of the industrial revolution this has been changed. The result has been intellectual revolution. Learning has been put into circulation. While there still is, and probably always will be, a particular class having the special business of inquiry in hand, a distinctively learned class is henceforth out of the question. It is an anachronism. Knowledge is no longer an immobile solid; it has been liquefied. It is actively moving in all the currents of society itself.\textsuperscript{36}

Dewey believed strongly that if education was to have any meaning for life, it had to effect a complete transformation of social life. This was similar to Tasan a century earlier.

Tasan was the author of 230 published fascicles, plus thirty volumes of unpublished manuscripts. The scope of his research ranged from politics to medical jurisprudence to finance to engineering. But Tasan considered only three of his books significant—\textit{Humhum Sinso} on medical jurisprudence, and \textit{Kyongsae Yupyo} and

\textsuperscript{35}\textit{Ibid.}, 462-464.

\textsuperscript{36}\textit{Ibid.}, 465.
Mokmin Simso on administration. The last two works are closely interrelated. While Kyongsae Yupyo embodies his plans and tenets in administration, Mokmin Simso contains his systematic treatises on government. Tasan's magnum opus is Treatises on Government (Mokmin Simso), which he wrote during his eighteen years of exile in Kangjin.

The crowning achievement of Tasan's life was the completion of Mokmin Simso in 1818. His ideas did not lend recognizable ideological leadership to his society nor did he anticipate it.37 This work nevertheless became increasingly relevant as a continuing stimulus to Korean intellectuals generation after generation. An example of Tasan's approach to the analysis of social conditions is his investigation of personnel administration comprising six chapters. Here, he held that "one cannot govern the people without governing the yisok," low-class employees (tax collectors) such as Ajon who exploited peasants by subtle, illicit means. Attacking the time-honored tradition of embezzling by the yisok (which succeeded with impunity due to the absence of government policy,) Tasan said that these men "deprived the farmers and the peasants of their skin and marrow and considered it as their harvest." He wrote:

One therefore cannot govern a province without curbing these crafty men in the lower echelons...but a magistrate cannot curb these men unless his conduct is convincingly immaculate. This is a universal truth. Unless he is honest and fair, his dignity would not be preserved and his employees would not listen to him...His control of employees ought to be based on self-government. An official, if he is

37 In he preface to Mokmin Simso, Tasan remarked: "The work was partly aimed at cultivating myself; I have little hope for its survival after my death."
upright, can correct the wrong without giving an order; if not, he cannot command his people. 38

Tasan's requirements for public office were discussed in Mokmin Simso dealing with a code of ethics for officials.39 Here, he denounced the hereditary appointment of magistrates based on clan backgrounds in favor of honesty and integrity as the qualifications for magistracy. He pointed out that the royal government proffered offices in consideration of men's family records, and that many sought government positions to benefit members of their clans. Criticizing the disorder and corruption caused by mismanagement of the magistracy, Tasan wrote:

...does an office exist for the sake of a privileged man? Should a magistrate be allowed to feed a clan? Should a minister of state be allowed to amass wealth for his clan? Even a ruler is wrong if he lavishes wealth at the sacrifice of the masses...A man of virtue and talent may seek an office. But that is still not relevant to the nature of public office. One may volunteer for whatever work but a government office...

Turning to land management and taxation, Tasan wrote that "the disorder in taxation has grown out of the disorder in the management of land laws."40 The disorder, he said, was a chief factor responsible for the deterioration of government finance. To remedy the persistent malady, Tasan provided practicable plans for the management of land and taxation.

38"Chong, Tasan, "Songni" (Control of Employee) in "Yojon" (Personnel Administration).

39Chong, Tasan, "Puim" (Code of Ethics for Magistrates).

40Chong, Tasan, "Hojon" (Land Management and Taxation).
Tasan wrote two epitaphs. In the shorter one, he describes how he became associated with three areas of thought and how he was profoundly struck by them. The three were Songho's reform thought, Catholic doctrine, and Western natural science that were brought to Korea. Songho taught him to critically see matters in space-time. He studied what was far behind Songho's principles, and reached beyond Songho's domain in political philosophy.

In a caveat addressed to his two sons, Haeyu and Hagyon, Tasan warned that Confucian students are easily enmeshed "in the maze of varied, selective interpretations by different schools in the Ming and Ch'ing traditions" and are tempted to give up the true search for any underlying unity in the whole Confucian concept. Before taking up principles in practical statecraft, he remarked, one must understand the true contexts "in the pages of the Four books and Five Classics in their fullness."

In regard to advancement of learning in Japan, Tasan wrote that a number of outstanding scholars emerged in Japan under the influence of Ogyu Sorai (1666-1728), a pioneer in the Fukko Gakuha, a school of the Restoration of Ancient Order. He stated:

The Japanese imported learning for the first time from Korea during the Paekche period (18 B.C.-660). At first they were backward-not now. After assuming direct contacts with Chinese provinces south of the Yangtze River, they began to bring home all the valuable books from China. They do not

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41 Tasan wrote his autobiographies in two separate epitaphs. A condensed one was to be buried in his tomb. A comprehensive one was to be preserved by his lineage for generations to follow.

42 Chong Tasan Chongso, The Domestic Admonition to Two Sons, (Seoul, Hongik Ingansa, 1960), 373.
have national examination systems, yet they are advancing their learning admirably.\textsuperscript{43}

His \textit{A Treatise on King Tang} comments on the Shang kings and their prehistoric politics characterized by "feudal democracy." Here, he advocated democracy, just as Rousseau did in the \textit{Social Contract}, and denied divine right of kings:

Did Tang have to dethrone (tyrannous) Chieh? Should a minister be allowed to repel his king? Is it an ancient practice?...Tang dethroned the king and succeeded him for the good of Huang Ti, the Yellow Emperor, and because of the king's unbridled sins (infamous cruelty)... What on earth is the throne? Does he reign because he was sent to the Earth by the Heaven? Does he rule because he sprang up from the Earth? What happened? Consider five households which form a neighborhood. When the five families become a neighborhood, they pick an elder to guide them. When five neighborhoods grow into a village, the villagers choose a chief whom they prefer. When five villages become a town, the townfolk select a magistrate from among them. The governor of a province is selected according to the same principle, and dukes and marquises are selected likewise from among the governors. The prince is nothing but a ruler selected from among the dukes. The prince is in fact made by the people who support him. If the masses no longer support the ruler, he hardly exists. Hence, when five households do not get along with each other, they take council with one another and replace their leader with a new one. If the five villages do not get along well, the twenty-five households get together and name a new chief. When nine marquises and eight earls (feudal peers) do not get along with one another, they select a new prince from among them, as the twenty-five households name a new chief...(In the prehistoric Hsia and Shang period, feudal noblemen dethroned the kings, ascended themselves to the throne, and were dethroned in turn.) From the Han period onward, the prince named the peer and the peer appointed the governors. Why was the downward-upward system reversed? Is not the former a

\textsuperscript{43}The Complete Works of Chong, Tasan, Vol. 1, 438.
reasonable polity? After all, Tang and Mun (the fourth ruler of the Chou dynasty), who raised a rebellion and dethroned the tyrants, were wise rulers...Nevertheless, they are looked down upon. Why? Chang Tse said: Worms (fools who do not see the truth) are not even aware of the change of season from spring to autumn.44

In his Tangnon, Tasan clearly denied the divine right of kings and advocated democracy, though he slightly blurred his language at one point. His Tangnon touched the history of Hsia (2000-1520 B.C.) and Shang (1520-1030 B.C.) dynasties. In his analogous remark by Chang Tse: "Worms are not even aware of the change of season..." He applied the phrase in allusion to the ruling sciolists who were historically minded and were unable to see the origin of democracy. Tasan fundamentally opposed the upward-downward system of hierarchy.

For Tasan, the universal pattern-principle of Neo-Confucianism was no more than a metaphysical concept and abstract teaching being abused as the tool of political privilege. Tasan stressed materialistic positivism rejecting the Sung Neo-Confucianism on many grounds. For the Sung scholars, the absence of desire was an ideal of self-cultivation. Thereupon Tasan declared, "If a man is devoid of interest he becomes amoral and therefore junk...neither literary work nor industrial products can be expected of him."45

Tasan stressed on the interest in learning and applying concepts to the real life situation to improve community life. He believed that only a man who has creativity and

44Ibid., 230.

45Chon, Syngboc, Ibid., 156.
initiative can contribute to the well-being of his country. Will and interest are primary
and knowledge is instrumental. Ideas do not reproduce outcomes, but prepare for, or lead
the way, to them. The role of an idea is to indicate what conceivable efforts of a practical
kind the outcome may involve--what results we are to expect from it and what reactions
we must prepare. This view is similar to Dewey's definition of education. In My
Pedagogic Creed, Dewey stated that:

The only true education comes through the stimulation of
the child's power by the demands of the social situations in
which he finds himself. Through these demands he is
stimulated to act as a member of a unity, to emerge from
his original narrowness of action and feeling, and to conceive
of himself from the standpoint of the welfare of the group to
which he belongs. Through the responses which others make
to his own activities he comes to know what these mean in
social terms. The value which they have is reflected back
into them. For instance, through the response which is made
to the child's instinctive babblings the child comes to know
what those babblings mean; they are transformed into articulate
language, and thus the child is introduced into the consolidated
wealth of ideas and emotions which are now summed up in
language. I believed that ideas (intellectual and rational processes)
also result from action and devolve for the sake of the better control
of action. What we term reason is primarily the law of orderly
or effective action. To attempt to develop the reasoning powers,
the powers of judgment, without reference to the selection and
arrangement of means in action, is the fundamental fallacy in
our present methods of dealing with this matter. As a result we
present the child with arbitrary symbols. Symbols are a
necessary effort; presented by themselves they are a mass of
meaningless and arbitrary ideas imposed from without. Interests
are the signs and symptoms of growing power. I believe that
they represent dawning capacities. Accordingly, the constant and
careful observation of interest is of the utmost importance for the
educator since it shows the state of development which the child
has reached.\textsuperscript{46}

Both advocated that the human's interest are to be observed for they prophesy the stage upon which he is about to enter. With the proper guidance, they can acquire knowledge which they can use to make a better environment. They came to regard knowledge (intelligence) as a power that people use when they face a conflict or challenge. Dewey believed that people live by custom and habit. In most situations, it is sufficient to think and act as we have done in the past, but some physical and social situations present problems calling for new responses. According to Dewey, we can not solve such problems by habitual action and thought. We must use knowledge as an instrument for overcoming any obstacles. Significant knowledge and practical achievement go hand in hand. "If the living, experiencing being is an intimate participant in the activities of the world to which it belongs, then knowledge is a mode of participation, valuable in the degree in which it is effective. It cannot be the idle view of an unconcerned spectator."\textsuperscript{47}

Tasan's life had a considerable role as a stimulus to new ideas and "enlightenment" for intellectual minds, a role characteristic of most pioneers. Although the Silhak school lived its day, it was not a full day. Some of its adherents held minor government positions but as a whole, they were out of power and so failed to weave the programs of their vigorous school into the seams of national policies. The state policy-


makers were, for the main part, conservative, busy upholding the status-quo, refusing to introduce any foreign ideas of culture, rigidly adhering to a policy of seclusion that was to earn Korea the name of the "Hermit Kingdom" in the outside world. Whatever the bias of the powerful state, the onrush of foreign influences and the tides of new ideas could not be blocked. The only effect of the seclusion policy was to suppress the ideas and encourage foreign intervention in a weak kingdom in search of markets. Thus, it had been a constant scaffold of big powers too powerful for Korea to deal with, such as China, Russia, and Japan. Furthermore, its strictly centralized administration lent no possibility of a balanced development such as the one achieved by the Japanese provincial lords under the Shogunate.

In the preceding sections the author has discussed the new movement in scholarly learning, Practicalism. This movement arose to rectify the misaligned metaphysical and Yangban-centered reality and set new directions for the country which would aid the livelihood of the people. The author also discussed the main harbingers of Practicalism, who concerned themselves with such matters as commerce and technology, things which were supposed to be beneath a yangban's dignity even to know about, although they were yangban themselves.

To sum up, Practicalism can be divided into three stages. Yu Hyong-won was the leader of the first stage, Yi Ik brought its ideas to fruit as a new thought in the second stage of Practicalism, and then Practicalism was further developed by Chong Yag-yong in
its third stage. These scholars, in their good-government approach to the solution of the problem of the farming villages, focused their attention not on the landlord class but on those who actually cultivated the soil. Accordingly, Yu Hyong-won advocated a "public land system" under which the state would hold title to the land and allocate a fixed amount to each farmer; Yi Ik proposed an "equal field system" that would guarantee in perpetuity to each peasant household the amount of land minimally necessary to maintain its livelihood; and Chong Yag-yong urged adoption of a "village land system" whereby land would be owned and tilled in common by each village unit, the harvest then apportioned on the basis of the labor actually performed by each individual. Their common objective was to create a utopian state of independent, self-employed farmers who themselves held and tilled their lands. Like Lee Ki-baik summed up:

They believed that the interests of the official class and of those who tilled the land were in fundamental harmony, and by abolishing and selecting officials on the basis of merit, they hoped to check the disintegration of rural life resulting from the development of commerce and the change to a money economy.49

In the early seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the first stage, scholars of Practicalism dealt mainly with rural problems. Their institutional approach to government which is called "Kyungsechiyong" stressed reform in the vital areas of the land system, administrative structure, and military organization to promote the sound

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48 Kim, Yong-duk, The Practical Thoughts in Korea (Seoul: Sam-Sung Chul-Pan sa, 1974), 13.

49 Lee, Ki-baik, Ibid., 235.
development of an agricultural economy based on the independent, self-employed farmer. Then in the second stage, from the latter eighteenth to the early nineteenth century, Practicalists led efforts to build the axes of "Hankukhak," or Koreanology, with studies in history, geography, languages, and epography which approach was called "Silsagusi". Scholars of the school of Silsagusi (on-the-spot survey) believed that Koreans must achieve an academic understanding of the realities and culture of Korea. They strove to conduct academic research concerning the country.  

Under the Japanese domination, all phases of Korean life were strangled. Korean Confucianism was persecuted by the Japanese but the Japanese authorities encouraged Confucian concepts of loyalty to the center of authority, the center being the Japanese emperor. The Songgyungwan had to go, not because it taught Confucian teachings but because it represented the highest organized center of such teachings and, as such, was a reminder of Korea's proud past. Accordingly only the name was changed. As the Kyonghakwon, the institute was allowed to function for such purposes as offering sacrifices to Confucius' memory.

The songgyungwan resumed its original name and duties after the Liberation. It has been elevated to the level of a modern university, the only one with ancient buildings. Thus, Confucianism is still being studied. However, discredited it may have been in the face of modern industrial demands, it has its devotees, young and old, in the country. The young can only study the subject shorn of all disillusions for these they have

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experienced in life. They can but seek the essential qualities of Confucian wisdom.

**SUMMARY**

As was discussed, Practicalism in Korea and Pragmatism in America reflect each other in many aspects. Though their time was different, the historical background of these two thoughts are similar. In the sixteenth century Korea, the Yi dynasty displayed various symptoms of decay, revealing its weaknesses. A prolonged power struggle among scholar-officials had created an unstable political situation and the prestige of the dynasty declined. The political and economic confusion and the unrest that stemmed from a change in the class system, that ensues from the two wars, the Japanese Invasions (1592 and 1597) and the Manchu Invasions (1627 and 1636), awakened intellectuals to Silhak, a new school of Practicalism.

In spite of the fact that the country's social and economic problems were greatly affected by the damages of the wars and the livelihoods of the people greatly endangered, metaphysics, which concerned itself with philosophical questions, could not provide the answers to these difficult realities. At this junction, there arose a new movement in scholarly learning. In this new school, scholars discovered various problems and seriously studied ways to reform them. The scope of the Silhak studies was very broad. This was largely in effort to reform the land and tax systems with a view to resolving the problem of the wide gap of wealth between the rich and the poor that plagued rural society. In addition, Silhak scholars called for the development of commerce and trade as a means of enriching national finances and bolstering people's wealth. They also actively studied national history and geography to recover Korea's traditional legacies.
Then, in America, people immigrated from European feudalism to a new land to search for religious freedom and better living. They did not have many things to start living in this new abundance of land, but they wanted to establish a new strong nation. It was natural that abstract thought and the theory of predestination could not give any help to it. American people were against formalism in social thought and wanted to apply scientific knowledge to their problems.

The Practicalism of Korea is consistent with Pragmatism of America. The following are some examples for the above theory.

1. Both theories believe that there is no difference between knowledge and utility. Both knowledge and utility may be, and virtually always are, an ingredient in the other. The scholars in both Practicalism and pragmatism considered education as a tool that would enable the citizen to integrate into his culture and vocation effectively and usefully. They tried hard in formulating working principles for a democratic and industrial society. They both tried to find an instrument for social betterment in schooling.

2. Both value scientific knowledge over abstract learning. The Silhak scholars wanted an end to empty formalism and concern with ritual trivialities, demanding a practical, empirical approach to government and learning. The main object of their study was the actual manifestation of things, their reality. By emphasizing their enquiries on social science, natural science, and technology, they believed that they could attain proper intellectual development with which to rebuild
their society. Their main concern in learning was how to match their knowledge and doings together to modernize their society.

Dewey's interpretation of scientific knowledge shows similarity with Silhak thought. He considered science a method for inquiring into the behavior of things, the results of such inquiry are the joint products of thought and activity. Dewey influenced the abandonment of authoritarian methods and in the growing emphasis upon experimentation and practice.

3. The scholars in both philosophies actively participated in movements to forward social welfare, protect academic freedom, and effect political reform. The Silhak scholars refused to accept the ideas that men are born unequal, that their social status is predetermined. They called for a root-and-branch reformation which would assure a decent livelihood to all the people advocating the abolition of class barriers and equality of opportunity in government and education.

4. The Silhak scholars and Dewey both believed that history could help solve present problems. Dewey believed that history is of educational value in so far as it presents phases of social life and growth. It must be controlled by reference to social life.51

5. Both philosophies value labor. The Silhak scholars even advocated the proper use of the intellectual jobless yangban (upper ruling class) who never did

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51 John J. McDermott, Ibid., 448.
manual labor. Chojong went a step further and advocated that the government engage them in commerce, believing their knowledge should be utilized.

In this view, Dewey criticized the various dualisms which from the time of the Greeks onwards have afflicted philosophy and theology. He argues that misled by their own language, philosophers have separated man from nature, mind from body, knowing from doing, and means from ends. In Dewey's words,

> Since education is the process through which the needed transformation may be accomplished and not remain a mere hypothesis as to what is desirable, we reach a justification of the statement that philosophy in the theory of education as a deliberately conducted practice.  

The author has compared two philosophies, Practicalism in Korea and Pragmatism in America, the backbone of their respective countries' educational theories.

In America, Dewey's Pragmatism grew into philosophy of life and a social weapon which help remake American civilization.

As Dewey said in *Democracy and Education*, educational philosophy could be used in every aspect of American lives.

> The most penetrating definition of philosophy which can be given is, then, that it is the theory of education in its most general phases. The reconstruction of philosophy, of education, and of social ideals and methods thus go hand in hand.

For America to become the most powerful nation in the world in politically,

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materially, and spiritually, their Puritanism with the theory of predestination was not enough. Americans needed a new philosophy to inspire them to be more practical, scientific, idealistic, and adventurous. It was Dewey's activism, social liberalism, instrumentalism, and pragmatism that helped America become one of the powerful nations in the world. In Korea's case, Practicalism germinated in early seventeenth century did not last, and its ideal scarcely materialized. Because scholars of Practicalism were not in positions to influence policy-making, their advancements did not effect the actual lives of the people. However, the ideal of Silhak succeeded as that of "Gae-Hwa Sasang" (Enlightenment Thought) and it influenced the pioneers of the reform movement.

The liberation of Korea in 1945 at the end of World War II pointed to a need in the South to quickly shift Korean education away from the past, from Japanese-imposed totalitarian modes of teaching to democratic ones, even while North Korea fell under Communist control. This was the principle and the spirit of the "New Education Movement". Koreans believed that the new educational theory should lead the new democratic form of government for a new country, with a new government, can be truly be established only with the manpower educated in the new educational philosophy. Under these circumstances, the government chose the ancient Hong-ik-In-gan (philosophy of Benefits to All Mankind) as its principle of education.54

However, educational renewal in the immediate post-liberation years was not smooth. The repatriation of Japanese nationals left schools acutely short of qualified

teachers, necessitating the employment of many inexperienced instructors. Democratic ideals often clashed with the traditional Confucian values which were too deeply rooted to be replaced overnight. Schools also faced increasing financial difficulties. During the U.S. Military Government (1945-1948), the Hong-ik-In-gan principle continued to be the education policy. However, in implementing this idea, the U.S. Military Government used Dewey's educational methods. His efforts in formulating working principles for a democratic and industrial society, opposing rote memorization and learning of facts rather than principles, and anti-authoritarian methods of teaching were well accepted among the Korean educators of the "New Educational Movement".

When the first government of the Republic of Korea was established, the most urgent task of the new government was to set the education law. The Education Law promulgated in October 1949 based on the Hong-ik-In-gan concept that all nations must contribute to the common prosperity of mankind through the development of democracy and by nurturing the integrity of individuals, equipping them with the ability to lead independent lives and to become good citizens with altruistic ideals.55

However, resurgent education in Korea was devastated by the Korean War. Following the armistice, rehabilitation of the educational system was undertaken by the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency and the United States aid mission. Dewey's pragmatism influenced Korean education a great deal. His ideas were almost identical with Korean practical thinkers' thoughts which couldn't bloom in full when it

55Ibid.
appeared in the seventeenth century. Dewey's educational ideas such as

1. Education is Life.

2. Education is Growth.

3. Education is continuous reconstruction on Experience.

4. Education is a social process.

coincided with Korean educational thoughts. His method and curriculum were followed in Korea's new educational movement. Perhaps because his method and his beliefs in education were familiar to Koreans, Korean educators were inclined to blindly accepte his way of teaching without even a review of the method or changing it to fit their educational background for twenty years.56

There have been four major influences on the nature and content of Korean education:

1. Confucian traditions

2. political pressures for national survival, anti-Communism

3. democratization, Deweyism

4. desire for modernization, interpreted to mean increased familiarity with and competence in science and technology.

There has been much conflict between the proponents of these four perspectives. In the early years of independence, advocates of democratization dueled with traditionalists. Although one prominent Korean educator decried the influence of

56 Kim, Yong-ill, The History of Korean Education (Seoul: Sukmyoung Woman's University, 1984), 216-217.
Deweyism, it would seem that today the character of Korean schools owes more to historical factors pre-dating the U.S. Military Government that to post-war period during which American advisors and some American-trained Koreans tried to implant a different educational philosophy.
CHAPTER V
SOME CONTINUING LEGACIES

The previous four chapters dealt with the evolution of Korean school thought in regards to education. By giving the historical background in Chapter I of Korea, the stage was set for examining the development of Korean thought. The following three chapters detailed Korea's resurrection of the idea of learning by experience not by rote memorization.

This dissertation also endeavored to draw multiple parallels between American pragmatism and Korea's own practical thought. Due to the Koreans' ability to merge the old and the new, the traditional and the modern, Korea has now been able to successfully combine Confucian lessons learned in the Yi dynasty with its newly acquired knowledge of practical thought. Korea was able to quickly assimilate American pragmatic ideals. Korea was able to incorporate it with its already existing practical thought. The Confucian Society of the Choson (Yi) dynasty was one where things and deeds were evaluated in the moralistic perspective derived from Confucianism. The statesmanship and education throughout the five hundred years of the Yi dynasty had ingrained moralistic values in the populace. Morals here meant a certain order in human relationships and this order was realized through the rules of propriety, which meant details of etiquette and ceremonies and in a broader sense, proper attitude and expression. They defined the role of each member of the society to play in propriety with his name (title).

However diversified roles a person had in his rank and status, it was as a human
being that he enacted all of them appropriately with corresponding responsibilities. The rectification of names was the paramount creed of life for the Choson people and especially for the yangban literati who adhered to it for life. Such cultural tradition is still very much alive today, and the dilemma of Korean society lies in the incongruity of this tradition and modern industrialization.

This chapter examines some continuing legacies of Confucianism, Practicalism, and Pragmatism in the reconstruction of Korean educational theory. This chapter will discuss:

1. What is the nature and extent of the Confucianism that existed in the late Yi dynasty and under the Japanese colonial rule?

2. Why and how were Confucianism and Practicalism integrated into Pragmatism in the twentieth century?

In doing so, the author hopes to establish the importance of Confucianism, Practicalism and Pragmatism in the formation of the modern Korean identity and in the creation on the modern Korean education.

The Korean peninsula has had the experience of being the center of the political and cultural competition of powerful countries. It has experienced the representative inheritance of humankind in different ideological and religious beliefs--Shamanism, Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Western philosophy, etc. However, Korea was able to sincerely assimilate numerous foreign cultures. Although Neo-Confucianism is a philosophy that originated in Sung dynasty in China, the yangban culture was distinctively Korean even in the height of its glory during the seventeenth and
eighteenth centuries. As Deuchler pointed out, the yangban (upper ruling class) culture was a "uniquely Korean interpretation and adaptation of the Confucian model."¹

If the yangban culture was central to dynastic Korean cultural identity, it also served as a foundation for the modern Korean cultural development. Korea's transformation from a dynasty to a nation-state in modern time was a radical change. The early Yi dynasty leaders promulgated Confucian legislation to transform Buddhist-aristocratic Koryo society into a Neo-Confucian bureaucratic one. Many new Confucian schools were built and in 1396 the new government established a Confucian college, Songkyun-kwan, in the newly established capital city, Seoul. Songkyun-kwan provided an intellectual home for the Korean literati. The college was not only an academic institution, but it was the intellectual center of the Yi dynasty. All important government policies were formulated and discussed in the college.

The disciples of the orthodox Confucian School of Rites greatly emphasized the importance of formal aspects of the Confucian way of life, called Li. They insisted that ritualism and the proper observance of Confucian codes of conduct by individuals and the government, both in public affairs and in private life, were vital factors in maintaining law and order in society. Therefore, they prescribed in minute detail the court procedures, ceremonies, customs, language, music, principles governing human relations, and the slightest deviations from the established patterns were severely criticized making the life-style rigid and intellectualism inflexible.

According to Neo-Confucianism, which was more concerned with human nature and behavior patterns, the Supreme Ultimate Being created the laws of nature and rules over the world and such phenomena as seasonal changes, life and death, fortunes and misfortunes, and the destiny of man. The proponents of the moral and natural law argued that the principles of nature and human nature must be understood and the ability to control oneself through intuitive knowledge and submission to the moral law must be cultivated. For this reason, they emphasized the development of such qualities for the superior man as benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and trustworthiness, and they attempted to bring about moral and ethical reforms to promote political stability and social order.²

Along with the resurgency of the Neo-Confucian literati, a number of other factors—peace, population growth, and expanded examination quotas among them, combined to bring about a marked increase in the number of yangban eligible to serve as public officials. But the number of government positions in which a yangban might honorably serve was essentially fixed and did not much change over time. Thus if the many members of the yangban class all sought to occupy the limited number of official posts, confrontation and conflict inevitably would result. And so it did, in a form known in Korean history as "factional strife" (tang-jaeng).³

Lee, Ki-baik described the dominant characteristic of factional strife in the Yi

²Andrew C. Nahm, Ibid., 109.
³Lee, Ki-baik, Ibid., 208.
dynasty as such:

It was a struggle among political cliques in which membership essentially was foreordained and forever. The descendants of those identified with a particular faction inherited their factional affiliation generation after generation, and their clansmen joined in factional politics with them. Their land holdings in the countryside, moreover, provided the economic sustenance that made it possible for their partisan feuds to continue. Factional strife of this nature was not likely to be brought to an end by a single incident, by one victory or defeat. Even in a faction was ousted from power for a time, from the strongholds of their lands in the countryside the descendants of the victims would await the time when they might arise again to office in the capital and vindictively exonerate their ancestors. In consequence, factional strife was a phenomenon that involved conflict not only amongst officials in the central government but also among Neo-Confucian literati everywhere throughout the country.

Factional strife occurred more readily because the Confucian system made no provision for opposing points of view, or for compromise. It was assumed that there was always a single policy that was right, and all others were wrong. There was thus no way to mediate disputes.

Thus, the different views of Korean Confucianism, especially developed by Yi Hwang (1501-1570) and Yi I (1536-1584), the two major proponents of the Neo-Confucianism thought of Songnihak (Moral and Natural Thought), contributed to the development of factionalism in Korean society. The followers of Yi Hwang (known as Toege) joined with the political faction of the Namin (Southern people), and students of

\[\text{\textsuperscript{4}}\text{Ibid.}, 209.\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{5}}\text{Han, Woo-keun, Ibid.}, 262.\]
Yi I (pen name, Yulgok) fell into the camp of the Soin (Western People).

Toege interpreted Chu Hsi's thinking to mean the li which denotes "propriety," "ritual," "decorum," and so on has primacy over chi, the human energy or emotion, li being the active principle and chi the inert matter upon which it works. In applying these concepts to human nature, Yi Hwang followed Chu Hsi in asserting that the proper cultivation of li through education would automatically produce the five Confucian virtues: love, uprightness, propriety, knowledge, and reliability, in full agreement of Chu Hsi. He wrote:

Before a certain thing there was li. Before the ruler and subjects, there were lis of the ruler and the subjects. Before a father and son, there were lis of a father and a son. Before the existence of matter, the li of matter already existed.6

This dualism, is similar to the concepts of soul and body in Western philosophy especially, Plato's Idealism.

An opposing school was established by Yi I. It gave primacy to chi, matter, and held that li was simply a principle involved in chi. Therefore, he advocated the cultivation of practical ethics rather than metaphysical theory. The factionalism of Confucian scholars originated in such difference of opinion. Yulgok believed, however, that li and chi do not separate each other, but that they unite in a mysterious way. If chi did not exist li did not have a place to dwell. So they are not two, yet they are not one.7

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6Taedong Munhwa Yongu-won, Toege Chonso (The Complete Writings of Toege, two volumes), (Seoul: Songkyun-kwan University, 1958), 364.

7Ibid., 197.
The two schools of philosophy reflected the division between the two main factions in the bureaucracy. One is reminded of the controversy between the realists and nominalists in medieval Europe.8

The great problem for modern man, said Dewey, was to heal the breach between morals and science which had opened up after the medieval synthesis had broken down. This, he said, could be accomplished only by resting moral knowledge on science properly conceived. Armed with such knowledge, philosophers could participate in a great effort to make society over by applying science to individual conduct and social institutions.

An important element in the growth of factionalism was the spread of the sowon, private Confucian academies founded on their estates by the yangban. Many Neo-Confucian literati abandoned thoughts of government careers and instead devoted their energies more to the private academies, where they could both educate their youth and carry on the teachings of earlier generations of Neo-Confucian literati. The result was that nearly three hundred sowon were founded during Sukchong's reign (1674-1720). Content to forego official careers, the scholars associated with the sowon concerned themselves with classical learning and moral conduct, to the exclusion of study undertaken to pass government examinations. These literati led an ideological movement to transform their local community into a Confucian moral and ethical community which

8Han, Woo-keun, Ibid., 288.
Fujiya Kawashima called a "culture zone".9

Kawashima argued that the cultural localism that prevailed in the yangban society in the late Yi dynasty was a foundation for cultural nationalism that sustained Korean identity during the period of Japanese colonial rule of Korea. Clearly, many yangban elites recognized a need of fundamental reform if Korea was to survive as an entity in the new "western" world order. This time the leadership did not always succeed in legislating new laws and putting them into practice in time to save the country from imperialism and colonialism. On the other hand, attempts were made by the local yangban to transcend cultural localism into cultural nationalism as a framework for a modern Korean identity.10

Reacting against the political dominance of the Western faction and the consequent exercise of governmental power by a few great families, many yangban who did not belong to these select few families, and especially the Namin faction, labored to effect reforms. They recognized a need to bring about cultural reform by educating themselves and their children in the new learning of the West and Meiji Japan. Some local yangban went abroad, to Japan in particular, for new education. They founded modern schools, led the enlightenment movement, and organized the righteous armies to resist Japan's colonial aggression, especially after 1905. Ultimately, they were interested


10Ibid.
in the preservation of Korean cultural identity.

These yangban preferred minding their own local business to resisting the government bureaucracy in Seoul, as long as the government allowed them to practice and preserve their local way of life. When the government was judged to be amoral and intolerant of opposition and locally diverse views, however, they either withdrew into their own cultural, i.e., apolitical, shell or became active in supporting the opposition in eliminating such a government. They formed their own factional affiliation through private academies, either in support of capital officials or in opposition to the dominant Seoul faction and its local affiliates. However, when the enemies were foreigners, they could be brought together in the name of national integrity.

It is to Korea's credit that Koreans lavished keen attention and unique enthusiasm on the development of education. Since the seventeenth century enlightenment period, when Korean thinkers launched new cultural campaigns under the slogan, "Knowledge is power," education in Korea has been linked closely to save the nation. In anticipation of better days, Koreans made it their major task to promote and improve education.

In 1910, the sovereignty of the Yi dynasty (1392-1910) had disappeared. This political tragedy also affected the destiny of Confucianism. Many Confucian sowon became centers for new learning as the Yi dynasty was replaced by Japanese colonialism. Many private academies were transformed into new schools under pressure from the Japanese. Some yangban established new private academies compounding their sowon together and some transformed their sowon into modern academies to defend its traditional school from the takeover of the Japanese colonial government and to educate
its youth in modern subjects, such as mathematics and science, as well as Chinese classics and ethics. The ultimate objective was to inculcate the youth with the idea of Korean identity and to prepare them for the challenge of the new Korea. Although these schools did not last through the 1920s they produced nationalists and independence fighters, many of whom exiled themselves in Manchuria to fight Japanese militarism. These local yangban became defenders of the traditional Korean culture.

When the modern ideas as class struggle, equality, freedom, and national independence became a major intellectual concern for the survival and development of Korea as a nation-state, local diversity and its rich local history became less important than national unity and national history. However, the yangban legacy is an important basis for Korean identity. It was their task of accepting the new Western ideas—to assimilate them with their own understanding of Confucianism, and to make the result uniquely Korean in nature, and then to pass that information along to the others.

During the Japanese imperialism, the effort of scholars to do their responsibilities of informing and educating the people were greater than ever in the past. Theirs was a nationalistic perspective and it led them to strive to foster awareness of the meaning of independence and to disseminate the new Western learning broadly throughout the society.

A number of scholarly organization now came into being to help further this end. Some were formed around scholars in particular provincial areas, such as Yi Kan's North and West Educational Association (Sobuk Hakhoe), Yi Kwang-jong's Kyonggi-Chungchong Educational Association (Kiho Hunghakhoe), Chang Chi-yon's Kyongsang
Educational Association (Yongnam Hakhoe), Yi Chae's Cholla Educational Association (Honam Hakhoe), and Namgung Ok's Kangwon Educational Association (Kwandong Hakhoe). There were other, more broadly-based bodies of this kind, such as Yu Kil-chun's Hungsadan (Society for the Fostering of Activists), Kin Yun-sik's Korea Educational Association (Taedong Hakhoe), and Chin Hak-sin's Association for Women's Education (Yoja Kyohakhoe). Most of these organizations of scholars put out journals that whetted the public's appetite for knowledge, and among these the monthly publications of the North and West Educational Association, the Kyonggi-Chungchon Educational Association, and the Cholla Educational Association were perhaps the most influential. Many other educational magazines also were published, such as the monthly organ of the Independence Club, the Korea Self-Strengthening Society Monthly, and Children (Sonyon). A number of commercial publishing companies were founded, like the Kwanghak Sopo and the Hoedong Sogwan, and put out numerous books whose contents reflected the new learning.¹¹

Study of the Korean language broke new ground toward the end of the nineteenth century with Yu Kil-chun's Grammar of Korean (Choson Munjon), the first modern work. Subsequently, Chu Si-syong founded the Society for the Standardization of Korean Writing, and Chi Sog-yong initiated the Society for the Study of the Korean Script, both organizations that devoted themselves to studying the problems of spelling

and writing in Hangul.

Key figures in the study of Korean history who flourished during this period were Chang Chi-yon, Pak Un-sik, and Sin Chae-ho. Through their research and writing, these men strove above all to foster a sense of national pride and self-respect.\textsuperscript{12}

The Korean scholars believed that modernization of their country could start only with the production of highly-educated talented people. When the nation was subjugated, the Koreans diverted the funds that they had raised to clear the national debt and to establish private institutions of higher learning. Such a movement triggered an all-out interference by the Japanese who regarded it as a serious challenge to their colonial rule.

Japan opened Kyongsong Cheguk Taehak (Seoul Imperial University) to nullify the Korean attempts at opening private institutes. But, two-thirds of its students were Japanese.

Under the circumstances, Koreans had to look to Korean schools for the education to which they aspired. More than half of the Korean students enrolled in colleges studied in private Korean institutions. At the same time, Korean students journeyed abroad to Japan where discrimination against them was less severe than in Korea, or to the United States, to obtain higher education. In 1931, 3,639 Korean students were enrolled in schools in Japan, while as many as 493 were studying in America.\textsuperscript{13}

Under the U.S. Military Government after the day of the Liberation in 1945, the

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., 337.

\textsuperscript{13}Lee, Ki-baik, Ibid., 368.
schools were reorganized not according to the traditional way of teaching but by the new
tendency of Western style. Nowhere in the Republic were the doctrines of Neo-
Confucianism taught at a public school. The U.S. Military Government did not favor
restoration of the Korean traditional culture. It had practically no advance knowledge of
conditions within Korea and was unable to meet the expectations of the Korean people.14

In spite of the many shortcomings of the American Military Government, it
provided a stabilizing force during the difficult transition from Japanese colonial rule to
independence. It also helped to establish important elements of democratic thought and
procedure theretofore unknown in Korea.

The American Military Government also initiated "a subtle, but even more
profound socio-intellectual change" in education, "which eventually produced a new and
younger post-war generation in Korea."15 Of course, hasty reform measures produced
many adverse effects. However, "the innovations in education were by far great
contributions that the American occupation made to Korean society".16 On the whole, the
widening educational opportunities from 1945 produced numerous changes in South
Korean leadership: it contributed to the birth of leadership in the military, education, and
social realms of South Korean life.

However, the greatest legacy that the South Koreans received from the American

14Lee, Ki-baik, Ibid., 375.

15Lee, Won-sul, The United States and the Division of Korea, 1945, (Seoul: Kyunghee
University Press, 1982), 313.

16Ibid., 320.
Military Government was the spirit of freedom. As Lee, Won-sul concludes, "the subtle intellectual and spiritual changes that began to shake South Korea in 1945 have eventually proven to be more revolutionary than the Soviet-directed Communist revolution in the North.17

Korea's situation after the liberation from Japan was similar to America during the Revolutionary times. Americans fled from Europe, conquered a wilderness, and freed themselves from foreign domination; they forged a set of beliefs that helped them guide their revolutionary energies and form their new political structure. Colonial America was dedicated to a set of propositions, conceived in flight from political tyranny and religious persecution, and these propositions dominated and unified the age before independence. There was not only a considerable degree of intellectual concord among thinking men, but what they thought was created and used in the crucible of action. Fear of nature and of threatening foreign powers brought the colonists together in spite of geographical and ethnic differences. They became a consciously united group whose internal disagreements, great as they were, seemed minor by comparison to their disagreements with the rest of the world. They had fought hard for their liberties and were deeply suspicious of those who might wish to take their liberties away.18

In Korea's case, since she was deprived severely by Japanese colonialism though


the Koreans struggled for independence constantly, she could achieve her freedom by the help of the Allied Powers after World War II. However, colonial Korea was dedicated to the operations of independence forces and the resistance movements inside and overseas, conceived in flight from Japanese imperialism and these propositions raised a modern consciousness and safeguarded Korean national culture.

The confrontation against the Japanese policy to eliminate the Korean nationality united Koreans inspite of geographical, factional, and social differences. Resistance by Koreans against Japanese colonial domination was intense and the laborers', and peasants', the students', intelligentsia movements were continuously waged. Furthermore, the provisional Government of the Republic of Korea was established in September 1919, in Shanghai, China, and guided the independence movement. In spite of the Japanese oppressive forces, studies on Korean language and history were carried out, and a movement to preserve them began. Cultural developments after liberation were made possible by the influences of such a movement.

With liberation, due to the confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, Korea's national territory and people were divided and Koreans faced the tragedy of fratricide. The division of the South and North drove the Korean peninsula into an extreme state of tension. After the establishment of the government of the Republic of Korea, the Communist group in North Korea that obtained tremendous military aid from the Soviet Union and was equipped with a strong military force, invaded South Korea on June 25, 1950. At the end of three years of fierce battles, South and North Korea signed an Armistice Agreement on July, 1953. Needless to say, the Korean War left a deep scar
Simultaneously, the Republic on Korea attempted to reconstruct its decimated lands into a democratic nation. The disasters of war were for the most part overcome in the last ten years due to the enthusiastic participation of the people. However, the political landscape of Korea today is vastly different from that which existed at the end of the Korean War. Four decades ago, democracy was still a new concept for Korea, and Koreans lacked all the prerequisites for that political system. It had lived for a long time under a different system, an authoritarian government based on Confucian philosophy. After World War II, Koreans saw their country artificially divided into two parts. They experienced a sharp confrontation between two opposing ideologies, and were driven eventually into a tragic war. In order to overcome the hardships and tensions of these circumstances, strong government leadership was imperative.

Consequently, Korea's movement towards full democracy was slow and sometimes painful. Nevertheless, Koreans knew that they needed to become Westernized to become a modern nation. In the nineteenth century, to encourage industrialization and urbanization, new social types entered American society and soon their ideals were described and espoused by intellectuals. They formulated a coherent philosophy that was deliberately in correspondence with social reality and action.

Social Darwinism and the doctrine of laissez-faire provided the rationale and the apology for the accumulation of great fortunes, and for a period these doctrines dominated the intellectual scene. But soon the liberal and radical reply was presented, and the evils of unchecked capitalism were fully catalogued. The acrimonious contest
between the Spencerians and those who rejected their social philosophy was striking evidence of the intellectual's active interest in the world around him. American people found new excitement in the immense energy of industrial society. It stimulated them as it did the pragmatic philosophers, the institutional economists, the realistic lawyers, the new historians, and the sociologists and social workers who turned their attention to the problems of a new urban world. It was the era of the revolt against formalism—of realism and naturalism, of pragmatism in philosophy, of practicality in science, of opposition to scholastism in jurisprudence and the social sciences. In philosophy the society encouraged the pragmatists to reflect more seriously than Western philosophers ever had before on the relations between scientific theory and experimental practice. Universities were brought into closer contact with a society that was becoming more and more secularized.

John Dewey urged that the education of the young be transformed as radically as social life itself had been transformed at the end of the nineteenth century. By the end of the first World War, the liberal philosophy of society and social science had emerged as the typical expression of the American intellect at its best, unified within itself and in touch with reality.¹⁹

In Korea's case, after the War's end especially, enthusiasm for education began to grow even more intense, due to the people's wartime realization of democracy and the need to be self-reliant. For the Korean people, education was now the key to freedom, to

¹⁹Morton White, Ibid., 8-9.
tapping the special potential of democracy, to release the talents of their people, providing both the common tools people need to function in a free society and the environment to nourish their most brilliant minds. They truly believed that education was the guardian genius of democracy. Koreans accepted Dewey's notion of democracy as a basically moral conception. Democracy, as in a paper delivered by Dewey himself at the University of Michigan with the title "The Ethics of Democracy," was envisioned as the acceptance of the moral method of dealing with all social problems, a concept that was very similar to the Confucian's view. Dewey wrote that the individual is "the reconstructive center of society," in his book The Public and its Problems. This recognition of the complete mutuality of the individual and the society is one of the most important achievements of the pragmatic movement.²⁰

It was Dewey's Pragmatism that linked him with Korean educationists who were enlightened and westernized when they were looking for a new image of education as the key to the industrial and economic well-being of their society. He stated that one of the most distinctive features of Western philosophy was its propensity to dualistic thinking, and he vigorously attacked this in virtually everything he wrote.²¹

Critics of Confucianism held that the Korean class system was reflected in the Korean's way of thinking to distinguish between knowledge as a form of passive


contemplation and the lowly practical activity of those who were forced to use labor to live. Dewey also argued that the Greek distinction between master and slave was reflected in the Greek philosophy and this bias was perpetuated by Christian thought, which was then bequeathed to modern philosophy. Modern philosophy, however, failed to articulate or to apply the method implicit in modern scientific technology and democracy.\textsuperscript{22}

Korean educationalists embraced Dewey's ideas and their strenuous efforts in the 1950s for the improvement of education believing every child should have the education he or she can take, helped the Koreans actually attain the rapid advancements made in the 1960s.

\textbf{INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE}

The desperate state of the Korean economy in the 1950s was generally viewed as a basket case of development. There had been a dramatic shift in both income and export performance, ever since Korea shifted successfully from an import regime in the 1950s to an export-oriented regime in the mid-1960s.\textsuperscript{23}

From the 1960s, the Republic of Korea has aimed to be an industrial nation instead of the agricultural state which it had been in the past, and to achieve a remarkable development in the economic field. The revolutionary government announced in 1961 the first Five-Year Economic Development Plan (to start in 1962), the first such overall

\textsuperscript{22}Morton White, \textit{Ibid.}, 269-270.

development program ever prepared for Korea. To prepare it, the revolutionary government mobilized all the wisdom and knowledge available and set clear goals, the primary goal being to found a self-supporting industrial economy. The principle of free enterprise and respect for the creativity of private industry was adopted. Under the plan, however, the economy was not entirely free, since the development of basic industries was directed by the government.

Taking into consideration the structural characteristics of the Korean economy, the five-year plan gave priority to the following things:

1. Development of energy industries such as coal production and electric power;
2. Expansion of agricultural production aimed at increasing farm income and correcting the structural imbalance of the national economy;
3. Development of basic industries and the economic infrastructure;
4. Maximum utilization of idle resources; increased employment; conservation and utilization of land;
5. Improvement of the balance of payments through export promotion;
6. Promotion of science and technology.\textsuperscript{24}

In raising funds for these projects, Koreans tried to draw on domestic resources as much as possible. Self-reliant financing was encouraged. In 1962 the total value of goods and services produced by the nation was about $87 per person per year. This was

near the bottom of the world-wide income scale. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, Korea's rapid economic growth had generated a great number of new jobs. In 1985, the per capita GNP had risen to over $2,000. The World Bank stated in one of their reports that, "Korea embarked on a course of industrial growth that has become one of the outstanding success stories in international economic development."\textsuperscript{25}

The important concept of education found in Enlightenment thought is revealed in the emphasis upon practical education with the hope that such emphasis would lend itself to the accelerated progress of industries and modern technology. Enlightenment thinkers were in the belief that the welfare of a nation could be realized through economic progress by fostering industries and modern technology. To give people a better life, it was seen that there was a need for immediate increases in national products such as agricultural products and manufacturing products, as well as business and foreign trade, health facilities and medical cares.

To them it was seen that the principles of competition must be as a means of accelerating industries and economic progress. They believed that the free competition may induce fast economic progress. The manufacturing and commerce were all seen to significantly contribute to the national economy, not ignoring the importance of foreign trade and company systems. Even scholars were urged to devote their research for rather practical applications.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{25}Korean Overseas Information Service, \textit{This is Korea}, (Seoul: Samsungsung Moonhwa Printing Co.), 53.

\textsuperscript{26}Kim, Won-hee, \textit{Ibid.}, 158-161.
Success in the Five-Year Plan could not immediately bring about a self-reliant economy. However, it convinced the Korean people that miracles could come from a concerted effort and action. If they acted with determination to implement the plan, they could achieve a democratic society devoted to the well-being of its citizens in Korea.

The economy sustained a rapid rate of growth and the industrial structure improved. Even more encouraging was the fact that the nation was full of confidence in the future, believing that if one works harder, he can live better. In order to build a capable new generation, the government drew up a Charter of National Education, formulating an educational policy in compliance with its spirit. Traditionally, the Korean people have had a strong desire for learning, but the Korean educational system in the past lacked objectives. It was not clear as to its purpose. The Korean government, therefore, sponsored a study to establish clear-cut objectives, mobilizing experts in all fields. The result of the year-long study was presented in the form of the Charter of National Education, designed to see that our rising generation should develop both creativity and a sense of cooperation.

Good ideals and leadership can only be utilized by a receptive people. The people and their leadership must become of one mind in marching toward their goal, so that planned national changes can be made, and new, unplanned progress awakened and pursued spontaneously. Backed by the fervor of a united people, its leadership must take the initiative and set the example.

A rapid development of science and technology and of management techniques demands our immediate attention and should be given top priority.
ACCESS TO EDUCATION

After the Korean War, colleges and middle schools sprouted and the rate of educational expansion exceeded that of economic expansion many times, tot the point where the balance between educational and economic growth could hardly be maintained. Yet the rebuilding of schools, most of which were destroyed during the war, was a difficult task, and other educational facilities had to be expanded with equal speed. Had the people given up hope for the next generation after the wartime trials of their own, they would have faced a truly bleak future.

Precedents in other countries indicate that economic development should be achieved along with an equally efficient educational development, if a developing country is to achieve early modernization. Korea could hardly have expected the rapid advancement actually attained in the 1960s had it not made such a strenuous effort in the 1950s for the improvement of education. President Park's flexibility and willingness to listen to expert opinions on economic matters had impressed Korean intellectuals, and they began to show positive interest in the realities of the country and to present policy recommendations on the basis of scientific analyses of the country's situation.

Education is the basis of founding a country. The most powerful countries acquired their power through educating their people. To become a developed and independently thriving nation, mass education must be the primary factor, from the onset. For there to be a nation, there must be people; for there for be a people, there must be knowledge. Therefore in speaking of a nation, it would be more fitting to speak of its people for in the state of its people can the health of that nation be gauged. Hence
Socrates teaches that in order to be just in the full sense one must be a philosopher, and that philosophy is necessary to justice. Like Plato said in his Republic:

Philosophy does have a subject matter which helps in doing good to friends and harm to enemies, for it alone knows what is good or fitting. And it alone is neutral, for, by its very definition, it seeks the whole good. Justice in this way would be knowledge, would be useful, and would not be able indifferently to produce results. This is the solution which the argument compels us to seek.27

In fact, Dewey once stated that philosophy may be defined as the general theory of education because he believed that philosophy, when serious, must influence the conduct of life.28 Philosophy can, he said, encourage people to use their intelligence to resolve a clash between the interest in order and the interest in freedom, or a conflict between the religious interest and the scientific.

At the close of World War II, Korea was a poor and backward nation, just emerging from a history of colonial repression. But, despite limited resources, in a relatively short period of time, it had built an educational system that outstripped --in terms of provision of educational access to children--those found in countries with much larger stocks of resources and higher levels of national income. By 1965, for example, Korea had an educational system equivalent to that found in countries with an average GNP of $380, although its own per capita income at that time was only $107.29


As the traditional ascriptive social structure lost its legacy since the late nineteenth century through a series of drastic social changes, education has become one of the most powerful sources of mobility for individuals. It was also the primary instrument for training and supplying qualified manpower for nation-building. Along with a Confucian tradition that highly revered scholarship, the Korean people were naturally motivated to seek as much education as possible.

Higher education is the ultimate target for educationally-motivated people. Recent statistics show that over ninety-three percent of Korean parents expect their children to enter colleges or universities.30 Every year, more than 800,000 applicants, a size larger than the total number of new high school graduates, take college entrance examinations, against only 300,000 available admission seats in colleges and universities.31 These figures indicate the extent of the people's excessive aspiration for higher education and for the inevitably competitive nature of the admissions race to colleges or universities. In reality, three-fourths of all high school students participate in preparatory programs for college entrance examinations. In the end, only one-third of them succeed. The rest must leave school with great dismay.

A huge number of graduates who have failed in college entrance examinations continue preparatory work for the examinations in the following year. They are called


"repeaters," representing a large number of adolescents with a doubtful future. Each year, the number of repeaters has been increasing. High school students who wish to go to colleges or universities have to compete in the examination race not only against their peers but also against the repeaters. Accordingly, the competition becomes stiffer each year, putting too much stress upon the students. The students are highly pressured and driven by the expectations of their parents and teachers. As a consequence of the problematic college entrance examination system, the whole process of schooling is distorted and often seems to have turned into a system for preparing students to take the entrance test.

A high school student takes twenty-six subjects for three years, attending 1,156 school hours for at least two hundred and four days a year. A survey shows that thirty-five percent of high school students go to school before 7:30 in the morning and over fifty percent return home after 8:00 in the evening. Some of these students study at private tutoring institutes after school. The learning process overly emphasizes cramming because of multiple-choice questions on entrance examinations. They do not have time to think for themselves, read books besides textbooks, play games for physical exercise, participate in social service activities, or share friendship with their peers. The competition makes them treat each other as rivals, rather than as friends. In light of this bitter competition, it is remarkable that students do not drop out of school. However,

some have committed suicide in protest.\textsuperscript{33} One of them left a note that read: "Is happiness guaranteed only by the entrance to a top-ranked university? I wish to devote myself to interesting work that suits my aptitude without going to college..."\textsuperscript{34} Two-thirds of more than 500,000 students taking the entrance examination suffer from frustrated experiences every year.

Centuries later, ancient Korea and modern-day Korea seem exactly alike. Ever since the state examination system was established by the fourth King Kwangjong (950-975) of the Koryo Kingdom period (918-1392), in shame for not passing civil service exams scholars killed themselves; today, students committing suicide for not passing the college entrance exams...it seems as if no time passed between the two eras.

In the Koryo Kingdom period, the nobility's highest aspiration was to become a government official, so that he might receive land allocation and all the other privileges that went with the post. To become an official, one had to pass the state examinations and, to pass these, one had to receive an education at school. The sole purpose of education then, was to serve as a means to office.

This national civil service examination, called Kwago, took on an even greater importance during the Chosen period (1392-1910) and was enforced with strict objectivity to ensure equal opportunity for the members of the ruling class. The Kwago was thought to be the gateway to success for Koreans who were characterized by a


strong, worldly sense of values.

Furthermore, success in the examination was regarded not only as a personal honor but as an honor for the whole clan and the most desirable way to practice filial duty to one's parents. In other words, success in the Kwago was the way a son could honor his parents. Under the premodern Confucian educational system, social advancement was through memorizing the Confucian classics in order to pass a rote examination. The successful candidates in the fiercely competitive state examination promptly rated appointment to a sensitive government post and yangban status. The unsuccessful candidates went at it again and again in the ensuing years.

Thus the Korean people's eagerness for education is in many ways an eagerness for status rather than content, for certification rather than for pure scholarship, for membership in an elite department of a prestigious university rather than following a particular field of study he or she wants to pursue. To counter the evil effects of this struggle for elite status and to meet a widespread demand of a more egalitarian society, the government has taken various steps to equalize education. Even so, starting at the kindergarten level, parents try to enter their children in prestigious schools in order that they may eventually have a better chance to enter a prestigious university.

This tendency is most clearly visible at the time of applying to enter universities when choices of schools and departments are made at the last minute, on the basis of the competition ratios, rather than on the student's occupational goals. This situation reminds one of the fiercely competitive ancient civil service examination system. Back then, only the young scholars of the ruling class were eligible for the examination.
There are also some similarities between the examination system of the past and today's entrance examinations when it comes to the degree of competition and manner of preparation. Just as success in the old civil service examination guaranteed a high social status, wealth, and power, admission to the top university is considered the most powerful means of achieving personal gain today. Moreover, the zeal for higher education in Korean society is a transmitted symptom from the tradition of the civil service examinations.

Recitation and memorizing then were the dominant learning method. Confucianism was the subject of the state examinations and the schools taught the principles of Confucius. The result was that nobility became interested only in doctrinaire studies. Technological approaches were completely ignored.

WOMEN IN EDUCATION

Women, who had traditionally been discriminated against in the access to education, now have a much better chance to receive schooling as well. Traditional discrimination of females began to be disfavored among the early thinkers in the late Yi dynasty. The new concept that all people are created equal recognized the dignity and the human rights of the women to be on the same level as the men. These scholars of "Enlightenment thoughts" which was a continuation of the traditions of Practical Learning within the Silhak movement, viewed that by providing equal opportunity of education the egalitarian pattern would be easily established in the society. With the increase in the educated female population it was conceived that females would be involved in some fields which have been reserved for men. In this fashion, overall social
progress could be achieved. They allowed women to assume significant roles in time of national crisis. In the editorial column of the first issue of the Korean Tongnip Sinmun (The Independent Daily), So Chae-pil (1863-1951) who was the publisher of the paper wrote:

When God created people, he created man and women equally. Thus, women should be educated like men, and should have their own work to do in the society. I wonder why only oriental women had to suffer like this, obeying and serving men at home all the time. I believe women have the same intelligence as men, thus we need to educate women so that they can help men even better and they can also contribute to our society.35

For the new role of the women in case of the national emergency, Yu Kil-chun (1856-1914) said instituting the importance of women's education:

Even to manage or host guests, the women need to learn to do things properly, in order to be much more able to take care of business at home or work in case of wars or of national disasters.36

Also, Park Yong-ho (1861-1939) advocated the importance of women's education. He believed that one of the most important things to do in modernizing Korea was to educate boys and girls equally as soon as they became six years old.37 From 1946, education specialists from America began to arrive in Korea. One of the suggestions was for coeducation schooling. According to their suggestions, Yonhee College (Choson Christian College) which was founded in Seoul in 1905 by the missionary foundation,

36 Ibid., 172.
37 Kin, Won-hee, Ibid., 169.
adopted a coeducational system for the first time in Korean history.  

Although women were traditionally considered to play primarily the role of feeding and raising the children at home, it is now considered natural for women to be educated in order to become good mothers and to help develop the nation. Women accounted for less than twenty-percent of all college students in the 1960s. Now, more than thirty percent of all college students in the nation are women. 

Nevertheless, the percentage of women employed for jobs suitable for college graduates was 5.4 percent for 1985 and seven percent for 1989. Women accounted for 29.1 percent and 34.4 percent respectively in 1985 and 1989 of the nation's workforce. Although the number of women workers are on the rise, the clip of the climb in only glacial. Women are the subject of serious job discrimination in the range of vacancies opened to them. Many companies still continue to deny women even the chance to apply for staff positions.

SUMMARY

During the reigns of Kings Yongjo (1724-1776) and Chong-jo (1776-1800), the true learning movement was growing among the Enlightened Thought scholars. These scholars believed that learning should not be for the sake of the civil service examination to get a post in government but to foster practical administration for a better society so to

38 Dong-ah Daily News, October 1, 1947.


assure the welfare of the people who live in that society.

Dewey also believed that men should rely more on reason in dealing with social problems and with each other. He consistently identifies democracy with intelligence or scientific method. Both welcomed a diversity of opinions before reaching any decisions, and the decisions or conclusions are open to revision in light of further experience. Dewey believed that freedom of inquiry and communication, the toleration of diverse views--these were part of both the democratic and the scientific ways of life:

The very heart of political democracy is adjudication of social differences by discussion and exchange of views. This method provides a rough approximation to the method of effecting change by means of experimental inquiry and tests of the scientific method. The very foundation of the democratic procedure is dependence upon experimental production on social change; and experimentation directed by working principles that are tested and developed in the very process of being tried out in action.41

In light of all this, it is very easy to see how Korean practicalist thought and Dewey's ideas were so easily intertwined.

Some of the late Yi dynasty scholars who were active in the process of Korean modernization and educational changes in Korea during Dewey's time brought numerous socio-economic reform ideas to the modern age. They were under the strong influences of Western culture and anticipated modernizing Korea by means of educational reforms and changes.

Yu Kil-chun (1856-1914) and Park Yong-hyo (1861-1939) were firm in their

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belief that the welfare of their nation could be realized through economic progress, by fostering industries and modern technologies. In his book, Yu Kil-chun argued:

The industrialized nations build technology and science to make their countries prosperous. If we just look around at our surroundings, our world is not that big and distant. There are big ships, to connect one country to another, trains and cars to take us far, light bulbs to turn night into day, modern machinery to help farmers to do their work, machines to run a factory and development of mercantilism. Thus we should teach our youth the modern science instead of metaphysical theories.42

This reminds one of Dewey. He declared that the only way in which ethical judgments could be confirmed was by the use of the scientific method in the modern (as opposed to the ancient) sense. The great problem for modern man, said Dewey, was to heal the breach between morals and science which had opened up after the medieval synthesis had broken down. This, he said, could be accomplished only by resting moral knowledge on science properly conceived. Armed with such knowledge, philosophers could participate in a great effort to make society over by applying science to individual conduct and to the social institutions. Knowledge and action are intrinsically connected, concluded Dewey.

In addition to this examination tradition, structural changes of Korean society since the late nineteenth century have played a key role in the explosion of the people's expectation for education. During the past one hundred years, Korean society has undergone a series of structural changes. These changes took place in such a way that

42Yu Kil-chun, Jung Chi Kyung Jae, (Seoul, Si Dae Sa Sang, 1971), 285.
new authority structures replaced old ones so that the existing value systems and interests of ascriptive groups were usually destroyed or denied. Under this changing situation, education became one of the most formidable instruments for people to achieve their goals.43 Throughout the dark years of colonial rule that began shortly after the dawn of the twentieth century and a subsequent war, education obviously lent Koreans the greatest strength of the Confucian teachings firmly implanted in their minds that education is of the paramount importance in a man's life.

Apparently owing to such an increased recognition of the value of education among the people, the access to education has remarkably expanded in Korea since the end of World War II and the national liberation. The overall school attendance at the elementary level stood at approximately forty percent during the 1940s, but it is now registered as 101.5 percent. Attendance rates rose from twenty-five percent to ninety-two percent in the middle school level, and from twenty percent to eighty-six percent in the high school level. The rate of college attendance has also increased from ten percent to thirty-seven percent during the same period.44

Due to the ever increasing rate of school attendance combined with the increasing population, the number of students has jumped at a remarkable speed. The number of elementary school students have jumped 3.5 times since 1945, that of middle school


44The Ministry of Education, Educational Statistics, concerned years.
students 27.5 times, and that of college students an incredible sixty-five times. The
average level of school education has improved accordingly. The nation had an average
of 5.03 years of school education in 1966, but the figure rose to nine years by 1988.\textsuperscript{45}
The average schooling of Korean workers stood at 2.96 years in 1957, but this figure also
increased threefold to 10.8 years in 1988.\textsuperscript{46}

The moderate economic growth of the 1950s, based on import substitution in non-
durable consumer goods industries increased employment but failed to provide adequate
job opportunities for the nation's rapidly growing stock of educated labor. According to
the 1960 Population Census, 6.7 percent of the economically active population was
unemployed and 15.4 percent worked less than eighteen hours per week. The census also
indicates that the illiteracy rate was cut in half, while the number of college graduates
increased about twenty-five times as compared with the 1944 level. The export-oriented
pattern of economic growth after 1962 increased the demand for skilled laborers,
technicians, engineers, managers, and entrepreneurs. Educational expansion, especially
at secondary and higher levels, had made these workers available. Accelerated economic
growth effectively absorbed both the accumulated educated human resources as of 1962
and the post-1962 increments.\textsuperscript{47}

In these circumstances of ideological confusion and social change from

\textsuperscript{45}Social Indicators in Korea, (1988), 155.


\textsuperscript{47}Garry S. Becker, Human Capital and Personal Distribution on Income: An Analytical
agricultural society to industrialization, can one wonder at Confucianism's lasting power?


There can be three points why Confucianism should exist in modern times. The first is that Confucianism is still a foothold of the reality of the people in Korea. It is too strongly rooted among the people to cut off its culture and replace it with another form of foreign culture...Even a tailor should cut cloth for making a dress for the physical conditions of the Koreans. Korea has experienced lots of trials and errors because of blind acceptation of Western methods and institutions without proper adjustment of traditional Confucianism...

Secondly, today's world shows the cultural exchange between the East and the West as one global village. In this troubled international society, the norms of Confucianism can be an adhesive agent for the harmony of dissolution of the nations... As time goes on, individualization makes worse the stable human relationships... And the Confucian norms can keep up the stability in modern relationships.

Thirdly, Confucianism solidifies the morality and identity while the modern society shows a broad sense of conflict and instability among persons... As an individual, one can easily fall into the feeling of isolation, however in order sense, one cannot control himself with proper reason. Hereafter, Confucianism contributes as a trouble-saving broker which strengthens personal identity and responsibility.48

A typical young modern Korean may express flat disinterest in Confucianism, but he remains, all the same, bound by the Confucianist approach of disciplinary habits to work and study, life and play. Such discipline is the core of the Confucian faith. Korean seek a balance between morality and power for the government leaders. They want to preserve the spiritual aspects of Korean culture, while supporting rapid industrialization in pursuit of material affluence.

Confucian educational tradition had provided Koreans with a reasonable way of thinking, a strong moral sense, and a zeal for education by stressing that a man can be a man only through education. The Confucian precepts and educational tradition to which the Yi dynasty adhered with such unmitigated thoroughness thus has not just negative points to be discarded and surmounted but positive sides to be developed and perpetuated as well.

The similarities between American Pragmatism and Korean practical thought provided a natural segue between Ancient Choson and modern-day Korea. It proves that Koreans were already acclimated towards Pragmatism because of the influence of its history of practical thought already implanted into the Korean consciousness.
CHAPTER VI
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Today much of what Korea has accomplished is due in part to a harmonious and complementary relationship among Confucianism, Practicalism, and Pragmatism. When American Pragmatism came to Korea with American Educational advisors after the World War II, Korean Practicalism and centuries-old Confucianism (the ideology that had become a crucial obstacle to modernizing Korea) were combined and integrated into something uniquely Korean.

The fact that the Korea is now a major economic player in the world market stems not only from Korea's Confucian work ethics but the values and lessons learned from importing America's form of educational theory and practices. Until the early twentieth century, Korea remained an agrarian society. Beginning from 1962, however, Korea has launched a series of five-year economic development planning (the sixth phase lasting from 1987 to 1991). In addition, the "Saemaul" (New Village) Movement, initiated in the spring of 1970, has helped modernization of rural areas through internalizing the spirit of "diligence, self-help, and cooperation." As of 1991, per capita GNP reached $6,498 and the volume of trade amounted to $153.4 billion, ranking the nation the tenth in the world.1 Growing national power enabled Korea to host and successfully finish the Asian Games in 1986 and the Olympiad in 1988. Most especially, Korea won fourth place in the number of medals taken in the Seoul Olympiad, reflecting its political, social, and

cultural progress. One of the major factors behind Korea's emergence in spite of its poor natural resources concerns its well-educated and highly-skilled workforce. Dewey argued that people had no guarantee of success. Natural events could terminate human life, and human greed, laziness, or error could achieve the same result. The special place of human beings on earth lies in their development and use of intelligence: if intelligence fails or is thwarted, human beings will have lost their ecological niche. Practicalism emerged through the thoughts of some scholars with critical minds who criticized the elevation of Neo-Confucianism to a position of unassailable dogma, and they discovered in themselves resources of spirit that made possible free and unorthodox thinking to reform the Yi dynasty institutions.

These Silhak scholars who were trying to reform political, economic, and social institutions upset the Neo-Confucianist ideology because they wanted to reconstruct Confucianism and to incorporate scientific knowledge. These Silhak scholars focused their attention not on the landlord class but on those who actually cultivated the soil for they believed that knowledge that can be used in real life is true knowledge.

Since the 1950's, Korean education has experienced an extraordinary growth and served as the prime force of national progress. The average schooling of the population has notably increased. Education has improved the quality of labor, which in turn greatly contributed to Korea's rapid economic development. Education experts contend that the contribution rate of education to the nation's recent economic growth reaches eleven to fourteen percent. There is no doubt that Korean education contributed more to economic development than political or social change. A recent poll indicated that only thirty-eight
percent of the population believe that school education contributed to democratic
development in Korea.\textsuperscript{2}

To prepare for the upcoming twenty-first century, Korean education has
established humanitarianism, social welfare and open-mindedness as its ultimate goals.
Various efforts are made to raise up a self-reliant individual equipped with a distinct
sense of independence; a creative individual with originality and creativity; and an ethical
individual with sound morality and democratic citizenship. This attitude is directly
related to Korea's complete acceptance of practicalism. By encouraging individuality and
independent thinking, Korea has effectively abandoned its age-old dependence upon
tradition and traditional ways of thought to encouragement of learning through personal
experience and experimentation.

Since 1945, the recent development of Korean education has been accelerated for
both qualitative changes and quantitative growth. Every year more than eleven million
people of all ages go to some kind of school. Many attend regular schools, some attend
non-formal schools. If Koreans add to the number of students at all levels, the teachers,
principals, educational specialists, and the people working in schools or producing
something for use in schools, the total number of people involved in education is more
than thirty percent of Korea's population. In terms of the number of people involved,
education is by far Korea's number one enterprise.\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{2}Bae, Chong-keun and Lee, Mee-na, \textit{The Reality of Korean Education}, (Seoul: Jung-Min
Co., 1988), 177-183.

Attaining independence in 1945 created the grounds for democratic education. Only after the liberation, coupled with the influx of Western influence, were the Koreans able to promote modern, democratically-oriented education and to provide educational opportunities to those who had been deprived of them. The great problems of the day fell under three broad categories: the responsibilities of modern government, the war on poverty, and the progress and effects of natural science. Realizing the urgent need for educational development, the American military government formed the Korean Committee on Education in September 1945, and in March 1946 it elevated the Bureau of Education to the Ministry of Education under the advisement of the U.S. educational missions. Under this system, there were six-year primary schools, three-year middle schools, three-year high schools, and four-year colleges and universities established, instead of the 6-5-4 pattern used under the Japanese.  

FOUNDATION OF DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION (1945-1950s)

Korea had been heavily influenced by traditional values and Confucian cultural ideology up to the time of the Japanese annexation, and then she was strongly affected by Japanese nationalistic and militaristic educational training until her liberation in 1945. After liberation Korean education shifted dramatically from a totalitarian approach to a democratic one. Korean education has a historical reflection on pedagogic theories including introducing a new theory which is related to American education.

Following the establishment of the Republic of Korea in 1948, an education law

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was enacted on the basis of democratic principles. Realizing the urgent need for educational development, the American Military Government formed the Korean Committee on Education in September 1945, and in March 1946 it elevated the Bureau of Education to the Ministry of Education.\(^5\) Whereas the American emphasized the promotion of democratic educational philosophy and practice, the Korean leaders wanted to eradicate colonial residues in education and culture while recognizing the importance of promoting democratic education.

Koreans needed an educational philosophy that will go with the nation's wish to have a democratic nation. For they believe that a new nation can be established only upon the new educational philosophy. Article 1 adopted the "Hong-ik-In-gan," the statement of all the attributes to be developed by individuals and by society. In addition to democratic ideals and national development, it emphasized competency development and character perfection to promote self-realization.

In order to practice the new educational philosophy, the American military Government used John Dewey's educational themes, for what Korea needed was democratic educational system and a large scale of social reforms. As Dewey argued in Democracy and Education and in School and Society, education was not only derived from and perpetuated by the cultural heritage, it was a social process that carried possibilities for larger societal reforms.\(^6\)

\(^5\)Andrew C. Nahm, Ibid., 497.

Dewey conceived of democracy as a primary ethical value, and he did much to formulate working principles for a democratic and industrial society. In 1947, all the primary schools had three goals:

1. the development of patriotism
2. the development of scientific education
3. the development of the body

This new educational philosophy was labelled the New Education Movement, which had its roots in Dewey's progressive education philosophy. New Education focused on subject-centered learning according to individual interests and capacity. Its mantra was experiential learning.

Immediately after the first Republic was launched in 1948, the national systems have been settled into a basic 6-3-3-4 pattern for school organizations. Whereas the Americans emphasized the promotion of democratic educational philosophy and practices, the Korean leaders in the Ministry of Education focused on the coupling of education and culture while recognizing the importance of promoting democratic education. The educational systems are comprised of roles specified by the institution. Up to the present, Korean education has developed continuously through various stages: foundation, extension of democratic general education, quantitative expansion, education reform, and qualitative enhancement.

This dissertation has argued that the educational ideas embedded in the

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reconstruction of Korean educational theories have in many ways significantly contributed to the development of Korea, influencing greater numbers of Korean people.

It is reasonable to believe that the democratic process of education has originated from those ideas of human liberty and equality which were once the dominant ideas of Practicalism which was developed out of the recognition of the inadequacies of Confucianism. The two later intertwined with pragmatism. The situation that occurred in the early years of American history, in which Calvinism and its necessary accompaniment of applications of knowledge to realistic situations later developed and grew into Pragmatism. In short, both practical thought and pragmatism arose out of the desperate need for people to extract information necessary for the advent of an industrial society as contrasted with the waste land of esoteric knowledge.

Although subject to variations in interpretation with the changing demands of time, it serves as the basic idea which should be passed on, to the next generations. Hong-ik-In-gan has specific implications for education. It suggests four major attributes: humanity, national identity, morality, and a pioneering spirit to be developed through education. Accordingly, an autonomous educational structure and a compulsory educational system for students aged six to twelve years were introduced, providing an institutional foundation of educational practices.

1. Compilation and distribution of primary school textbooks
2. Adoption of the 6-3-3-4 type of linear school systems
3. Introduction of adult education for elimination of illiteracy and supplementary education for in-service teachers
4. Expansion planning for secondary and higher education, and the creation of teacher's colleges.\(^8\)

The education progress that had just begun to have impact was abruptly arrested with the outbreak of the Korean War. The War again interrupted the progress of the Korea's efforts to establish a modern educational system. In the midst of the Korean War, which split the country, efforts were continued to revive Korean education to fulfill the missions of overcoming a national crisis and leading the reconstruction.

1. Initiation of curriculum revision projects
2. Introduction of the national standard admission test for junior high school applicants
3. Establishment of national and public universities
4. The promulgation of the Wartime Emergency Education Act.\(^9\)

There were three important teaching objectives under the Wartime Emergency Education Act: (1) concrete understanding of democracy and life in a democratic form of government, (2) proper understanding of the wartime situation and anti-Communism sentiment, (3) cultivation of national awareness for the welfare of Korean people. In the middle school education "One person, One skill" education was emphasized to provide life skills which they used to construct the new nation after the war.

During the Japanese occupation, there were no such activities as curriculum

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\(^9\)Ibid., 62.
development on the part of individual teachers or schools. Different subjects were taught
without any attempt to relate their content and their implications to actual life. In fact,
the curriculum was no more than the government prescribed textbooks and any classroom
activities which were not found in the textbooks. Under the Military Government,
Korean teachers and school officials were trained in curriculum construction through
various curriculum workshops and became leaders in the local curriculum workshops.
During the years of 1948 and 1949, many different organizations were formed for the
purpose of studying such fields as child growth, community schools, core-curriculum,
educational evaluation, classroom management, and counseling.\textsuperscript{10}

The Ministry of Education believed that a new society can only be established
through the new education and encouraged the curriculum study groups to develop the
curriculum in accordance with the new principles of curriculum construction. Korean
educators were influenced by Dewey's democratic educational ideas and his emphasis
upon learning through experimentation and practice. As in Article 1 of the Education
Law, if education is to improve living, the curriculum must be developed on the basis of
life needs and conditions in the community. With the signing of the armistice that ended
the war, rehabilitation of the educational system was undertaken vigorously with the help
of the United States and the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency. After the
Korean War, concerted efforts were made which resulted in an impressive growth in
education. The Confucian legacy that education was the key to future success was deeply

\textsuperscript{10}Kim, Doo-sung, "What was the New Education?" \textit{Sai Kyo Yuk}, (The New Education),
XI (September, 1959), 18.
As Hans Jonas, a contemporary philosopher who specialized in agnosticism, argued in his *The Imperative of Responsibility*, responsibility to future generations must be based upon some metaphysical principle. The teaching of the Confucian scholars made Koreans realize the importance of education. Likewise, Dewey would have argued that if we act responsibly, if we insist upon reliable forms of technology, the future will be as successful as it is possible for it to be. Dewey consistently argued that appeals to abstract metaphysical principles may serve as goals and patterns that can be taken back to the details of concrete situations, but if they are treated as immutable starting points, they only tend to confuse otherwise productive debates.

In anticipation of better days, Korean made it their major task to promote and improve education which they believed was the best way any people could develop their inherit potential. Especially, enthusiasm for education began to grow even more intense, due to the people's wartime realization of democracy and the need to be self-reliant. The physical facilities and quality of teaching were restored within a few years to prewar levels. The most noted change which occurred was quantitative growth due to the desire of students and parents for education.

**THE STRUCTURE OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION**

The Korean educational philosophy and system borrowed much from American education. When the American Advisory Committee members came to Korea in 1948, 

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the Korean National Association on Education provided Korean students ranging from kindergarten to college-age, an assembly in the Civic Center to welcome and thank the Americans for their services and contributions. This shows how enthusiastically the Korean people welcomed the American system of education. In this atmosphere, 30,000 Korean teachers were in-serviced by the American educational advisors during the three years of the U.S. Military Government.

Furthermore, since 1952, a more well-organized official American Educational Advisory group came to Korea with long-term educational strategies. In August 1952, seven advisors from the Unitarian Service Committee came and trained seven hundred teachers during their ten-month stay, and the Central Education Research Center was established in Pusan, Korea by their suggestion in 1953.

The second Advisory group of eight educators came in August 1953 and three of them stayed on as part of the Central Education Research Center for the training of Korean educationalists. From then on, until the early 1960s, American Advisory groups were constantly coming in to take turns for a few months each to train and give in-services to Korean educationalists. They also helped research for the development of Korean education.

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14 Institute of Spirit and Culture in Korea, Traditional Thoughts of Education in Korea, (Seoul: Institute of Spirit and Culture in Korea, 1983), 49.
The third Advisory group came in March 1954, and stayed in Korea about nine months. These professors from George Peabody College of Teachers advised the Korean Administration Team and helped develop Korean textbooks and curriculum in science education, early childhood education, and TESL. These three groups came under the sponsorship of the Unitarian Service Committee, but the fourth and fifth Advisory groups were funded by the International Cooperative Alliance.

In the mean time, the Central Education Research Center in Pusan sent one or two Korean researchers to Peabody College every year for one year, and these researchers became educational leaders in the Korean educational system when they returned. By doing these exchanges, Korea followed the American system of education. The most successful methods imported (and still actively in use) from Peabody were the standardized testing system and the multiple-choice test program. The Progressive educational philosophy of Dewey's, such as learning according to individual interests and capacities, active discussion, and a discovery method of learning were introduced, but those couldn't be utilized in the Korean system because the new philosophy of education was in sharp conflict with traditional values of Korean society.

The New Education Movement was unable to develop a comprehensive and coherent educational philosophy to the Korean reality and the child-centered progressive education could not provide the manpower that Korean society needed during the 1960s.

The economic development of the 1960s led to a demand for a set of basic standards to

\[15\text{Ibid.}, 49.\]
point out long-range goals in education for the next hundred years, and to guide contemporary progress in the schools of Korea.

Under the Park military government in 1961, the Ministry of Education prepared a five-year Educational Reconstruction Plan (1962-1966) for the purpose of integrating educational policies into the first Five-Year Economic Development Plan.\textsuperscript{16}

The government wanted to have education policies that would help their economic development and try to produce human resources that the society needed and promote life-adjustment education. The rapid economic growth in the 1960s led to a greater educational investment. The Korean government made systematic efforts to develop science and technology by realigning the administrative machinery. It emphasized the improvement of scientific and technical education, particularly on the secondary level and in institutions of higher education. As a result, in 1967 the Ministry of Science and Technology was created when the United States government-sponsored Korean Institute of Science and Technology was founded.\textsuperscript{17}

**THE EDUCATIONAL METHOD**

Korea did not begin to develop its own educational method until 1948. The main reason was that the Japanese colonial government never gave Koreans the chance to develop any. Thus, after the liberation, Korean educators did not have the faintest idea as to how to proceed. When the American advisors came to Korea, the Korean educators

\textsuperscript{16}Mun'gyobu, "Hankuk Kyoyuk Kyehoek ui Pyonch'on," Chungang Kypyuk Yon'guso sobo, 9.4: 37 (December 1968).

\textsuperscript{17}Andrew C. Nahm, *Korea: Tradition and Transformation*, (New Jersey: Hollym, 1989), 499.
followed their every move as they learned from them. They considered the United States to be the model country, and the only one from which to learn about the democratic system of education.

In 1946, Yoon Jae Chun, the principal of Hyo Jae Elementary School in Seoul tried for the first time to implement Dewey's progressive educational method in that workshop. Dewey's influence was evident when the principal of Hyo Jae tried to abandon authoritarian methods and put emphasis upon learning through experimentation and practice. In the revolt against abstract learning, Dewey considered education as a tool that would enable the citizen to integrate his culture and vocation effectively and usefully.

Yoon, Jae Chun and Kim, Kae Tack, one of Hyo Jae Elementary School's teachers, tried to advocate that education should not be concerned only with the mind and that students should develop manual skills. Just as Dewey advocated, learning must be related to the interests of students and connected with current problems. For knowledge is a means of controlling the environment, hopefully being able to improve the quality of human life appealed to them, as it did to Dewey. This idea became one of the objectives set by the Ministry of Education in formulating the Education policy for 1968 to promote the Charter of National Education. The Education Charter which was promulgated by President Park, Chung-hee on December 5, 1968 puts emphasis upon "Human Education" (for facilitating and modernizing scientific education for the improvement of industrial productivity).

The specific objectives are as follows:
1. To foster the spirit of national subjectivity, anti-Communism and cooperation for community and national development.

2. To normalize compulsory education by alleviating the shortage of facilities.

3. To improve science and technical education through closer cooperation between schools and industries.

4. To create a wholesome academic atmosphere conducive to heightening the enthusiasm for study.

5. To improve the physique of students and the general public by popularizing athletics and by promoting the international exchange of athletes, and

6. To enhance the qualification and living standards of teachers.¹⁸

Yoon, Jae-chun and Lim Kae-tack's workshops encouraged many Korean teachers to begin developing new teaching methods eliminating the traditional method of learning by memory under the supreme authority of the teachers.

Pleased by this kind of attempt in the New Education movement, the American Military Government brought George Peabody College people together and established the Teacher Training Center. They taught the Seoul National University Teacher's College students English so that they could be used as interpreters and Dewey's

¹⁸Rim, Han-yung, Korea: Its People and Culture, (Seoul: Hakwon-sa, Ltd., 1974), 188.
progressive education methodology.\textsuperscript{19}

The educational process was arrested with the outbreak of the Korean War. With the signing of the armistice that finally ended the war, rehabilitation of the educational system was undertaken vigorously with the help of the United States and the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency. The American Advisory group from Peabody College were still coming and began to work more actively under the name of the "New Education Movement."

Furthermore, the Minister of Education, assisted by an advisory Central Education Committee of ten elected members and twenty members appointed by the President utilized the Korean educationalists who came back to Korea after being educated in the United States to implant the American educational system, and also the method of Dewey's progressive education.\textsuperscript{20}

Thus, great developments were achieved in educational institutions, educational facilities and methods of teaching, in the instructional field, unit learning, and problem-solving learning were disseminated into educational practice with discussion method, survey learning, and field-trip study. Even after the army coup d'etat of May 16, 1961, Korea and America's educational exchanges continued without interruption. However, the economic development of the 1960s brought with it an increasing national self-consciousness and new reflections on the educational ideas of the past.

\textsuperscript{19}Korean Educational Society, \textit{A Study of Korean Pedagogies}, (Seoul: Paeyong-sa, 1984), 55.

\textsuperscript{20}\textit{Ibid.}, 57.
At this time, various kinds of additional teaching methods were introduced; communication, buzz ways of instruction, and audio-visual instruction were of major concern. However, Dewey's educational methodology in teaching was still the mainstream of the Korean educational system as practical learning in spite of some criticism on the unfitness of some of Dewey's progressive educational theories.

Thus, from the liberation to almost the end of Park's regime, Dewey's educational theories dominated and influenced greatly Korean education.\textsuperscript{21}

\textbf{QUANTITATIVE EXPANSION (1960s and 1970s)}

Remarkable economic progress and its following drastic changes in politics, society, and culture brought about a quantitative expansion in education, which characterized Korean education in the sixties. This expansion included the increase of the student population, the expansion included the increase of the student population, the expansion included the increase of the student population, the expansion of educational facilities, and the growth in the number of teachers. Such a rapid growth of school population inevitably resulted in overcrowded classrooms, oversized school, shortage of qualified teachers and educational facilities, and excessive competition in the college entrance examination.

Accordingly, reformative measures were adopted to return school education to a proper state. Major policies employed are as follows:

1. Reform of the teacher education system

\textsuperscript{21}\textit{Ibid.}, 58.
2. Upgrading of normal high schools to two-year teacher's colleges, and the unification of the period of education into four years for colleges specializing in education

3. Establishment of graduate schools of education for in-service teacher education

4. Abolishment of the junior high school admission test

5. Execution of the "Preliminary Test for College Admission" to eliminate the quality gap among high schools

6. Enlargement of provincial universities and establishment of junior colleges

7. Establishment of Korean Air and Correspondence high schools

The purpose of this study was to provide a historical analysis of the major educational ideas embedded in the reconstruction of Korean Education Theory which have in many ways significantly contributed to the development of Korea, from 1945 through 1965. However, in order to effect a better interpretation, an attempt was made to describe some of the economic, political, and social forces which have influenced educational change in Korea during the period under consideration.

In Chapter VI, the findings are summarized from the analysis of the reconstruction of Korean Educational Theory, educational changes, and growth. The major findings are discussed with reference to the related literature. Then, conclusions

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based on the findings are presented as are suggestions for further studies.

FINDINGS

It is reasonable to believe that the present democratic pattern of education has originated from the National Constitution, which was adopted in 1948, and the National Education Law of 1949, which reflect the desires of the Korean people in adopting the "Hong-ik-In-gan" as Korea's educational ideal. "Hong-ik-In-gan," which means "benefits for mankind," is consistent with the spirit of democracy and contains a deep love for freedom and mankind. The Constitution of the Republic of Korea promises equality, freedom, independence, professionalism in education, and the promotion of life-long education.

It also reflects the U.S. Military Government's (1945-1948) policy which was determined to use education as the key to democratize Korean society trying to extend educational opportunity to all Koreans, having inclusive democratic values and practices in curriculum, and creating an infrastructure and educational administration that would maintain democratic practices.

All educational enterprises and endeavors were to be founded on the principles of freedom for the individual and respect for human rights. Articles 3, 4, and 5 of the Education Law stated:

Article 3: The objectives of education shall be realized not only in schools and other educational institutions, but also in the political, social, economic, and cultural life of the country.

Article 4: The educational system and facilities, contents, and instructional
methods shall be founded on the basis of individual freedom and respect for others, thus, developing one's capacity to the fullest extent.

Article 5: Education shall be carried out in accordance with the principles set herewith, and shall neither be utilized for the interests of partisan politics nor as a tool for propagating and individual views and opinions. No national or public schools shall provide sectarian religious education.23

Undoubtedly, the ideas expressed in these articles are the basic principles of democratic education. The statements are evidence of how the Korean educationalists were inspired by Dewey's democratic idea during the period of the Military Government. In Dewey's theory that democracy is a way of life, politics and the community are inseparable. Successful democracy depends on the existence of a community, the people organized as the "public." Politics is viewed as an activity for solving man's collective problems through group participation and action. But individuals must learn how to be citizens, how to cooperate actively with others who share their desires to better understand some problem. In other words, he wanted the student to participate actively in the discovery of knowledge, not to be a passive recipient of authoritative teachings. As democracy was a foreign import, many Koreans were puzzling over the meaning of democracy. Dewey's ideas on education showed what it meant to have a "democratic education." If these principles are closely observed, it is obvious that they could bring far-reaching influence in the development of democratic society in Korea.

23 *Education Law*, op. cit.
The concept of modernization has its roots in educational ideas of Practicalism, which is also being used today. The Silhak scholar's attitude was a behavioral tendency to break loose from tradition and venture into the unknown. This pioneering spirit was very necessary when Korea was about to make the leap into the ranks of industrialized nations. Nowadays, education's vital role is to prepare youths for the challenges of the future. Today, educationalists are busily assessing the future needs and defining a set of attributes which will enable youngsters to cope in a future society.

The nationalistic or autonomous education has also in its roots the educational ideas of Practicalism, which is being currently emphasized in Korean schools. In 1881, the government of the Choson Kingdom sent to Japan a group of observers to study at first hand the merits and demerits of Western Civilization. However, the government had to do something because of an endlessly escalating conflict between confirmed conservatives dead set on preserving traditional values and radical advocates calling for sweeping reform in the country.

Though there existed a large number of intellectuals, Practicalists, in and out of Choson who persisted in expounding the need of accepting Western civilization. They spearheaded a movement for introducing Western Civilization to Korea. The fact is, Korea experienced, in a strictly limited manner, one aspect of the Western educational system even before the country opened its doors to the rest of the world.

Korean education tries to play its role by rooting out this traditional inertia and by inspiring a movement to rediscover the roots of the contemporary culture. Once this dormant potential bestirred, it will rally the people behind the cause of national
modernization and unification. Dewey, as did Korean Practicalists, also believed strongly in education as the agency of cultural transmission that would relate knowledge to current issues. The educational environment was crucial to Dewey; it was here that social values could be passed on to the young.\textsuperscript{24}

Korea had lost her independence by the forced annexation by Japan in 1910; however, the educational ideas stressing nationalism remained unceasingly alive in the minds of the Korean people even during the Japanese colonial period, and continues even today. Silhak scholars warned against national crises which may jeopardize sovereign independence in the midst of complicated international surroundings. These Practicalists believed it urgent to develop modern education, in the belief that national sovereignty be maintained in the fast awakening of the people and promotion of patriotism by means of education. Korean history and use of the Korean alphabet became emphasized, and was to be taught instead of Chinese characters. The Practicalists believed that the welfare of Korean could be achieved through economic progress by fostering industries and modern technologies. However, until the early twentieth century, Korea remained an agrarian society until the early 1960s. Beginning in 1962, Korea has launched a series of five-year economic development planning (the sixth phase lasted from 1987 to 1991). They were determined to be one of the developing countries.

In addition, ever since they finished successfully the first and second Five-Year Economic Development plans and achieved much in economic development, the New

\textsuperscript{24} John Patrick Diggins, \textit{The Promise of Pragmatism}, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1994), 306.
Community Movement (Saemaul Undong) was launched to improve economic conditions of rural Korea as well as to achieve balanced development of agriculture and industry. Emerging from this dark and desperate situation, Koreans gained the confidence that they could do anything if they were firmly resolved to do it. They were determined to leave to their sons and daughters a modern and affluent country transformed from poverty. It also endeavored to promote national consciousness and the spirit of mutual cooperation among the people.

Dedicated to the mission of making the can-do spirits of diligence, self-help, and cooperation permeate every household, the Saemaul Undong became the foundation for the people's harmony and cooperation while serving as the basis for the realization of democratic politics. It reminds one of Dewey's Pragmatic thinking. Dewey recognized no distinction between science and democracy, convinced that both represented collective endeavors that could be responsive to empirical procedures. He made an attempt to democratize science and render it responsible to the needs of society for he saw society as sovereign and science as its supreme instrument. To Dewey, the social conditions of inquiry are part of the problem that needs to be addressed. 25

Directly connected with a spiritual revolution, the Saemaul Undong can not only cultivate further the spirit of harmony and cooperation which can be found in Korean tradition but contribute to the development of democratic principles through friendly dialogue and discussion among neighbors who might have resolved a clash of interests,

25 John Patrick Diggins, Ibid., 237-238.
and are displaying the spirit of cooperation to the fullest extent. Korean democratic policy was to be developed in this situation as Dewey claimed that "American democratic policy was developed out of genuine community life."26

At present, the entire population of the Republic of Korea is involved in the Saemaul Undong, which became a national movement involving all segments of the population. With the rise of an educated population, the cultural level of the Koreans was elevated while promoting the revival movement for traditional culture, the Koreans brought about the development of modern culture in every way of life. This spirit of self-reliance made each individual feel he was the master of his country.

The major objective of the five Five-Year Plans was social development. The ultimate aim of the plans was to achieve a balanced development and improvement of the national standard of living; in other words, to create a society in which all the people equally share in the affluence. Furthermore, it appears that the Koreans' rapid economic progress in recent years is in witness of the Koreans' zeal for education, which also finds its source in the educational ideas of Confucianism. A number of unique attributes of education in Korea may have contributed to the system capacity for rapid expansion after 1945, despite low levels of national income. They all turn on a very high social demand for education, best explained by a centuries-old tradition of respect for the educated man combined with a recognition that both social and economic position in the modern Korea were closely linked, for most persons with a high level of educational attainment.

The school ladder of progression from one level to the next higher level is the backbone of the educational system and the critical path of educational and social development. In order to produce new leaders who will begin to lead the industrializing of Korea into the twenty-first century, many educational reforms occurred.

The government has intervened directly to determine the content of education. This occurred under the U.S. Military Government in 1945-1948, and in 1955, 1962, and 1972 when the Ministry of Education carried out three major curriculum reforms.27

With growing concerns over the problems about the existing entrance examination system the government proposed a radical reform in 1980 which attempted to depart from the old system drastically. However, the new entrance examination system was promptly confronted with serious problems. In the continuing controversies over the college entrance examination system, an effort towards a more comprehensive reform was launched in 1991. These reforms, especially the first four curriculum reforms serve the government objectives with respect to content of education. Whenever the government plans its economic policy, the curriculum changed to supply and to secure the adequate scientific technological manpower required for the plan.

Since the first Five-Year Plan, the government promoted education at technical high schools and colleges, training at vocational colleges and institutes, and on-the-job training. For example, during the fourth Five-Year plan, the government needed to expand heavy and chemical industries. The government expanded enrollment quotas in

technical colleges, and supported technical colleges and high school specializing in machinery, electronics, and chemistry earmarking 18,700 million won ($23,375,000 in American currency). Educational opportunities for young workers expanded and the system coordinated schools with industries. Junior colleges and polytechnic institutes were reorganized as specialized colleges. Their unique function defined as short-term institutes of higher education, they were put under a new system so that they could positively contribute to the supply of industrial manpower. The functions of vocational training instituted and the technical licensing corporation will be strengthened to facilitate the supply of manpower for heavy, chemical, and other highly sophisticated industries.  

This preference for science over the humanities is a good example of Pragmatism implanted in Korea. It was not theoretical wonder but workshop technique that Dewey emphasized. "The questions, the chemical and the physical problems, arising in the kitchen and the shop are taken to the laboratories to be worked out."  

When modernization of the fatherland and national resurrection were a historical challenge imposed upon them, the Pragmatic spirit overturned all remnants of classical culture that had given a higher status to theory and thinking than to practice and doing. This patriotic spirit was another significance of the Saemaul Undong. People had come to realize that farmers and working people were by no means predestined to poverty, and that everything depended on one's determinations; thus the name Saemaul Undong, which

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28 1978 New Year press conference by President Park, Chung-hee.

means the "New Spiritual Movement." The confidence and awareness that if they only became diligent, self-helping, and cooperative, they can become better off...this is the Saemaum (new spirit). Similarly, if they cooperate with their neighbors, then they could improve their lives, their villages will become affluent, and their country will grow prosperous. This was a fundamental philosophy of President Park, Chung-hee. His democratic sympathies forced him to recognize that the mass of people are more interested in practical gain than in abstract learning. At that time, transforming agrarian society into industrial society was more important that appreciating their proud culture. This idea of seeking the promotion toward Korea's modernization by means of educational reforms and development originated from the ideas of Silhak which brought forth numerous socio-economic reforms through the eminent efforts of many scholars during the period of seventeenth and nineteenth centuries against Confucian formalism.

Similarly, in the American case, when New England Puritanism, that seventeenth century wellsprings of spiritual idealism, failed to survive the frontier environment, a Protestant ethic that had emphasized hard work, duty, and moral striving had given way to a sensate culture of wealth, leisure, and opportunity. America's puritan heritage with Calvinist predestination couldn't help illuminate the corrupting nature of modern politics. America's puritan conscience lingered like a dark shadow around the mind of Henry Adams. Although he would delight in invoking the Calvinist doctrine of predestination to reinforce his own sense of scientific determination, he believed New England
Puritanism narrow and intolerant, even by seventeenth century standards.\textsuperscript{30}

The crises of modernity challenged the whole New England tradition of Brahmin aristocracy as Korea's modern Practicalist scholars challenged that Confucian aristocracy.\textsuperscript{31} American thinkers recognize that there was no way to stop people from heading for hell as a matter of their rights\textsuperscript{32}, whereas Korean thinkers recognized the importance of developing scientific knowledge to save the nation. The rise of American Pragmatism has been generally interpreted as a response to the loss of certainty, especially the possibility of knowledge having access to the real, objective world or to the "higher" realm of metaphysical truth. Today, many historians and literary scholars see pragmatism as entirely continuous with American ideals and institutions. This notion of consensus and continuity deserves scrutiny.

Likewise, the Pragmatic tradition influenced Park, Chung-hee and his economic plans, as well as the Saemaul Undong and the relationship to Pragmatism to Korean educational reforms. Koreans believed that the strengthened educated work force will provide the developmental momentum for fundamental economic stability through Saemaul Undong. Korea would not have been able to witness what she has, if she had not relinquished the Confucianistic notion of impractical waste. To achieve a democratic and pragmatic system, Koreans decided to solve their own problems by themselves


\textsuperscript{31}John Patrick Diggins, \textit{Ibid.}, 358.

\textsuperscript{32}\textit{Ibid.}, 359.
mobilizing the resources of the people. If Korea had been unable to arise from the Confucianistic life of abstract thoughts, she would have never been able to achieve her national development to the extent to which she has today. Educational policy, political stability, and economic growth thus are inseparably linked. Koreans share a national aspiration to build a prosperous society by upgrading education and the economy, to nurture their proud culture and to hand down her heritage to future generations. Therefore, the extent to which the Saemaul Undong had an effect on Korea's nation-building should be examined thoroughly.

A brave new philosophy of education is needed, for education is the best yardstick to measure the quality of a nation, whether great or small. It is also the best indicator of the future of a nation and is the primary expression of national purpose. Until now, Korean educators have failed in teaching democracy. Under the existing pressures producing elite students who know the material necessary to get into elite colleges, teachers might have become experts in preparing students for the entrance exams, but not at making them inculcate a deep sense of respect for the code of ethics in democratic citizenship. As Korean society moves towards a democratic, industrialized society, its education system is confronted with diverse functions. The diversification of educational functions has added new dimensions to the debate over the selective nature of education. The reform of the entrance examination system should be promoted in a way that ensures the relevancy of educational programs to social needs. The need for reform of this school system has become more acute. Prominent among the new demands are the equalization of educational opportunity, the excellence of education, the diversity of program,
relevance to the needs of human growth, and integration with society.

The Korean government gave themselves a whole year to prepare for each five-year economic development plan, and they have ended with successful results. The Korean government and educators must allow ample time before they change a system that has a profound and inextricable bearing on the future of the nation, which goes far beyond five years. Education is a life-long process of developing the intellect in order to rediscover old values and create new ones. To cope with the new challenges, learning opportunities should transcend not only time limitations but spatial limitations. The school is not the only place where learning takes place. Education at home and at large in society itself assumes an increasingly important dimension. In other words, education will be effective only when there is a trinity of school, society, and home education.

Today, in so much of the Korean educational system, the effort necessary for passing the entrance exam is everything. This must be fundamentally revamped. Instead, Korean education must be geared to developing the ability to love others, listen to others, and care for others to truly build a democratic educational system. The accent from now on should be placed on education for developing a logical mind. As Korea's historical heritage has been trying to guide, inspire, and lead Korean education, so too will Korea as a nation succeed if she is able to combine her past with her modern environment. Koreans have overcome the worst conditions of devastation due to war. The Koreans' spiritual heritage, which contains zeal, fervor, creativity, ingenuity, and unique characteristics of Confucianism helped them to overcome the seemingly insurmountable crises and obstacles.
To prepare for the upcoming twenty-first century, the Korean Ministry of Education has established humanitarianism, refinement, informativeness, the welfare of all people, and open-mindedness as the ultimate goals. In order to carry out these goals, various efforts should be made to raise up a self-reliant individual equipped with a distinct sense of independence; an individual with originality and creativity; ethical individual with sound morality and democratic roots.

This must be carefully and intensively reflected in school curriculum and textbooks all the way from the elementary school level, promoting the democratic values more than the Confucian virtues.
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VITA

I was born in Seoul, South Korea, on January 1, 1952. I grew up there with my three younger brothers and sisters. I attended Jong-Am Elementary School from 1958 to 1964, then Sook-Myung Junior High School from 1964 to 1967. Gaining a reputation as a hard-working student, I graduated from Sook-Myung High School, and was accepted to Kyung-Hee University as an honor student.

After graduation, in 1974, I married and immigrated to the United States. I began teaching shortly afterwards at Budlong Elementary School in the Chicago Public Schools system. After the birth of my two daughters in 1976 and 1980, I applied and was accepted to the Masters in Education program at Loyola University Chicago. I received my degree in 1984, while still teaching. I became immersed in many organizations and projects, all of which emphasized for me the necessity of having a doctoral degree. I enrolled in the doctoral program at Loyola University Chicago (to be awarded in January 1996), again while still teaching. During that time, I was nominated for the highly prestigious Golden Apple Award.

I am currently the President of the Korean School Association of the Midwest, U.S.A., as well as the principal and founder of my own school, Canaan Korean School. Some of my duties involve working closely with the Korean Consulate in Chicago, and
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the Korean-American Association of Chicago, as the Chairman for the Committee on
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Council as well as the East Rock Institute at Yale University. I am a member of the
Midwest Historical of Education Society, the Illinois Council for Social Studies, and the
American Association of University Women.

In between these posts, I write Korean language textbooks. I wrote and published
my first textbook, Korean Reading and Writing I in 1986, closely followed the next year
with Korean Reading and Writing II. In 1988, I wrote Korean History and Culture Units,
which were widely used in Korean schools across the nation, as an addition to my
previous two books. Deciding to take advantage of a new medium, I produced video
tapes on the Korean language in 1989, entitled Basic Korean Video Tapes. These were
also well-received. Finally, in 1993, I wrote the long-overdue set of Korean as a Second
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The dissertation is, therefore, accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

November 27, 1995
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