



TRANSACTIONS

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

KOREA BRANCH

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by Brother Anthony, of Taizé

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Yang Guy-ja and Shin Kyoung-suuk:
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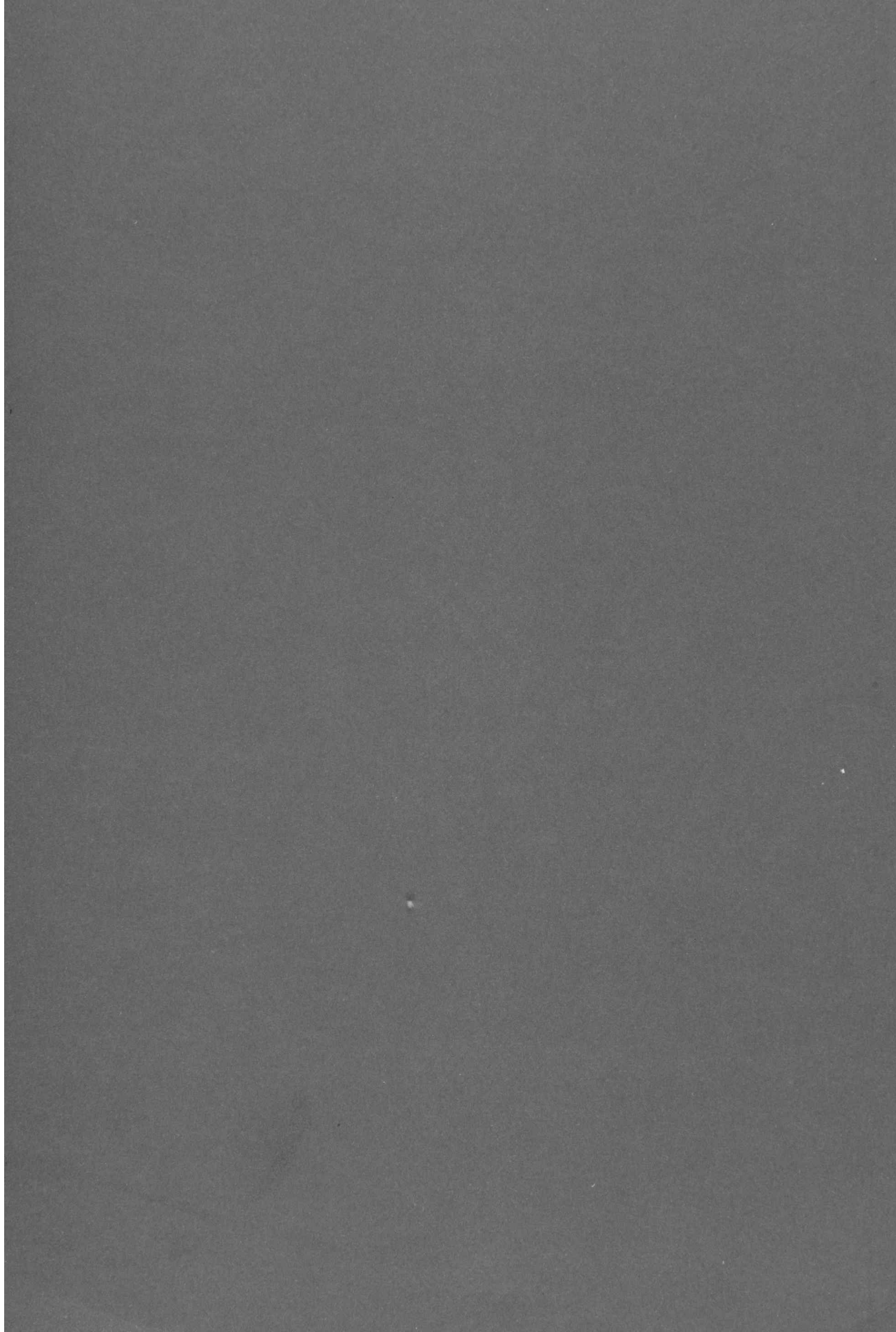
by Ji-moon Suh

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by Kim, Young-Duk

The North Korean Struggle for Survival: 1980-1990

by Sofie Bosma



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A Short History of Tea

Brother Anthony, of Taizé

People do not always realize that all the tea drunk in the world, no matter whether it is called white, green, red, brown, or black, and no matter where it comes from, is made of the leaves of one small evergreen tree or bush. For several centuries Europeans drank tea without ever having seen a tea plant, because their traders were not allowed to travel inside China, the unique source of tea at that time.

The first detailed study of tea published in Europe was written by Dr. Wilhelm ten Rhyne (1649-1700), a celebrated Dutch physician and botanist who also wrote the first account of acupuncture. He lived in the Dutch 'factory' (trading post) on the artificial island of Deshima in the harbor at Nagasaki from 1674 to 1676. His text on tea, written in Latin, was published in Danzig in 1678, as an appendix to Jacob Breyn's *Exoticarum plantarum centuria prima* (First Century of Exotic Plants). It seems never to have been translated into English.

Some years later, in 1683, the German scholar Engelbert Kaempfer set out on a journey through Russia, Persia, Arabia, and India. From there he took ship to Java, Siam, and finally Japan, where he too lived for a time on Deshima before returning to Europe in 1693. Kaempfer wrote his own account of Japanese tea to complement that of 'my much honored friend' ten Rhyne. It was published in the third fascicle of his *Amoenitates Exoticae* (Exotic Pleasures; 1712). An English version of this has recently been published.

Kaempfer's work in making Japan known in Europe was hailed by the great botanist Linnaeus. The first edition of Linnaeus's *Species Plantarum* published in the first half of the 18th century suggested calling the unseen plant *Thea sinensis*, taking the Latin name for tea from Kaempfer's work.

It was only in the early 19th century that tea plants and seeds were obtained, after the English decided to challenge China's monopoly by trying

to grow tea in India. Then it was found that in fact tea trees already grew wild, unrecognized, in the hills of Assam. A fierce debate raged as to whether these were identical with the Chinese variety, and whether *Thea* was a separate genus or part of the genus *Camellia*. It was finally settled by the International Code of Botanical Nomenclature in 1905 that the tea tree's correct name, no matter where it grows, is *Camellia sinensis* (L.) O. Kuntze.

The tea tree is native to the whole monsoon area of southeast Asia: Thailand, Burma, southwest China, Assam. The raw leaves were surely used as food from very early times by the native populations. In Chinese legend, or myth, the qualities of tea are said to have been discovered by the Second Emperor, Shen Nung (Divine Healer), reputed to have reigned 2737-2697 B.C., who also discovered millet, medicinal herbs, and invented the plough. His predecessor, Fu-hsi, the First Emperor, had given humanity knowledge of fire, cooking, and music, while the Third Emperor completed the Promethean task of human happiness by revealing the secrets of the vine and astronomy.

There is an early mention of tea being prepared by servants in a Chinese text of 50 B.C.. Certainly tea was being cultivated in Szechwan by the third century A.D.. The first detailed description of tea-drinking is found in an ancient Chinese dictionary, noted by Kuo P'o in A.D. 350. At this time the fresh green leaves were picked, then pressed into cakes, that were roasted to a reddish hue. These were crumbled into water and boiled with the addition of onion, ginger, and orange to give a kind of herbal soup that must have been very bitter but was considered to be good as a remedy for stomach problems, bad eyesight, and many other diseases.

In A.D. 519 the great Indian master Bodhidharma, the traditional founder of the Zen school of Buddhism, came to China. The Japanese sometimes claim that he brought tea with him from India, which seems unlikely; another story says that when he found himself growing weary after staying awake for seven years, he plucked off his eyelids. When he threw them to the ground two tea trees sprang up that had the power to keep him awake and alert. There is certainly an ancient Buddhist tradition of drinking tea before an image of Bodhidharma.

A major turning-point in the history of tea came in the 8th century, with the composition of the *Cha Ching*, the "Tea Classic" by Lu Yu in 780, which summarizes everything known at that time about every aspect of tea growing and preparation. This seems to have been commissioned by the tea merchants of the time to give a new impetus to the consumption of tea in the upper classes. It certainly succeeded. The crumbled cakes or bricks of tea were now boiled with nothing but a little salt and this was the form of tea that became the national drink of the elite in China's Tang dynasty (618-907). Moreover,

since this kind of tea could be transported easily, a taste for it spread far beyond China, into Tibet, along the Silk Road to Turkey and India, and into Russia.

Lu Yu's influence was enormous. He was the first to suggest that the ritual of preparing and drinking tea represented a code of symbolic harmony and order reflecting the ideals of cosmos and society. Lu Yu lists no less than twenty-four implements that are essential for the correct preparation of a cup of tea. These include the equipment needed for roasting and grinding the cakes of tea, as well as the stove for boiling the water, and the cups for drinking. Rich noblemen at once began to rival one another in acquiring beautifully crafted sets for making tea, while tea plantations spread across the southern part of China. By 850 people were also beginning to prepare tea in the form of detached leaves, not compressed into bricks.

A great change came with the transition to the Sung dynasty (960-1279) when Chinese culture reached a new summit of refinement. Tea now began to be drunk in the form familiar to many from the Japanese tea ceremony, with dried blocks of green leaves ground to a fine powder and mixed with water by being whipped to a froth with a bamboo whisk in large, often dark-glazed bowls. In Korea today this is known as *malch'a*. Tea culture reached its height under the emperor Kiasung (1101-1126) who was untiring in his search for new varieties of tea and qualities of taste.

Then came the Mongols. Genghis Khan conquered Beijing in 1215, his grandson was Kublai Khan who overthrew the southern Sung in 1279. The Mongols liked to put cream in old-fashioned brick tea, which they treated as the soup in a meal. Kublai Khan founded the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368) and it was at this time that Marco Polo visited China, returned to Italy, and wrote Europe's first report about China, without ever mentioning tea.

The Ming dynasty (1368-1643) that followed, in reaction to the Tartar invasion, tried to restore former Chinese ways in a cultural renaissance. It was only during the Ming dynasty that the method of making the tea that is mostly drunk in Korea today, green tea, was invented, as well as the method of allowing the tea leaves to soak (steep) in hot water for a time before drinking. In about 1500 the first teapots as we know them came into being, made at first of unglazed brown or red clay, the tiny Yixing teapots with their equally tiny cups that are still popular in southern China and Taiwan, and that are often used in Korea when Chinese tea is being drunk.

Finally, in 1644, the Manchus invaded China and took power as the Qing dynasty, that continued until 1912. It was only near the start of their rule that the tea makers discovered the secrets of controlled "fermentation" or

oxidation of the leaves before and during the drying process, which gave birth to the immense variety of tastes found in oolong (lightly oxidized) and red (black) teas (much more fully oxidized). The new methods of making tea demanded a cup that would emphasize the delicate colour of the brew. This is why so many more recent tea cups are white.

In 1516 the Portuguese landed in China, having discovered the sea route to the East. In 1557 they were allowed to establish a trading station at Macao in return for ridding the region of pirates, but the British and other nations had to wait until 1685 for permission to trade with China. So began the direct discovery of Chinese tea in the west, although the name had already been introduced through contact with the Turks, who enjoyed drinking brick tea brought along the Silk Road.

The first known reference to tea by an Englishman dates from 1615, when a certain Richard Wickham wrote to Macao asking for "a pot of the best sort of chaw". The oldest name for tea recorded in China seems to have been 'Kia' and the pronunciation 'ch'a' is only found after 725 A.D.. In certain regions a 't' took the place of the initial 'ch' and we find the variant pronunciations 'ta' or 'tai'. In Korea we find both pronunciations, Ch'a and Ta.

It is quite a mystery why England developed such an intense and widespread taste for tea, unparalleled in Europe. It was the Dutch merchants who first discovered the pleasures of tea, and began including a separate tea-room in their houses in the early 17th century, but after the Restoration in 1660 London began to fill with coffee shops, where tea was also served, and by 1683 there were reported to be over 2000 coffee shops in London.

Tea was at first a luxury, enjoyed only by the rich, and for a time the government imposed a 200% tax on it. As a result, a thriving trade arose in tea smuggled from Europe. So much cheap smuggled tea entered every harbour in England that it soon became available to even the simplest homes. In the 18th century tea generally replaced the ale that had previously been the English people's basic drink, and the Methodist campaigns against the Demon Drink were certainly helped by having tea to propose as a substitute. Finally the tax was abolished, smuggling ceased, but tea was in England to stay, with coffee only a pale second, at least until very recent decades.

By the early 19th century, China was exporting some 15,000 metric tonnes of tea to England every year. When the English government realized in the early 19th century that there was a very unfavorable trade balance with the Chinese buying very little from England in return, it decided to try to improve matters by introducing the Chinese to the expensive delights of Indian-grown opium; at the same time it set about establishing tea plantations in India. India

now produces something in excess of 200,000 metric tonnes of tea each year.

In Korea, the drinking of tea seems to have been introduced in the sixth or seventh centuries, probably by Buddhist monks returning from China, where the many schools of Buddhism attracted some of Korea's finest scholars. There are reports in the *Samkuk-yusa* and *Samkuk-sagi* that Queen Sondok of Silla (ruled 632-47) drank tea and that King Munmu in 661 ordered tea to be used during ceremonial offerings. King Sinmun advocated the use of tea in order to purify the mind, while King Heundok is reported to have obtained tea seeds from Tang China for planting in 828, but these may not have been the first. In Japan the first record of brick tea being used dates from around 593, and the first planting of seeds is said to have occurred in 805.

During the Koryo Dynasty tea was made the subject of some of Korea's oldest recorded poems. Tea was long offered in the ancestral ceremonies, which are still known as *Ch'a-rye* although tea has not been offered in them for centuries. Likewise there were regular ceremonies known as *Hon-ta* in which cups of green tea were offered before the statues of Buddha in the temples.

The culture of tea was so deeply identified with Buddhism that when the Yi Dynasty decided to replace Buddhism with Confucianism in the 14th century, the drinking of tea was repressed at the same time as most temples were destroyed. For centuries there are few signs of tea culture surviving in Korea; then in the early 19th century we find the great scholar Tasan, Chong Yak-yong (1762-1836), drinking tea in a formal way in a special tearoom during his exile in his mother's home near Kangjin. He presumably learned the method of drinking tea from people in Kangjin. In the first years of the 19th century, a young Buddhist monk, Ch'o Ui (1786-1866), visited him there, stayed several months, and drank tea with him. The first great restorer of the Way of Tea in Korea, Ch'o Ui, later built the hermitage known as Ilchi-am above the temple now called Taehung-sa near Haenam, in the far south of Korea, and lived there for many years, cultivating the Way of Tea in his own tearoom. The hermitage and tearoom now to be seen at Ilchi-am are modern reconstructions. In 1836, the year of Tasan's death, Ch'o Ui composed "*Dongdasong*", a great poem in celebration of tea.

Yet despite the example of Ch'o Ui, the Way of Tea remained almost unknown in Korea, even among monks, until its restoration in the course of recent decades, a restoration due in large part to the efforts of the Venerable Hyo Dang, Ch'oi Pom-sul. He might be considered to be the Ch'o Ui of the 20th century, for he wrote the first full length study of tea to be published in modern Korea and taught many people about the various aspects of tea. He was active in the Independence Movement, and founded several schools and a

university after 1945, as well as being the teacher of virtually all the leading figures in the modern Korean tea revival.

We may now turn to the methods by which tea is prepared in Korea. After the loss of Korea's tea culture in the 14th century, tea trees continued to grow wild in the southern regions, especially on the lower slopes of Chiri-san. These self-propagated bushes provided the leaves used by those few people still aware of their value. Tea does not grow north of Chonju and not on every kind of soil to the south. In recent years additional bushes have been planted on the slopes of Chiri-san, and other southern hills, but without the creation of artificial tea plantations. The finest tea is that grown in complete harmony with nature and with very little or no use of fertilisers. Tea plantations of a more intensive kind, with the bushes planted in neat rows and operated on an industrial scale, have recently been established in various areas, the most important being those found in Posong near Kangjin, on the slopes of Wolch'ul-san, and in Cheju-do.

Tea can only be made using the fresh tips, the scarcely opened buds that start to grow in early April. Once a leaf is fully developed, it is soon too coarse for use. After late May the bushes may continue to produce further shoots but these no longer have the intense flavour needed for good tea, so all the green tea needed for the year has to be plucked and made in less than two months.

The very earliest buds have the finest flavour, and are the most difficult to collect, especially if the winter frosts last late. The Korean calendar has twenty-four seasonal dates based on the movement of the sun; the day known as *Kok-u* normally falls on April 20. The tea gathered before this date is known as *Ujon* and commands the highest price. The next seasonal date *Ipha* falls on May 5-6, and tea gathered between those two dates is known as *Sejak*. Tea gathered after *Ipha* is known as *Chungjak*. These names often figure on the menus in tearooms to the mystification of the uninformed public. The earlier the tea, the more delicate the taste and the cooler the water should be in making it, with many authorities recommending that the water for *Ujon* be cooled down to 50 degrees.

The gathering of leaves requires skill and speed. It is done mostly by the women of the region, who can only collect a few pounds of leaves in the course of a day. The drying of the leaves into tea for drinking must be done within twenty-four hours of picking, before the juices in them start to oxidize. There are two main methods in use.

The tea known as *Puch'o-ch'a* is more common. The fresh leaves are dried by dry heat, in an iron cauldron over a wood fire or in a mechanical

drier, and are stirred constantly to prevent burning. From time to time the drying leaves are removed from the heat to be rubbed and rolled vigorously so that they curl tightly on themselves. They are then returned to the heat, and the process is repeated a number of times.



Tea leaves, Chung-ch'a, draining

With the tea known as *Chung-ch'a*, the fresh leaves are plunged for a moment into nearly boiling water, then allowed to drain for a couple of hours, before being placed over the fire. With *Chung-ch'a* the drying and rolling are done concurrently, the leaves are not removed from the heat until they are completely dried, after about two hours. This means that the people stirring and rubbing the leaves between their gloved hands to roll them are obliged to sit directly over the cauldron on its fire. Not surprisingly, this tea, which has by far the finest fragrance, is very expensive.

The main difference between green tea and the kinds known as oolong or red, in English black, lies in the lack of oxidation. If the juices and enzymes within the leaves are allowed to oxidize, their surfaces having been bruised by initial cold rolling, and the final drying delayed by several hours, the result will be an immense variety of tastes quite unlike green tea.

When preparing tea for drinking, oolong teas are made using hot water,

that used for black tea (which is the only kind produced in India and Sri Lanka) should be almost boiling. The water used for green tea should be much cooler, never more than 70 degrees and for the first cup of a really good tea, such as Hyo Dang's *Panyaro*, water as low as 30 degrees will produce the best results. If the water is too hot, or is allowed to remain too long on the leaves, the finest taste is lost and the bitter elements emerge.

The water used for making tea should be pure spring water. The Chinese have developed a great sensitivity about this, and the most famous teas are each supposed to be drunk using only water from this or that particular well. Certainly Seoul's tap water can spoil the taste of any tea! Traditionally the water should be boiled in a kettle on a charcoal fire in a small brasero in the room; there are many poems about the various levels of sound as the water sings on the fire, slowly reaching the point where it sounds like wind rustling in bamboos or pines. Today most people use electric pots, which are less poetic but much simpler.



A traditional Korean tea set

In order to prepare green tea in the Korean way, we use a tea set, *ta-gi*, usually consisting of three or five cups, *ch'at-chan*, although the Venerable Hyo Dang used to say that drinking tea alone was the best of all. There is a tea pot, *ch'akwan* or *ch'at-chonja*, smaller than the English variety but larger than the little Chinese ones. In addition there is a large bowl into which the water used for warming the pot and cups can be discarded, *kaesukurut*, and a somewhat smaller bowl for cooling the water and the tea, with a lip for pouring, *mulshikim sabal* or *kwittaekurut*. A stack of wooden saucers, *patch'im*, stands ready to receive the cups after they have been filled. Today there is often a small stand on which the lid of the tea pot is placed while filling the pot, but this is not traditional. In theory, the tea should be in an ornamental tea caddy, *ch'aho* but in Korea it is usually taken directly from the packet in which it is sold, using a spoon or scoop, often made of bamboo, *ch'asi*.

When tea is being drunk, one person presides over the ceremony, preparing and serving. A first measure of hot water is placed into the lipped bowl, from which it is poured into the empty pot. This water warms the pot, and is then poured into the cups to warm them. A second measure of hot water is allowed to cool while a scoopful of tea is placed in the pot. The quantity used varies very much with the quality of the tea and the number of people drinking.

When the water is cool enough, it is gently poured into the pot. The water used to warm the cups is thrown away while the tea is allowed to draw in the pot for two or three minutes, and a new measure of hot water is placed in the lipped bowl to cool for the second serving.

The first serving of a new batch of tea is poured directly into the cups, a little at a time, back and forth, in order to spread equally the stronger tea that emerges from the bottom of the teapot. No water must remain in the pot, or it would develop the bitter taste that is so undesirable. The filled cups are put on the saucers and these are then placed in front of the drinkers. Cups should not be passed directly from hand to hand: only one person moving at a time is the rule.

Korean tea is usually drunk holding the cup in both hands. The first step is to view the colour of the tea, the second to inhale its fragrance, the third to taste it on the tongue, the fourth to follow its taste in the throat, and finally there is the lingering aftertaste in the mouth to be enjoyed. Tea is reckoned to contain five or six tastes: salt, sweet, bitter, tart, peppery, in varying proportions.

The water for the second and following cups can be a little hotter than that used for the first. The leaves having softened, the water needs to stand on them for only a very short moment, then the tea is poured into the lipped bowl, which is passed around, people serving themselves directly. This avoids pass-

ing cups back and forth.

Ordinary green tea will usually have lost most of its flavour after being served three times, but very good tea may be used to make four or five rounds. The used tea leaves can be employed in a variety of ways: in cooking, in bath-water, or as a hair-rinse, or to remove the smell from a refrigerator...

In Japan, the Way of Tea has become a very rigidly codified tea ceremony of immense complexity. Commercial institutes instruct housewives in each minute gesture at great expense, and the spontaneity of simple human companionship that the samurai valued in the ceremony is submerged under layers of ritualism. In Korea this has not happened. It is very important to remain natural while drinking tea together. At first the different steps may seem complicated, but it does not take long to master them and for the drinking of tea, alone or with others, to become a part of life.

There is no end to the list of benefits attaching to the drinking of green tea. It is good for you in almost every way, unless you drink too much of it on an empty stomach, when it can be irritating. Yet more than its health benefits, there is the dimension related to the Spirit of Tea, a quasi-religious dimension typified by the name of the tea made by Chae Won-hwa: *Panya-ro*, the Dew of Enlightening Wisdom.

In Korea, the tea revival initiated by the Venerable Hyo Dang has had a great impact. There are now tea rooms in most cities and even quite small towns; there are innumerable tea study groups and research centres; several reviews exist consecrated entirely to the various aspects of tea culture. There are a number of very famous tea masters, who give regular lectures. One of the most important of these is Chae Won-hwa.

She studied history at Yonsei University and soon became interested in the history of Korean thought. It was while she was preparing her final graduation thesis that she first met the Venerable Hyo Dang. In the ten years that followed she learned from him every detail of the Way of Tea as well as the method of making the tea he called *Panya-ro* (The Dew of Wisdom). After his death in 1979 she remained as his recognized successor. In 1981 she launched a study-association devoted to the "Panyaro Way of Tea" with a small number of like-minded associates. In 1983, the Panyaro Institute for the Promotion of the Way of Tea was launched in a room in Insa-dong and since then she has instructed hundreds of people in the Way, including all the leading Korean masters of tea.

Several years ago she went back to Yonsei University and did a Master's degree, writing her dissertation about tea. She is recognized as a Great Tea Master and was honoured by being included among the six hundred exem-

plary and notable citizens of Seoul whose names were placed in a time capsule buried on Namsan on November 29, 1994 to mark the 600th anniversary of the founding of the Choson Dynasty with Hanyang (now Seoul) as its capital. In another four hundred years, the capsule is destined to be opened and the citizens recalled, on the 1000th anniversary of the city. We cannot know what the standing of tea will be in the world of that time, but it is good that one of modern Korea's greatest tea masters is among those whose names will be transmitted to distant posterity.

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Why Not Believe in Evil?

C. Fred Alford

The Clash of Civilizations, Samuel Huntington's (1996, pp. 312-318) recent book, imagines, among other conflicts, a World War Three between China and the United States, what he calls a global civilizational war. It is not, certainly, a work that plays down conflict and differences among what he calls civilizations. Nor is it a book that shrinks from the dramatic. Twice he refers to evil, toward the beginning and toward the end of his book (pp. 56, 319). Toward the beginning he says that he is not interested in trivial commonalities among peoples, such as the fact that "human beings in virtually all societies share certain basic values, such as murder is evil..."

It is ironic, the man who sees fundamental conflict and fault lines everywhere misses the fact that people in all societies do *not* agree that murder is evil, not just because they do not agree about the definition of murder, but also because they do not agree whether evil exists. Most Koreans, I have found in my research, do not believe in "evil," though of course it is not that simple. The concept of evil is complex, as I (Alford, 1997) have argued in *What Evil Means to Us*, my study of Evil West, so to speak. What is missing in Korea is the sense of evil as a malevolent, marauding force in the heart of man and the cosmos.

Some anthropologists of evil—there is such a subfield—argue that every society has a concept of evil. Evil is a virtually universal category, but what they generally mean by "evil" is something very bad. Certainly Koreans possess terms for very bad. *Ak*, and *sa ak*, are among the strongest. What Koreans lack is a sense that all, or even most, very bad things possess something in common, what we would call "evil." If one were to translate *ak* as evil, then evil would become just a word, with nothing in common to link its objects, much as bad day, bad hair, bad dog, bad boy, and bad air lack a common denominator other than being bad.

What else is new, you might ask? Of course Korea lacks a western concept of evil, for Korea is east, and the east lacks the west's penchant for dualism. Ruth Benedict (1947, p. 190) made this point in 1947 in *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, her study of Japanese culture, and she was not the first. Evil is part of a whole set of Western distinctions, such as that between being and becoming, form and void, that has never been convincing to the East.

To "discover" that Koreans do not believe in evil is no discovery at all, if by the term discovery we mean the unearthing of something new. Still, it can be useful to question what seems so obvious. What, after all, does it mean to not believe in evil? Do people who do not believe in evil see the world through rose colored glasses? Or do they just refuse to do the addition, so to speak, refusing to assimilate bad Japanese, bad North Koreans, and bad morals to a single quality of extreme badness, what the west calls evil?

Common experiences using slightly different words is what I expected to find, based upon my preliminary interviews with a small number of Korean-Americans. In other words, I expected the Korean denial of evil to be relatively superficial, a nominalist defense against an essential experience. Push Koreans a little bit, and I would find many of the same elements of evil I found among the informants who contributed to *What Evil Means to Us*, above all a need to create malevolent enemies in order to contain and express feelings of doom and dread.

What I found was something vastly more complex, a world in which it hardly made sense to say that Koreans deny evil, as the term "deny" presumes an experience to be denied in the first place. Rather, Koreans organize experience in such a way that evil does not have the possibility of appearing, possibly not even as an experience.

Koreans believe they have a choice about concepts like evil, essentially dualistic concepts that divide the world in two. Whether the concept of evil, no matter how it is held, must invariably do this is another question. Many Koreans talk as if they and their culture have chosen to reject such concepts, because they are superficial, false, and destructive. This hatred of dualism is, of course, not without its own irony: Korea is home to the most heavily fortified border in the world.

One young Buddhist put it this way. "The West is infected with dualism. You Americans destroyed the Indians because of dualism. The West had two World Wars because of dualism. You are always finding and fighting an enemy." (All unattributed quotations, including this one, come from author interviews.)

"What about the Japanese occupation of Korea," I asked. "Wasn't that

dualism?"

He thought a moment. "No, the Japanese didn't want to fight us. They wanted to absorb us. It's just the opposite."

Not so different, perhaps, for the "absorbees," but that is not the point. The point is that it is possible to organize what seem to be very similar experiences, such as Western and Japanese colonialism, under vastly different categories, even apparently opposite ones.

A WORKING HYPOTHESIS

In order to get a grant to study something, it is necessary to pretend that one knows what one is actually setting out to discover. This pretense is known as a working hypothesis. My working hypothesis was that because Korea is such a religiously eclectic and syncretic society, individual Koreans would experience evil by sector, so to speak. Evil would be divided into different areas of life governed by different religious principles. About family relationships, most Koreans, not just Confucians, would define evil in Confucian terms, lack of filial piety and so forth. About metaphysical issues, most Koreans, not just Buddhists, would define evil in Buddhist terms, such as the ignorant clinging to things and people. About other matters, such as evil as the caprice of the world, most Koreans, not just shamanists, would define evil in shamanistic terms, illness and bad luck the result of not paying proper attention to the spirit world.

I did not confirm my working hypothesis, and I did not disconfirm it either, nor did it become irrelevant, just too categorical. I was made aware of this early in my research, when a Korean informant told the story of his brother's funerals. In the morning the family went to the Confucian shrine. Later two shamans came to the house to purify it. In the evening they all went to the Buddhist temple, so the monks might say prayers for his spirit. While spending a couple of days at home before returning, the informant noticed a pair of his underwear were missing. His mother had taken them to the shaman to be blessed. She was worried he was working too hard.

My working hypothesis was correct in so far as it suggests something of how the elements of the western concept of evil are redistributed in Korea, but it was incorrect in so far as it suggests the sectors have boundaries. It would be more accurate to say that about family relationships and evil, most Koreans draw upon Confucian, Buddhist, and shamanistic elements, and more besides, leading to a mix that is all of the above and then some. One can say the same

thing about the other sectors, nor does it make much difference what religion the informant belonged to. Koreans said remarkably similar things about evil, no matter what their religion, including Christianity.

MAPPING THE NON-EXISTENCE OF EVIL

What I was doing in my research, though I did not fully understand it until later, was mapping the non-existence of evil, discovering where, when, and why it disappeared. Mapping might evoke the image of tracing the Korean disbelief in evil to its source. The image is misleading, though some ways of thinking surely have more influence on the non-concept of evil than others. The Tao's insistence on anti-dualism, echoed in Buddhism and much else in Korean culture besides, is fundamental. To see the world in terms of "more than one, less than two" inhibits the development of the type of dualistic thinking that makes a sturdy concept of evil difficult, if not impossible.

While the Tao is important, and I shall return to it, it would be dubious to suggest that the influence is so direct. Non-dualism is not just or even primarily a philosophical commitment, but a personal one. One of my informants was a judge in a district court in Kyongsangnam-do, province. When asked whether he had ever confronted evil in his courtroom, he told a story.

"Several years ago a man was arrested for attacking his neighbor and breaking his nose. Two hours later, the victim persuaded his attacker, who was even more drunk than the victim, to box. Because the original victim had some experience as a boxer, he beat the man who broke his nose severely. The next day the boxer with the broken nose brought charges against his neighbor.

"When the two men came before the judge, only one was in handcuffs, but after hearing the story, the judge decided that both were guilty, and so arrested the plaintiff. Then he put both on probation."

It was, he said, his finest moment as a judge. He does not believe that he is a very good judge, but in this case he says he was brilliant, comparing himself to Solomon, a frequent image of wisdom among Koreans, especially Buddhists, at least when speaking with me. It is a western image of wisdom Koreans can appreciate.

In Korea the judge generally acts as jury. He must determine the facts as well as pass judgment. This judge is overwhelmed by the complexity of the cases that appear before him. Not only does he have difficulty determining the facts, but even when he knows what happened he generally does not know why, or who is really to blame. "Some people don't think, some are brought

up wrong. Even when you don't want to do something bad, fate takes over. You can't always help yourself."

I pursued the topic of evil with the judge, saying "You still have not answered my question. Has anyone ever appeared before you who you would call evil?"

Finally he got angry. "How could I call someone evil. I would have to know their whole life history, and if I did, then I would have to sentence them to death. What else could I do."

"A KOREAN SOLOMON WOULD HAVE MADE THE TWO WOMEN SISTERS"

The judge was interviewed with others present. He and they were students in an adult English language class with which I spent several days, transforming their classes into seminars on evil and their nights into informal discussions of evil at coffeehouses and restaurants. Captivated by the image of Solomon, another student recounted the story from the Old Testament of the Bible. "The western Solomon figured out which prostitute was lying by almost chopping the baby in half. Then he killed the pretended mother, giving the baby to its real mother. A Korean Solomon would have found a compromise. He would have made the two women sisters, so they could have cared for the child together. That's the difference between east and west."

Often we learn most from what is misremembered or misunderstood. The Biblical Solomon (1 Kings 3.16-28) does not kill the false mother, nor does he "almost" chop the baby in half; he only pretends, in order to discover the true mother, but the Korean woman who misremembers the story is making an important point about how she sees east and west. The west divides, chopping things and people, up. The east creates relationships modeled on the family. From her perspective, the Korean Solomon has not achieved a compromise. A compromise would be chopping the baby in half. The Korean Solomon has made the conflict disappear, by placing it within a relationship within which it can be resolved by the expectations inherent in traditional relationships such as older and younger sister.

Does the judge see so much complexity because he does not want to divide the people who come before him into good and evil, or does he not want to divide the people who come before him into good and evil, because he sees so much complexity? Both perhaps. Which came first seems impossible to determine. What is clear is that Koreans hate dualism, and it is this hatred that lies behind the reluctance to see evil—or rather, allot it a category of exis-

tence. This hatred of dualism is shared by most Koreans, though it finds its sharpest theoretical expression among Buddhists.

TAOISM IS THE BASIS OF ANTI-DUALISM

Sometimes it is argued that shamanism is the basis of Korean thought. A western missionary, Homer Hulbert, put it this way in 1906 in a contemporary guidebook to Korea.

As a general rule we may say that the all around Korean will be a Confucianist when in society, a Buddhist when he philosophizes, and a spirit worshiper (shamanist) when he is in trouble. Now when you want to know what a man's religion is, you must watch him when he is in trouble. It is for this reason that I conclude that the underlying religion of the Korean, the foundation upon which all else is mere superstructure, is his original spirit worship. (Tomasz, 1993, p. 51)

I would not want to practice a contemporary version of this arrogant insight, substituting Taoism for shamanism. (It is both, I believe), My point is, I hope, more subtle.

Most adult Koreans, according to newspaper surveys and my experience, visit fortune tellers, or send their wives on their behalf. Many visit a shaman. One Western lawyer who worked for many years in Seoul complains, "It's not unusual for me to do a lot of detailed work on a client proposal, and then have the client go and consult a fortune teller. He will always take the fortune-teller's advice over mine." (Clifford, 1994, p. 161) Certainly the living and dead keep company in Korea as they do not in the United States. This is the topic of Han Mahlsook's *Hymn of the Spirit* (1983), about a world in which the dead mingle with the living, and the different religions blend, frequently within the same person. Toward the end of my stay it no longer surprised me that a Buddhist would approach me, an American professor, at a Buddhist temple, asking for a recommendation for a sympathetic shaman. I had previously talked with her about my interviews with shamans and fortune tellers.

If Koreans are superstitious, it does not profoundly affect their views of evil. To be sure, many less educated, and not only less educated, talk about revenge from beyond the grave, but the model—the reasoning—is strictly human, the dead taking their revenge for much the same reason as the living do, but perhaps more effectively. It is easy to overestimate the importance of superstitious and spiritual beliefs, particularly in Korea where figures such as

the shaman are so dramatic. In many ways the Korean view of *qui-shin*, ghosts of the departed who remain in this world to trouble their relatives and enemies, is less superstitious, or at least requires less of an act of spiritual and metaphysical imagination and faith, than belief in an omniscient and omnipotent God. Certainly these *qui-shin* operate according to principles that are virtually human, denizens of a world that mirrors our own. The world of the supernatural is not a higher or lower universe, but a parallel one, where almost every aspect of human relationships is faithfully reflected.

One wants to say that it is not shamanism but Taoism that most profoundly affects the Korean view or non-view of evil. Only putting it this way would ignore the origins of Taoism in shamanism. Consider, for example, the *Ch'u-tz'u* (*Songs of the Land of Ch'u*), written over three-thousand years ago. It would be more accurate to state that the Korean view of evil is most profoundly affected by a type of philosophical shamanism captured by the *Tao Te Ching*, and *Chuang Tzu*, in which oneness, or at least "not two-ness" is the highest value.

Though it is perhaps tendentious to distinguish between Taoism and philosophical shamanism, it is useful insofar as it recalls the connection between the shamanism of everyday Korean life and the more abstract teachings of the Tao. Because shamanism is so sensational, because a visit to the colorful shaman is on the agenda of every tour group, it is easy to miss the more subtle but important point. While stories of *qui-shin* and the shaman, who speaks in their voice, are dramatic, it is actually the more subtle and abstract teachings of the Tao that influence everyday views of evil in Korea. In shamanism, the spirits inhabit a world remarkably porous to our own, the dead going back and forth between them. The world of everyday life and the spirit world are not one, but neither are they two. The Taoist term "not two" comes closest to the mark. It is this view of "not two," rendered abstract, transformed into a worldview not a superstition, that best explains, at least in so far as the best explanation is most general, the Korean non-view of evil.

In the west, the model of birth and creativity is dualistic, God working on formless matter to create the world. In this dualistic model there is a place for evil, perhaps even a necessity for it: it is one of the oppositions that must be overcome. Only through the conflict of good and evil is progress possible. In the East, the model of birth and creativity is singular, though even that way of putting it is not quite right, as it assumes a dual against which singular takes its meaning. The model is the Tao, a oneness that has the quality of nothingness, is so far as it is so vast and capacious it has room for all things without opposition. The Tao says simply "the great fashioner does no splitting." (*Tao*

Te Ching, no. 28).

From this perspective, creation comes not from conflict, but from the creation of unities out of dualities, unities being understood not so much as fusion as "more than one, less than two." In creating unities out of conflict, one is coming closer to the original simplicity of nature. This is what the Korean Solomon would do, transform two women fighting over a single child into sisters. It is this ideal that the Korean judge tries to uphold, finding guilt where there is innocence, and vice-versa. Not in order to reverse dualities, creating new polarities. That would be the ideal of the Western dialectic, each apparent synthesis the motive for a new conflict. But in order to find the underlying natural unity behind the apparent opposition.

Here, the Korean says, is real creativity, finding a natural harmony out of apparent conflict. Creativity means to restore the oneness, the less than twoness, of nature, or as Confucius, influenced more than a little by Taoism, says "Men are close to one another by nature. It is by practice they become far apart." (*Analects*, 17.2) The judge, finding a deeper unity in two men's conflict, means to restore something of man's original nature.

RESEARCH APPENDIX

Rather than go into detail regarding questions and subjects, I seek here only to convey the flavor of my research. Interested readers may write me regarding details (falford@bss2.umd.edu).

I spoke with over two hundred Koreans from all walks of life. Some interviews lasted as little as twenty minutes. A number took over three hours. In several dozen cases I interviewed the subject a second and third time. Most were interviewed individually, but a number in groups.

The Koreans interviewed were about as religiously diverse as the population. While the Koreans interviewed were younger and better educated than the population as a whole, special efforts were made to interview older and less educated Koreans. The following is a list of my recruitment strategies:

1. Visiting restaurants in the middle of the afternoon, when staff was not so busy, to talk with older, generally less educated women.
2. Visiting coffeehouses in the evening and talking with patrons
3. "Evil dinners" were held, in which I invited a group of Koreans to drinks and dinner to talk about evil. I paid and they talked.
4. Handbills were posted at several universities, inviting students to talk about evil. My sponsors doubted if any would respond. "Koreans do not do

things that way," said one. In fact, a number responded.

5. Pagoda (T'apkol) Park in Seoul is a favorite place for older men to spend their days. Many were eager to talk at length.

6. Taxi drivers were interviewed. This is the only group that was sometimes paid, as the driver ran his, or occasionally her, meter as we talked.

7. Several teachers at English language institutes (*hagwŏn*) allowed their adult upper-level classes to become seminars on evil. Students had a chance to practice their English, and the researcher learned much.

8. One hundred fifty students from Hankuk University of Foreign Studies wrote essays on evil. Koreans are often more self-revealing in writing than in conversation. In addition, each was interviewed, generally in a group of about 15.

9. I visited a dozen different classes at three universities, one outside Seoul, talking with the students. Several students called me later, and we met and talked further.

10. Several shamans, a dozen blind fortune tellers, and other "scientists of divination" were interviewed, most at length.

11. Special efforts were made to interview Buddhist monks, Confucian scholars, Christian ministers and Catholic priests. Almost two dozen were interviewed. One priest talked about confessions he had heard, in general terms of course, a mode of access to guilty feelings about evil thoughts and deeds that would otherwise be unavailable.

12. Several dozen professionals and experts in relevant fields, such as psychiatrists, philosophers, sociologists, were interviewed.

My Korean is far from fluent, and I could not conduct interviews in it without the assistance of a translator. I had the same translator throughout my research project. We spent hundreds of hours working together, at least as many before and after interviews as during, trying to organize and make sense of the responses.

Many Koreans, particularly students and professionals, speak excellent English, and in these cases I conducted the interviews in English. In most cases my translator attended these interviews as well, partly in order to help with difficult words, partly in order to keep current with my work, and partly so she could tell me if I was hearing different things in English than in Korean.

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Yang Guy-ja and Shin Kyoung-suuk: Two Contrasting Women's Voices in Korean Literature Today

Ji-moon Suh

Protest against the lot assigned to women alternated with mournful brooding over it in Korean women's literature since the beginning of "modern" literature in Korea early in the twentieth century.

The first generation of Korean women writers were brave "new" women, who dared to defy the iron rules of Confucian decorum and come before the public. They tried not only to emancipate themselves but to help their oppressed sisters find liberation and selfhood. Na Hye-sök, Kim Myöng-sun, and Kang Kyöng-ae were among these true pioneers and subversives.

The fate of Na Hye-sök (1896-1946?) explains the circumspection of the next two or three generations of Korean women writers. Primarily a painter, Na wrote short stories in her early twenties calling on Korean women to realize the indignity of their oppressed status and to seek human dignity and self-fulfillment through a hard-working, self-determining life.

She became more famous, however, for her alleged sexual license than as a painter or writer. Her diary shows that up to her late thirties she tried hard to remain loyal to her wifely and maternal roles in spite of the many humiliations and frustrations of an unhappy marriage. It is hard to tell what the nature and extent of her "free love" was, but she came to be known as a shameless voluptuary who used her artistic pretensions as an excuse for sexual abandon. She is believed to have died on the street, a destitute beggar. Her tragic life and death made her name a stern warning to young women with literary or artistic aspirations. "Do you want to become another Na Hye-sök?" was a frequent reprimand to daughters and younger sisters.

For a woman to become a writer required tremendous courage, and to

survive as one required careful strategies. One such strategy was to limit oneself to “feminine” subjects and viewpoints while making only occasional forays into the “masculine” domain of political and ideological spheres. Not that the “feminine” subjects did not provide women writers with ample material. Korean women in the turbulent period of consecutive national disasters and rapid social restructuring needed spokeswomen for their trials and sufferings, and women writers supplied this need. More importantly, even though women writers refrained from making overt protests, their precise delineation of the lives of women in their familial and communal relationships contained tacit reproaches against the social system that heaps so many wrongs and injustices on women. Ch’oe Chŏng-hŭi, Son So-hi, Im Ok-in and many other women writers won recognition as forceful writers and yet avoided social ostracism by making covert, rather than overt, protests.

There were, however, certain women writers who could not and would not disguise their fury and who produced works that jeopardized their “respectability” and “charm” in the public eye. Pak Kyŏng-li (b. 1927) always confronted the cruelties of life unflinchingly. She started out as a poet but soon turned to prose fiction, and produced works bearing the imprint of her boldness and penetration. In the late sixties, she began the historical saga *Toji*, or *The Land*. This sixteen-volume river novel is a chronicle of a whole nation caught in the whirlwind of violent historical transitions. This monumental work has won this dedicated author the grateful respect of the whole nation.

A writer also in her sixties but regarded as more of a contemporary on account of her late debut is Park Wan-sŏ (b. 1931). She exposes human selfishness, hypocrisy, and cruelty so relentlessly that she has been compared to an entomologist dissecting insects under a microscope. Treating mainly contemporary subjects, hers was one of the voices that kept alive the spirit of resistance against the tyranny of power and oppression of convention during the dark years of military dictatorship. She has made up for her late debut with notable productivity—about three volumes of novels and short stories per year on average.

Standing on the shoulders of their literary mothers and elder sisters, the women writers who have emerged in the past two decades have been able to write on the subjects of their choice in the manner they wanted to. They neither limited themselves to feminine subjects, nor did they avoid them. They seem to be writing only to give voice to their vision. Because they have been able to express themselves freely, they have enriched and invigorated Korean literature incalculably. Whereas Korean male writers tend to be overly serious and somber, women writers brought technical versatility, playful humor, lyri-

cism, fantasy, and psychological penetration. They, more than their contemporary male writers, are responsible for creating the fertile literary soil that is nurturing so many interesting and important works.

In this paper I will look at two women writers who have risen to prominence since the 1980s. They present an interesting contrast in their attitudes toward the lot of women. Even though Yang Guy-ja and Shin Kyoung-suuk both have keen insights into the causes of women's suffering, their attitudes toward the status of women and the feminine psyche are very different. Yang Guy-ja is as socially concerned a writer as any male writer claiming to be the "conscience of the age"; Shin Kyoung-suuk, in contrast, is almost exclusively preoccupied with the internal landscape of the feminine mind and heart.

The fact that Yang Guy-ja has won many literary prizes and abundant critical attention is no surprise to anyone. That Shin Kyoung-suuk's purely "personal" stories are not only popular but winning literary prizes and receiving critical applause, on the other hand, may be something of a surprise to those who know the Korean literary climate. It seems an indication that Korean literary critics are now ready to "enjoy" literature, and to be a little less insistent that literature be the sentinel of social justice. The end of the long military rule brought more than political liberation.

Yang Guy-ja (b. 1955) made an early debut and has been producing works of courageous and forceful social criticism for two decades now. In the dark eighties torn by the Kwangju massacre and the slaughter of student dissidents, Yang Guy-ja's themes were the same as most serious writers of the day: the persecution fears of powerless citizens, the economic injustices that keep the poor entrapped in poverty while giving the rich unearned millions, the compromises with conscience demanded by survival needs, and so on. Her stories, therefore, were not especially "feminine," except for the greater fullness of humanity of her characters and greater concreteness of action and dialogue.

"Wönmidong Dwellers" (1987), her second collection of short stories, is based on her experience of life with her neighbors in the cheap housing district of Puchön, a satellite city of Seoul. The stories present a total picture of the social, economic, and psychological lives of "small citizens" in an era which ignored their existence.

In the opening story of the collection, a young head of a family, tired of eviction notices and soaring "key money" for rent in Seoul, moves to a cheap apartment in Puchön with his family of mother, pregnant wife and small daughter. His mother offers grateful prayers to the Lord for enabling them to find their "Canaan" at long last, and his pregnant wife, hunched up among

their furniture and belongings in the freight section of the moving van, extracts a glimmer of hope in the fact that Puchŏn is adjacent to Sosa, renowned for peaches, the fruit that in Chinese mythology is said to grow in the Elysian fields.

Their humble apartment is located on the Main Street of Puchŏn, together with a tiny "supermarket," an electric appliance repair and retail shop, a photo studio doubling as a DP&E shop, a small patch of field cultivated by a stubborn old man using night soil, a hairdressing salon, and a "ginseng tea" room run by a tired woman who used to be a prostitute. The owners of these modest shops and properties, plus some unpropertied citizens, are his neighbors. As neighbors they have petty conflicts of interest, causes for mutual distrust and resentment, but also occasions for finding unexpected decency, even nobility, in each other.

In "I Go to Karibongdong on Rainy Days," the family's "new" apartment begins to leak, and an amateur tile-and-plumbing worker comes to redo the bathroom. At first, the family is fearful that the "summertime" plumber may be fleecing them and also may lack the skill to do the job properly. While the plumber exerts himself physically, the couple undergoes mental agonies. At last the plumber finishes the job at sundown and fixes the leaky spot in their roof as a "service," and asks for about a third of the agreed-upon fee, saying that the job turned out to be much smaller than expected. Thus, it is the poorer and more ignorant person who proves to be the more generous and honest. While treating him to liquor afterwards, the husband learns that the coal briquet retailer doubling as a plumber in the summer lives in a one-room basement tenement with his wife and four children and that on rainy days he goes to Karibongdong to demand money from his ex-neighbor and client who moved out of the neighborhood without paying him a cent of the 800,000 won in credit owed to him. The client opened a new and larger factory in the new neighborhood and is apparently doing a thriving business, but continues to put off paying his penurious creditor on one pretext or another.

A serious and talented writer from the beginning, Yang Guy-ja kept maturing, and her touch has become surer and her compassion deeper with the years. Her 1989 story, "Sorrow Is Sometimes an Asset," is to my mind the best story based on the "Chŏngyojo" (the nationwide labor union of Korean schoolteachers, who are prohibited by law to form or join labor unions) situation. In this story Yang Guy-ja focuses on the pains of the teachers who were dismissed, as well as the inner conflicts of the former union members who left the union to keep their jobs, and the atmosphere of terror surrounding everyone suspected of unionist sympathies, rather than on the brutal and insidious

government persecution itself.

Yang Guy-ja's ultra-feminist novel *I Desire What Is Forbidden to Me* exploded on the literary scene in 1992 with the force of a bombshell. The novel is based on a somewhat implausible but compelling premise: a young telephone counsellor becomes thoroughly disgusted with all the abused wives who pour out complaints and self-pity on the phone but take no action to amend their lot and instead simply wait for their husbands to reform, as if by some magic. Out of fury and frustration she decides to prove to all women that there is no such loving, caring man as they dream of who can give meaning and fulfillment to their lives. To this end, the heroine, Minju (a plausible enough feminine name, but also a homonym for "democracy"), kidnaps the most popular actor of the day, a man whose gentle, caring look and affectionate smile make all women yearn for such a mate. Her aim is not to make him her sexual toy but to wait and see how he degenerates in confinement, when deprived of all ego props, and to expose his "real" face to all the women for whom he is a symbol and a promise.

Unconvincing as it may sound, the abduction is carried out rather plausibly in the novel. The heroine, hardened by her father's brutal abuse of her mother and empowered by the very substantial wealth her abused-wife-turned-illegal-money-dealer mother left her, plots the abduction thoroughly, with the help of a gangster who owes her eternal loyalty on account of the favors his family received from her mother and who worships her into the bargain.

Contrary to her expectations, the actor does not degenerate shamefully nor do the mass media hullabaloo and the police investigation into his past for clues bring to light hidden scandals or misdeeds. Meanwhile, the militant heroine "tames" her helpless captive with sticks and carrots:

"... Won't you give me a hint of the exposures [of your hidden past] to come? I think it might be more piquant to hear it from your own lips."

"Please leave me alone. I'd rather watch this trash of a movie than talk to you."

The "trash of a movie" is of course a reference to one of the videotapes I brought him yesterday. I begin to feel more interest in my prey. He is drawing me into a conversation while asking me to leave him alone. That is a sign of change. Paek Sung-ha. He is slowly slipping deeper into my trap.

"Oh, I see you have already played all seven tapes."

He just tossed back his hair once and kept staring at the TV screen, without the least sign of heeding my comment. His handsome profile and the aura of seriousness that surrounds him even in his casual posture form a pleasant tableau. I watch him with the relish of a tycoon enjoying an expensive painting. . . . Actresses sell themselves to millionaires for big cheques. It should be the

same with an actor. Why not? . . .

I can make him do it. I can make him do anything. Whatever it is. I talk to the living object of art that I purchased with my time, money, and effort:

"Well, if such movies suit your taste, I can buy you more, any number of them."

"Don't talk about movies in that way."

His tone was fierce. He looked as if I'd splashed him with dishwater.

"Aren't you an actor, who sells his looks and smiles for big bucks?"

"Don't think I'd put up with insults on movies. Don't think that because I'm your captive you can profane my art as well. Movies have been my whole life. I've never been ashamed of being an actor. Never."

I like words that carry conviction. Regardless of what conviction. I decide to respect his conviction. He is my captive, but even captives are entitled to their convictions. I prefer my captive to have convictions of his own. So I say without sarcasm:

"All right. I admit that I spoke rudely about your art."

"Thank you."

He smiled faintly, the very first hint of a smile since his captivity. His first smile. That means he's beginning to be tamed.

"If you're thinking of buying more tapes," he erased the screen with a touch of the remote control and went on, "could you get me tapes of Ilmaz Guini's movies? I suppose you know Ilmaz Guini, the renowned Turkish director? I hope you can get *Yol*, or *Sheep*, or *The Wall*."

He shifted his posture to lean on the wall and enumerated the names of films directed by Guini. *Even a Bullet Can't Pierce Me*, *Hungry Wolves*, *The Fugitives*, *Pain*, *Enemy*, *Friend*, *Tomorrow Is the Last Day*, *Anxiety*, *Hope*

The names of the movies were inscribed on my heart one by one as he said them. *Even a bullet can't pierce me*. *Enemy*. *Friend*. *Anxiety*. *Hope*. . .

When the heroine sends a message to the press explaining her motive for abducting him, the polls show that seventy per cent of the public support her "experiment." The plot takes several unpredictable turns, until the heroine is slain by her accomplice only minutes before her capture by the police. The book's final message is not a call for militant struggle but for reconciliation. However, the book, which the author says burst out of her head in such torrents that her typing fingers were hardly able to keep up with it, develops with such vigor and urgency that it seems only natural that its author came to be regarded an arch-feminist.

The novel became a great hit, selling half a million copies in a country of 40 million people. The author thereafter tried rather to live down that success by diversifying her themes, which she was well able to do as she has broad

knowledge of and close acquaintance with so many occupations, crafts, and types of human beings. She even wrote a sentimental love story featuring ghosts and supernatural interventions, which was a phenomenal success both as a novel and later as a movie. At the moment she is gathering her strength for another major work. Korean readers have great expectations of this author who has already given them so much edification and enjoyment.

Shin Kyoung-suuk (b. 1963), in contrast, began with "feminine" subjects and stayed with them. It is no exaggeration to say that Shin reinstated the romantic love story as a legitimate branch of literature. A typical Shin Kyoung-suuk character is a woman aching from the memory of a loss of, or longing for, someone out of her reach, or about to make a renunciation. The impending or remembered loss has more power over her than the actual reality surrounding her. Social and political realities sometimes impinge on the lives of Shin's characters, in the form of a brother evading police arrest or returned as ashes after being forcibly drafted into the army. Shin, however, simply notes the loss and pain, rather than making political points. The pervasive atmosphere, then, is resignation and the will to aestheticize suffering.

Shin Kyoung-suuk, therefore, could easily have been an anachronism in this age of militant feminism and political consciousness, but her very passivity and resignation, aided by her lyricism and tenderness, secured her a place in the hearts of readers. Even though as male-centered as any culture in the world, Koreans have long had a special empathy for feminine suffering as portrayed in literature. In the figure of an abandoned, neglected, and forgotten woman Koreans saw emblemized all the wrongs and mortifications they suffered at the hands of Fate and history. Shin shows women accepting their lot without protest and almost defining themselves by their suffering. It must be reassuring for men to think that there are (still) women who accept their desertion without protest. Even more significantly, male readers seem to identify with her women, and find something peculiarly soothing in their complete passivity. It is a relief for readers not to be urged to take up arms against political abuse and social injustice, which was the message of the socially conscious writers for over three decades or more. And Shin Kyoung-suuk's lyrical prose is an enchantment after so much harsh rhythm and raw indignation of protest literature.

In her first short story collection, *A Winter Fable* (1990), the author is very much bound to her childhood and hometown. More than half of the stories in the collection have central characters who are suffering as a result of tragedy in the family. The tragedy that traumatizes and disrupts the families is most often the death of a son who was full of promise. It could also be the dis-

appearance of a son, or the elopement of a daughter, or it may take the form of an auto accident that cripples the father and turns him from an affectionate head of the family into an insanely jealous husband. The focus of these stories is the effect of these tragic incidents on the remaining family members, and the guilt and pain suffered by the daughter (girls on the verge of womanhood) on account of the devastated parents. The hopelessness of a daughter ever replacing the son is underlined again and again. Having strong attachments and fearing rejection, the daughters suffer terribly. For the readers, the evocative country scene into which the pains are interwoven, and all the daily household chores in a farmhouse, so lovingly carried out or remembered, give the suffering a dream-like quality and imbue it with poetry.

In all of her stories, the present and the past, often in many layers, constantly intersect. The present and the past complement each other. The present fears of rejection, for example, are made sharper by the memory of a rejection in the past. A facial expression of a friend or a lover recalls a similar expression once glimpsed on a parent or a childhood sweetheart. Thus, there is a strong sense that life is repetitive, that all of us are on a wheel that keeps inexorably spinning.

Her second collection, entitled *Where the Organ Used to Stand* (1993), shows that the author had matured remarkably in just three years. Her range and subject matter have grown much broader. Her verbal magic and her eye for poignant details have grown even finer. The scenes from her childhood in the country continue to give her stories lyricism and charm as well as rich pathos. Most importantly, her characters are much more diverse, and though still not masters or mistresses of their own destinies, at least have more force of character. Lastly, though not yet a political or sociological writer, Shin exhibits a much greater political and social awareness.

"Women Playing Shuttlecock" is an indictment of male sexual violence in effect if not in intention. A woman working at a florist's falls in love with a photojournalist who came to her shop to take pictures of African violets for the women's magazine he was working for. She had not taken much notice of him initially but she falls for him hopelessly when, chancing to meet her a year later, he casually drops a flirtatious compliment about her beautiful eyelashes. After trying in vain to drive him out of her mind, she dials the journalist's office and ends up inviting his office mate, who answered the phone, to join her at a coffeeshop. The man, finding out that she didn't call him out to make love to him, drags her down to the basement of the building and brutally rapes her. The rape she suffers is emblematic of what happens to a woman in a male-dominated society when she cannot ignore men's casual passes and has

an imperfect control over her sexual urge.

In "Where the Organ Used to Stand," the heroine is in love with a married man. In her letter to him she cites, as the reason for her refusal to flee with him abroad, her memory of her father's mistress who came to her house to supplant her mother and thoroughly enchanted her with her beauty of face, words, and heart. But the woman left after ten days, after the children's mother came for a visit, not to drive her out or to confront her but just to give her breast to the baby:

It was not that Mother said any rough words to her. Mother just took the baby down from the woman's back. Was Mother tired of staying away? Or was it her way of enduring? Mother gave her breast to the baby without saying a word. Mother's breasts were swollen fearfully, and blue veins throbbed on them. After the baby suckled the breasts for a while the veins subsided. In the spring sun mother silently suckled the baby and the woman just stood on the veranda looking down at the yard. Then Mother wrapped the sleeping baby in the quilt, put it down on the wooden floor of the veranda, and came down to the dirt floor where I was squatting. I might have been holding in my hand a piece of the rice cake the woman baked for us. Tears fill my eyes as I recall that moment. Mother undid the buttons of my jacket that were buttoned wrong, buttoned them up right, shook out the earth in my rubber shoes lying nearby, gazed into my eyes for a moment, and went away. In all, she stayed less than half an hour.

But the woman left us the next day. Before leaving, she swept the yards clean, even the back yard. I was wearing a necklace of peach blossoms. She pulled me aside and said, "Lunch is on a tray in the room. The baby has just fallen asleep. Change his diaper when he wakes up. And if your father looks for me, just tell him you don't know when I left. You understand?"

The little girl runs after the woman, to give her back her toothbrush, and the woman tells the girl through her tears, "Don't become like me when you grow up."

Since the stories in her second collection were more solid in structure, more haunting and poignant in atmosphere, and had better-defined characters, it was impossible not to be disappointed by her first full-length novel, *Deep Sorrow* (1994), a two-volume meditation on the perversity of fate that seems to find amusement in frustrating and torturing men and women. The resignation and helpless woes of the heroine of *Deep Sorrow* presents a glaring contrast to the militant feminism and defiant determination of Yang Guy-ja's heroine in *I Desire What Is Forbidden to Me*. Ünsö, the heroine of *Deep Sorrow*, is a woman who regards love as something that is beyond the human

power of resistance. She suffers from her unrequited love for Wan, a childhood pal who used to love her but has come to take her for granted and is pursuing an older woman who could give him a big career break. She is in turn loved by Se, another childhood pal who pines for her in much the same way she pines for Wan. Because she is a helpless thrall to her love, she lets herself be used by Wan for diversion and doesn't even reproach him for his treachery and cruelty. Se, in turn, yearns for her so much that he willingly offers himself as a solace to Ŭnsŏ in her loneliness and pain. After Wan contracts a marriage of convenience with his female boss, Ŭnsŏ and Se marry. Ŭnsŏ continues to pine for Wan even after her marriage to Se, but the situation begins to change when Wan realizes that he still loves Ŭnsŏ and frantically tries to draw her into an adulterous relationship with him. Ŭnsŏ on her part comes to appreciate the devotion and loyalty of Se and grows to love him just at the moment when Se begins to tire of his mortifying position and turns his attention elsewhere. The end is disaster and suffering for all three main characters and most of the secondary characters. The utter passivity of the heroine is frustrating, and the lack of authorial moral judgment on the two male characters who destroy the heroine with their love and betrayal is disturbing, even though they are familiar aspects of Shin's works. One expects more moral sinew and fiber in a novel, and some willpower and autonomy in its heroine, even in the work of a writer who tends to look upon human beings as puppets at the mercy of outward accidents and inner impulses. The novel, however, is worth reading for the many embedded stories, and the beautiful, lyrical prose. It was a phenomenal commercial success.

After her novel it was not clear where she would go next, and there was some misgiving that she might become repetitive. Soon after the novel came out, however, the author surprised the world in 1994 with the first installment of her autobiographical novel, *A Desolate Room*, which contained the revelation that she had been a factory girl. Shin Kyoung-suuk is the last woman one would associate with factory work. It is impossible to imagine a person so close to the earth and with such delicate sensibilities chained to a machine. It turns out, nonetheless, that Shin had been a factory worker for three years, and her autobiographical novel gives an honest first-hand report of the life of a factory worker, something which many Koreans ardently yearned to have.

The author says that the reason she has not treated that period of her life in her fiction was not shame but fear—fear of reopening the wound, fear that the pain would engulf and paralyze her. The pain comes through vividly, but Shin as an author shows restraint and control, so the story is not a gloomy tale of woe but one of endurance.

The shorter works that have come out since show that Shin's power to recreate emotions, both delicate and intense, and the beauty of her haunting prose are undiminished.

Modernization throes and the long political uncertainties and oppression have put pressure on Koreans to be on the alert against injustices and wrongs, to be politically and socially awake. Such an attitude, however, is antipathetic to the basic character of Koreans. Shin Kyoung-suuk, having no political or social agenda, perceiving history and political reality purely as a form of personal pain, and submitting to that pain with such throbbing sensitivity, made it impossible for Koreans not to fall in love with her. For now, nobody wants her to be any different. Being only 35, however, she will have to develop and expand as a writer. There is no doubt that she will, with the help of her honesty, keen insight, consummate artistry and remarkable intelligence which are evident in all of her stories.

It has taken almost a century for women writers to secure the freedom to write just as their hearts and minds dictate. Utilizing their hard-earned freedom, women writers are raising Korean literature to new heights, injecting charm and warmth and reinforcing seriousness and power.

The Great Tumulus of Whangnam

Kim, Young-Duk

The sight of grand tumuli or old tombs in Kyungju City produces strong impressions on viewers. Some are struck by the enormity of the tombs, some by the gentle round shape, and some by the mysteries related to the identity of buried kings or queens and the origins of the so called stone-pile, wooden-chamber structure of the tombs. It was exciting, therefore, that excavation began of the biggest twin tumulus, the great tumulus of Whangnam, on July 6, 1973 in the hope of unravelling the secrets of the tumuli. KBS, the Korean Broadcasting Station, produced a video telling about the excavation as one of its ten projects on the traditional cultural heritage of Korea. In the following I will try to recapture and summarize the story as depicted in the video.

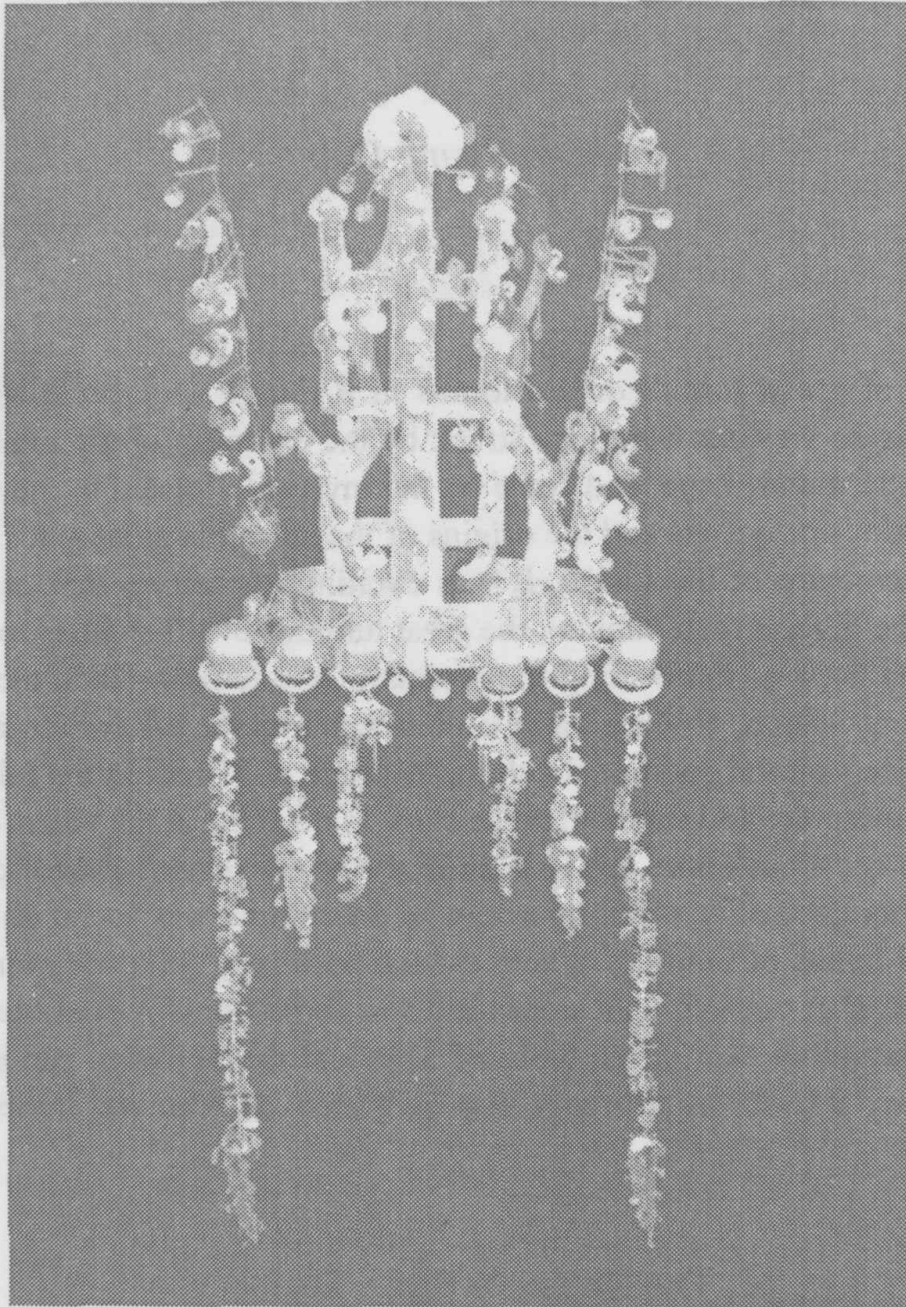
Three questions come up: 1) Why is it that the famous golden crown of Silla with its decorative motif of trees and deer horns was found only in the early royal tombs of Silla? 2) Where did the peculiarly Silla style tombs of a wooden chamber covered with stones and soil come from? A possible relation between the ruling clan of the Kims of Silla and the Scythean people of the sixth century B.C. Eurasian steppe was suggested. 3) Who was buried in this great tomb?

THE ORIGIN OF SILLA TUMULI

There is a great tumulus park with about ten tumuli in the middle of Kyungju city, the capital of the Silla kingdom for a thousand years. Nothing is known about the buried kings or the dates of burial. One of the ten tumuli in the park is called the great Whangnam tumulus and is the biggest there. It is topped by a double mound.

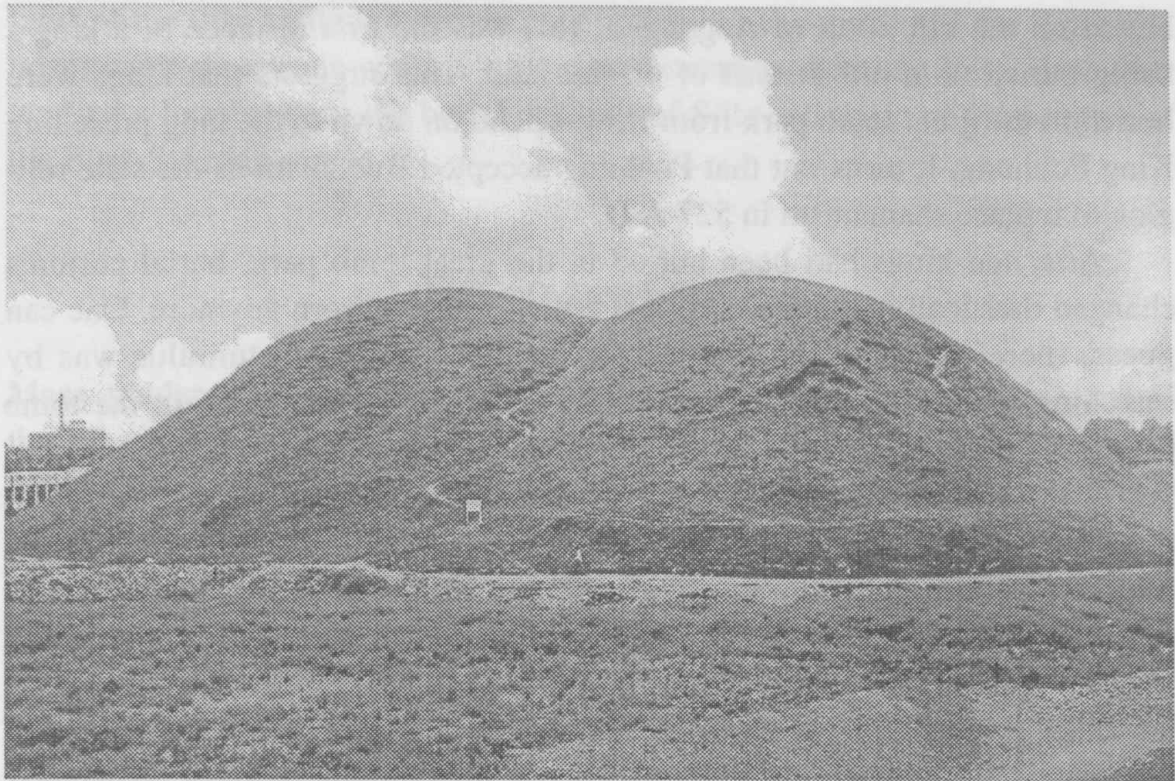
In around the fourth or fifth century when the great tumulus of Whang-

nam was built, the typical Paekche royal tomb style was a stone pyramid. Paekche tombs along the Han River in the Seoul area were built in a pyramid style, a style similar to Koguryo tombs with three layers of stacked cut stone.



Silla Gold Crown

The structure of Silla tumuli was quite different. Silla tombs had a wooden chamber in the center of each in which there was a wooden coffin, while the floor was covered with stones. Stones were piled on and around the chamber, and finally it was covered with soil to make a rounded mound. The Whangnam great tumulus was formed by a pair of such tombs joined together.



Ancient royal tomb in Kyungju

The central burial chamber in the southern tomb had a wooden chamber holding accessories for after-life necessities.

The differences in tomb styles among the three kingdoms suggests the rulers of these kingdoms had distinct cultural traditions. The excavation at the Whangnam tumulus confirmed this. The northern part of the tumulus turned out to be a queen's as indicated by retrieved artifacts such as a belt with an inscription "lady's belt", rings, and numerous other ornamental artifacts. The southern part of the tumulus belonged to a king, and contained relics of weapons, a sword with a ring fitting, and silver and gold crowns. Even bone fragments were found indicating the age of the king to have been about sixty. More surprising was the finding of bone fragments belonging to a fifteen year old girl, who was buried to serve as an after-life attendant. This confirmed the writings in the Three Kingdoms Chronicles about the custom of sacrificial burial.

Who could the king, buried in the Whangnam tumulus with so many splendid golden artifacts, be? To find out who the king buried in that great tomb was, we checked the *Samguk-sagi* or Three Kingdoms Chronicles. It recorded that in October of the twenty-third year of his reign, King Michu passed away and was buried in the great tomb park area. He is known to have been the first king to be buried there. According to the Chronicles, King Pobhung passed away in July of the twenty-seventh year of his reign and was

buried on the hill north of Aegongsa. This was the first instance of a king's being buried on a hill instead of on flat land. This suggests that kings were buried in the great tomb park from King Michu on down to the king preceding King Pobhung. It turns out that Pobhung accepted Buddhism as the state religion to replace shamanism in 527 A.D.

After ten kings had been buried in the great tomb park, burial customs changed drastically, and the traditional crown was not worn anymore. One can guess, therefore, who the king buried in the Whangnam tumulus was by searching for a king who had reason to build the biggest tomb in the tomb park. Around the beginning of the Christian era, the Park clan settled in Sorabul, or the land of Silla, to rule, but soon another clan, the Suk clan, moved in from the sea to overpower the Park clan. Next the Kim clan emerged as the rulers in the middle of the third century, and King Michu was the first ruler from the Kim clan. The Suk clan reclaimed power for a while after King Michu's reign only to yield to the Kims once more. Where did the Kim clan, as the victor among the three clans, come from? A legend says that the founder of the Kim clan originated in the Kyerim forest in Kyungju, where a golden box came down from heaven to a tree in the forest. It contained a baby who grew to become the founder, Kim Alchi, of the Kim or golded clan of Silla.

Now we look for archeological findings in another area to trace the origin of the Kim clan as well as the origin of the tomb culture. On Ukok Plateau, (7,500 feet alt.) in the Altai region of Russia close to the Chinese border between Mongolia in the east and Kazakstan in the west, an excavation team dug up a kurgan or burial mound which was 2,400 years old and unlooted. There they found the mummified body of a lady in a log coffin. She had tattoos of deer on her wrist and shoulder and her head faced east. What interests us most is the structure of the kurgan. Inside it a log funerary chamber was buried under a stone pile, and a log coffin was found in the chamber with food and other artifacts in vessels while horses in splendid trappings were found against the north wall of the chamber. This appeared quite similar to the structure of the early Silla tomb. In this and other kurgans there were abundant artifacts made of gold and with animal motifs.

Many tribes arose on the Eurasian steppe in ancient times. They created a Scytho-Siberian culture throughout the steppes. Scythians were depicted by the Greek historian Herodotus as a powerful semi-nomadic people who lived north of the Black Sea between 800 and 100 B.C. and shared with people in other parts of the steppe a uniform artistic style dominated by animal motifs, a love of horses, and burial customs. The steppes are, however, so vast, more than 3,000 miles from the Black Sea to the Great Wall of China, that the cul-

tures of the tribes within a certain area probably overlapped and the Scythians never came directly in contact with other horsemen from the East. Here then we find a link between the burial customs of Silla and those of the peoples of the Euro-Siberian steppe.

THE GOLDEN CROWN

Many golden artifacts were found in both the northern and southern parts of the Whangnam tomb. In the northern coffin alone more than 3.75 kilograms of golden artifacts were found. These artifacts display the highest level of aesthetic achievement. The excavation was initially made on the northern part of the tomb. It yielded the most splendid gold crown, in fact not only a gold crown but also a large quantity of gold and silver artifacts. These included eleven bracelets, twelve rings, earrings, a belt, silver vessels, and silver cups with various animal motifs. The gold bracelets were made of two layers of gold plate with jewels embedded in them. Several pieces of glassware in various colors and designs were also found.

The excavation of the southern part of the tumulus took two years beginning in 1973, and many gold artifacts were found there also, including weapons, especially a sword with a ring fitting on the handle. A gold crown was also found there. These gold crowns were adorned with three or four trees and several deer horns, which were in turn adorned with comma shaped jade pendants and gold flakes.

What could these adornments symbolize? Why did the royal Kim clan adopt these symbols? The symbol of tree and deer horn, surprisingly, is linked with the shamanism practiced throughout Siberia. In their rituals Siberian shamans made use of sacred trees. It was believed that the soul of a shaman could reach heaven by climbing a tree and then reach back to earth through a tree, and thus serve as an intermediary for men between heaven and earth. Thus a shaman can heal a sick man, prophesy his future, and perform rituals such as rain making. Their songs, dances, drums, and costumes all reflected these roles in a symbolic manner. Many of these shamans on the Eurasian steppe wore headgear adorned with deer horns.

What is the symbolic significance of a deer horn? On the Eurasian steppe deer were considered very precious and even holy from time immemorial since deer were important sources of food and had many other uses, so deer were not only hunted but also revered. These beliefs were reflected in the dress of shamans who wore headgear adorned with deer horn symbols as seen

in some on display at the Krisnoyask Museum or others in documentary films of Siberian shamans. Deer horn tatoos were also found on the shoulder of a shaman mummy of the fifth or sixth century B.C. A tree represented a holy symbol of communion with heaven for a shaman. Sometimes a shaman's ritual mask had three trees decorating it instead of a deer horn.

When trees are placed together with deer horn headgear, the design matches that of a Silla king's crown, but this sort of combination of ritual symbols was not found among the Siberian shamans. A golden crown with a design of tree and deer horns was, however, found in the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg in Russia. This crown was excavated in the Sarmach area near the Black Sea and was dated in the first century A.D. This area is thousands of kilometers away from Silla, so what could the connection be?

The area to the north of the Black Sea was occupied by the Scytheans, a nomadic people who came to the area from the east and held sway over the area from the eighth to the second century B.C. They were aggressive horse riders who loved decorating themselves and their horses with golden ornaments with animal motifs. The Eurasian steppe served as a passageway linking and spreading the shaman culture as well as a culture of gold and horses throughout the Eurasian steppe from the Black Sea to the Great Wall of China, a distance of over eight thousand kilometers. The steppe was dominated after the Scytheans by many different tribes at different times. These included the Huns, Turks, and Mongols. In spite of the changes in dominant people, the horse culture remained. Silla's rulers were also horse riders and horse lovers, which is evident from the finds of numerous equestrian trappings and accessories as well as horse bones in the tombs.

One of the unusual artifacts found in one of the tombs was a saddle bow which was gold-plated and decorated with iridescent beetle wings. There are many relics related to horses from the great tomb park. One tumulus yielded a horse painting on a piece of birch bark. It depicted a white horse with flying mane galloping above a cloud. These remains demonstrate that the royal members of the Kim clan of early Silla buried in the tumulus park were horse riders. This custom of burying horse equipment and horses as a sacrifice was shared by the Scytheans and other nomadic peoples of the steppe.

Inevitably the conclusion is that the royal Kim clan came from among these horse riding nomadic people of the Eurasian steppe. At the time Silla built their tombs with wooden chambers and stone piles, the steppe was dominated by the Huns. The Hun tribe had features like those of the Mongols and had occupied the Altai area in Russia since the first century A.D. They were called Hyungnu by the Chinese. The Hun culture was similar to that of the

Scythians. They had totem poles and possessed comma shaped jewels and kurgans. The Huns dominated the steppe around the beginning of the Christian era, and fought against many peoples living on the borders of the steppe to maintain their control over it.

A group of Huns advanced westward to the Black Sea area and further west to establish the Atilla Kingdom in Hungary around the fifth century. At this time of movement and confusion a group of Huns in the Altai area chose to move to the east, and perhaps they eventually reached the Korean peninsula. It was around the fourth or fifth century that the tombs of wood and stone appeared in Kyungju. The kurgans of the Huns before the Christian era were also wooden chambers and rock piles. The Huns buried a mummified body with a death mask and equestrian trappings and weapons in the wooden chamber. Numerous tombs or kurgans remain in the Altai area waiting to be explored. When this is done, we may find further evidence of a link between the Huns and the Silla people.

THE OCCUPANT OF THE GREAT TOMB

Mich'u was the first king of Silla from the Kim royal family. The Kims were succeeded by the Suk clan, and they in turn were replaced by the Kim clan again. It is known that King Pophung accepted Buddhism as the state religion in 527 A.D. and adopted Tang Chinese institutions in the judicial and other organisations of the state. During the reign of King Pophung traditional shamanism was dismissed and the golden crown gave way to silk headgear, and royal burials took place on a hill with a stone chamber with a side opening instead of a kurgan-like tomb with a wooden chamber under a stone pile, so it is believed that the king and queen in the Whangnam tomb must precede King Pophung.

There is, however, scant indication of which particular king is the occupant. The retrieved burial goods include 34,550 ornamental artifacts, 175 pieces of weaponry, 758 items of horse trappings, and 192 vessels in the northern tomb alone, and yet no direct evidence exists of the identity of the occupant. A small ceramic bottle with a dark brown glaze suggests a date later than the early fifth century, while carbon dating suggests fifth or sixth century as the possible date of the tomb. It was tentatively suggested, therefore, that one of two kings was a possible candidate as the occupant of the tomb: the seventeenth king, Naemul (351 to 402 A.D.), or the twentieth king, Chabi (458 to 479 A.D.). According to the report on the excavation, however, it has

been suggested by historians that perhaps King Naemul and his consort are the occupants of the tumuli, since he was responsible for the continued rule over Silla by the Kim royal family.

We still do not know exactly who is buried in the great tomb of Whangnam.

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The North Korean Struggle for Survival: 1980-1990

Sofie Bosma

Much has been said about the North Korean isolation from the world and its ambiguous relations with its powerful neighbours, China and the Soviet Union. In the eighties, however, many changes, both in the international and national environment, influenced this North Korean isolation. It is the aim of this paper not to examine the changing external factors that may have influenced North Korean behaviour in this critical period, but to look at internal political and economic factors that are just as important to the behavioural aspects of the regime.

The eighties saw a slowdown in the economic growth that, at first, had surpassed that of its South Korean rival. Consequently, North Korea had to break free from the self-imposed isolation of its *juch'e* ideology. Self-reliance had always been an important factor in North Korean politics, although it did trade with other countries, mainly China and the Soviet Union. When these ideological brothers started to turn away from certain socialist economic theories, and even become friendly with former archrivals from the mid-eighties onward, North Korea was left abandoned on a road it could not follow. The ideological system, the *juch'e* ideal, was the cornerstone of the regime's legitimacy without which it would surely not have survived. It also prevented the regime from undertaking those reforms that its neighbours were so eagerly embracing.

The eighties also saw the successful rise of Kim Jong Il, the future leader of the nation, and his allies. Economic well-being was essential to enable him to build up the necessary popularity and legitimacy, and he appears as the author of a number of economic measures over this period. In order to understand the economic developments of the eighties it is necessary to go back briefly in time.

THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The North Korean economy is one of the last and strongest centralized command economies in the world, and all means of production, distribution, and exchange are owned by the state or by co-operatives, since private ownership is a concept that is said not to exist. Economic goals are set by the state by means of plans that cover a certain time span, and planning is thus a central aspect of the economy. Consequently, economic needs and targets are determined by the state and drafted by the State Planning Commission which falls under the legislation of the Administration Council. All state and co-operative enterprises are required to conform to pre-set targets. Economic policy, however, differs from that of other socialist states in its ideological emphasis on self-reliance. It is primarily an inward looking economy that focuses on the domestic market through a strategy of import substitution, hence the priority given to heavy industry which, theoretically, would supply the economy with the means of production to further develop the light industry, agricultural, and armaments sectors.

Upon independence in 1945 expropriation was started by allocating land that was formerly owned by the Japanese and privately owned plots exceeding five hectares to landless peasants, thus creating a small, rural economy of owner operated farms. This was, however, interrupted by the Korean War of 1950, when all efforts and funds were diverted to the war. Post-war reconstruction presented a major challenge as the war had left the country devastated. Financial help was provided by the traditional North Korean allies, the Soviet Union and China. In 1957, the first Five Year Economic Plan (1957-1961) was launched. It primarily emphasized heavy industry development, and was completed one year early in 1960. By 1958 land reform had been completed, which meant that all farms were organized into co-operatives with the ultimate goal of being transformed into state farms. These farms are government owned and often more mechanized and specialized than the co-operatives. Kim Il Sung referred to them as "ownership by all the people."

This period was marked by rapid industrial growth with stress on self-sufficiency. Accordingly, the state implemented the *Chollima* Movement. It aimed at inducing speedy economic development and socialist construction through ideological and technological revolutions. More specifically, it urged workers to produce more in a shorter period and was loosely modeled on the Great Leap Forward in China, although its effects were far less disruptive. A similar campaign was used to whip up productivity in the agricultural sector in 1960. This was the *Chongsanri* Method. It required administrative personnel

to follow Kim Il Sung's example of on-the-spot guidance by talking to the workers in the fields and improving their ideological education. These mass mobilization movements had a strong ideological character, and replaced the economic incentives found in the capitalist system by a form of worker motivation based on loyalty to the leader. The First Seven Year Plan (1961-1967) focused on defense issues and once again on heavy industry. This period was marked by a slowdown in industrial growth. Consequently, the Seven Year Plan was extended by three years and did not end until 1970, although even then industrial output lagged behind the set target of 18%.

A new campaign, the *Tae-an* System, was implemented in the industrial sector to improve output. In practice, the program centralized industrial management under the auspices of the Korean Workers Party. In the second half of the sixties South Korea started to outstrip North Korea in economic growth. This was another thorn in the side for the leadership of the country. Industrial output had slowed for a number of reasons. In the first place, there had been a large increase in defense expenditures at the expense of other sectors. Furthermore, the economy had become increasingly complex, with a strong centralized bureaucracy that became more inflexible over time, and failed to respond to the immediate needs of the economy. This resulted in severe bottlenecks and production below capacity. In the early sixties foreign aid also decreased, especially that of the Soviet Union, which was even halted in 1963-1964.

Moreover, the *Chollima* campaign had distorted the economy through the production of poor quality goods in the rush to meet new targets. Thus the seventies loomed dimly on the horizon whilst the government attempted to re-examine its economic policy. This resulted in a new Seven Year Plan (1971-1976) that focused on those areas that had been identified as bottlenecks in the sixties, namely mining and electric power. Nevertheless, it continued to emphasize heavy industry whilst, for the first time, the government started looking to Western Europe and Japan for the import of plants and machinery and economic assistance. Imports from non-communist countries, which had been a mere 11% in 1971, shot up to 60% in 1974. This, in turn, led to an accumulation of foreign debts and eventually to the default of debt payments in late 1974. These measures were, however, not effective and the economy continued to be plagued by the same bottlenecks with the added burden of transportation problems. The Three Revolutions Teams movement was implemented in 1973 under the leadership of Kim Jong Il to try to meet the pre-set goals. The idea was that teams of young specialists were to be sent out to improve production techniques and to further encourage revolutionary zeal, revolutions which were ideological, technical, and cultural. In practice it was a

purely ideological movement that sought to re-emphasize the importance of *juch'e* and self-reliance and to exhort the population to work even harder whilst it attacked bureaucratic inefficiency. It also symbolized the start of Kim Jong Il's rise to power in the party, whereby he was closely identified with the propagation of ideological indoctrination, thus fulfilling the classical role of the mentor of the people whilst also providing him with a loyal power base. The Three Revolutions were followed by the Seventy Day Speed Battle of 1974, which aimed to speed up production and surpass targets. All to no avail; 1977 was declared a year of adjustment as planned targets were not met and time was needed to prepare a new plan which would continue in the spirit of the Three Revolutions. Thus North Korea faced the eighties with large debts that had to be rescheduled in the late seventies, an increasingly sluggish bureaucracy, and complex economy, whilst industrial targets had not been met. High defense expenditures and overemphasis on the heavy industry sector had diverted investment away from other sectors, especially that of light industry and consumer goods.

THE EARLY EIGHTIES

REVIEW OF ECONOMIC POLICY AND A PERIOD OF ADJUSTMENT

The Second Seven Year Plan (1978-1984) continued to reflect the spirit of the Three Revolutions Movement, that placed emphasis on ideological education under the *juch'e* banner and modernization in economic development. Following the disastrous effects of the government's venture into the world market, it is hardly surprising that the new plan did not mention foreign trade, and instead focused on the importance of *juch'e* and self-reliance in economic development. The plan was presented to the Supreme People's Assembly by Premier Li Jong-ok in December 1977. It called for the traditional increase in industrial output and targeted an increase of 2.2 times by 1984. It also concentrated on the previously identified bottlenecks of mining, electrical power, and coal production needed to supply power plants with energy. Consumer goods were not an important part of the new plan, yet 60% of these were to be supplied by local production. The absence of any reference to foreign trade and the increased weight given to self-reliance were reflected by a speech given by Kye Ung-tae, at the time vice premier and minister of foreign trade to the Supreme People's Assembly. It concentrated on the need to increase domestic production by making use of previously imported technology, but in 1979 foreign trade had risen to levels double those in 1977 and 1978.

The eighties appeared on a more optimistic note. On the occasion of the Sixth Congress of the Korean Workers Party in 1980, Kim Il Sung gave a speech in which he supplanted the goals previously set by the Second Seven Year Plan with others that aimed at higher increases in production. These were the so-called ten long-range goals of socialist economic construction:

We have every possibility of attaining the new, magnificent long-range goals of socialist, economic construction. The independent national economy we have already built has tremendous potentialities, and our country is blessed with abundant natural wealth and unlimited scientific and technological resources which can be newly exploited and used in the future.

Clearly, Kim stresses the importance of self-reliance and the need to exploit more fully and effectively existing resources independent of foreign aid. His aim was to increase industrial output by 3.1 times by the end of the eighties, a higher target than that of the Second Seven Year Plan (see Appendix). Yet, contrary to the Li Jong-ok speech of 1977, Kim does mention the importance of foreign trade in the future development of the economy, whilst stressing the need to promote foreign trade, which should be based purely on export until such time as the country could afford to import anew:

One of the important questions arising now in the economic development of our country is how to promote foreign trade quickly. By developing foreign trade quickly in the future, we should actively export those goods that are produced in large quantities in our country and in great demand abroad, and import in time those goods which we need... In this way, by the end of the 1980s our annual exports should increase more than 4.2 times.

The experience of the early seventies, which had led to a rescheduling of debts at the end of the decade, had left the leadership wary of foreign trade and technology, but as trade had picked up by 1979, Kim became more optimistic in his speech to the Sixth Congress. Unfortunately, over the period of 1980-1983, foreign trade slipped back from the level it had reached in 1979, so Kim Il Sung did not mention the issue in his 1982 and 1983 New Year speeches, and relied instead on a renewed emphasis on *juch'e* out of necessity, thus further isolating the country. Instead, Kim's speeches concentrated on the need to improve coal production and consequently power. Indeed, in the 1980 speech he held that thermal power capacity had doubled over the decade of the seventies, but by 1982 he realized that coal production was not sufficient to sustain this and there was a shift back to an emphasis on hydro-electric power.

The Speed of the Eighties Movement encouraged the people to work even harder in an effort to improve industrial output and stimulate economic

growth. This movement was launched in the early eighties under Kim Jong Il, as this was the period during which he was increasingly made responsible for the initiation of such movements. By late 1983 it became plain to see that, faced with slow economic growth and low international credibility because of the defaulting of payments on debts, the government could not hide behind the idea of self-reliance as a stimulant to economic expansion; more important was the need for investment. The country needed foreign capital to upgrade its production apparatus and consequently increase the production of consumer goods as the population was suffering from a lack of material incentives and even such basic commodities as food and clothing. Kim Il Sung accentuated this problem in a speech given in 1979:

If only the work norms are raised without increasing rewards to the working people, they will dislike the increases in work norms, but if the living allowances, bonuses, and incentive allowances to the workers are increased in accordance with the increase in work norms, they will actually strive to improve techniques, economize on labour and materials, and produce more.

With this in mind the country applied for loans from its allies and international organizations. In 1983 it agreed to a project loan from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). The loan covered the period from 1983-1986 and aimed to upgrade national industry, science and technology, agriculture, transportation and communication, and natural resources development. Nationally, it also launched new programs, which aimed at stimulating light industry. Limited economic reform, which was perceived necessary, slowly took form in the minds of the leadership.

CRISIS AND REFORM: POLICY ADAPTATION 1984-1990

In his speech on the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in September 1983, Kim Il Sung declared that the ten long-range goals of 1980 should encompass a more satisfactory solution of the food and clothing problems, the most important and urgent problems in the people's lives. This anticipated a change in policy, that was to be implemented over the next year, and hinted at the increased difficulties of the North Korean economy as apparently it had difficulty filling the basic needs of the people. The second issue that was to emerge in 1984 was that of foreign trade. Previously, in 1982, Kim Il Sung had already visited China and gone with Deng Xiaoping on a special guided tour to the new special economic zones that

China had implemented under its reform program. Kim Jong Il visited China in 1983. This indicated that the leadership was examining the possibility of economic reform or limited opening up to the world. The inauguration of Kang Song-san as the new premier in January 1984 seemed to confirm this idea, as he was known for his economic expertise and commitment to the improvement of living standards. The same month saw the adoption of a resolution by the Supreme People's Assembly "on further strengthening north-south cooperation and external economic work and further developing foreign trade". It stated that the government had long emphasized the importance of foreign trade and, now that a strong self-reliant economy had been established, it was time to expand trade and other forms of technical and economic cooperation:

Only by widely developing external economic relations, including trade, can we accelerate the country's economic construction and improve the people's living standards.

At the same meeting a number of administrative reforms were implemented in the areas of domestic and foreign affairs. The most important of these was the creation of a new Economic Policy Committee under the Central People's Committee. Furthermore, the appointment of Kang Song-san was made public at the same meeting, and he presented the resolution. Clearly, in the minds of the leadership the two issues were now interlinked and the opening of the country was seen as imperative to the improvement of economic conditions. This led to the implementation of the Joint Venture Law on 8 September 1984:

It is a consistent external economic policy of the KWP and the government of the Republic to expand and develop economic and technical interchange and cooperation with many countries of the world. The DPRK encourages joint ventures between its companies and enterprises with foreign companies, enterprises and individuals within its boundaries on the principle of equality and reciprocity.

Two months after adoption of this twenty-six article law, Yun Gi-bok, Vice Chairman of the new Economic Policy Commission of the Central Committee, outlined the rules and regulations covering the law. These allowed the establishment of joint ventures between North Korean and foreign companies, including companies from Western Europe, and including only those countries that "respect our sovereignty and independence", and Koreans resident in Japan. Investment was called for in the fields of electronics, automation equip-

ment, metallurgy, mining, energy, chemicals, foodstuffs, clothes, daily necessities, construction, transportation, and tourism. Imports of goods for joint ventures were to be exempt from tariffs, as were profits for the first three years, and subsequently set at 25% adjustable downwards depending on profit levels. Within a year the government claimed to have concluded ten joint ventures, whilst it was negotiating for thirty others.

A further measure implemented in late 1984 was that of the August the Third Drive for People's Consumer Goods, under the auspices of Kim Jong Il. Kim Jong Il emphasized the need to increase the supply of consumer goods by "means of tapping and using by-products, waste materials, and other local reserves". The aim was to increase the production of goods such as clothes, shoes, utensils, and furniture by using waste materials, hard work, and innovation. Local industry would produce for local consumption under local administrative districts. Kim Jong Il declared that direct sale shops should be built up in each district of Pyongyang to meet the increasing demand of the citizens for daily necessities in keeping with the strengthening of home workshops. Thus products were sold directly to consumers through direct sale stores. Although this signified that the leadership had realized that there was a need to improve the light industry sector, it did not signal an actual move to improve the sector at the macro-economic level. The program merely sought to improve production by the utilization of local reserves using the by-products of the heavy industry sector, which reflects a shortage of resources to develop the light industry sector effectively. In Kim Il Sung's New Year speech in 1985, he noted the importance that should be given to the improvement of the population's living standards, but the emphasis was still placed on mining, transportation, and steel production. Thus there was no significant shift to the development of the light industry sector.

The Second Seven Year Plan was due to be completed by the end of 1984, yet Kim made no mention of it in his New Year speech wherein he only announced the successful fulfillment of the economic plan for 1984. This was already indicated at the Tenth plenary meeting of the Sixth KWP Central Committee on December 10 when the meeting pointed out that:

Great successes have been achieved in attaining the targets of the Second Seven Year Plan this year by accelerating production and construction with the spirit of adding the 'speed of the eighties' to *chollima* in all areas of the national economy and in achieving the ten major prospective targets in socialist construction for the 1980s.

Eventually, in February 1985, the Central Statistics Board reported the

overfulfillment of the Seven Year Plan. It claimed this in terms of industrial gross output value: industrial output was said to have manifested a growth of 2.2 times and the average annual growth rate reached 12.2%. Furthermore, according to the released figures, peaks in coal, cement, chemical fertilizer, textiles, and marine products were also realized. As no new plan was announced, however, until 1987, it is now assumed that these figures were not entirely accurate, and that real growth had taken place in the period 1978-1980 when plants built with foreign technology had started to operate, whereas growth slowed significantly in the early eighties.

In the period preceding the announcement of the new plan, Kang Song-san's leadership in matters of economic policy reflected the awareness of the elites for the need to open the economy to the world, and that national economic development was thus linked to that of other countries:

It is imperative that exchanges of information and experience in the production of commodities, scientific technology and production technology occur between countries...this is a realistic need for the construction of a socialist economy.

It was realized that the development of light industry necessitated foreign aid. Throughout 1985, following the rise to power of Gorbachev in March and the implementation of perestroika and glasnost, the press carried editorials that focused on economic laws such as "the principle of value," which suggested that more emphasis was to be placed on material incentives to encourage production, such as cost, price, and profit, although priority was to be given to political work. In practice, however, these discussions remained general in substance and resulted in only a few changes in economic policy. These involved a certain degree of decentralization of the decision making process and affected state industrial enterprises that had already achieved a certain degree of individual autonomy from central power since the sixties in the form of an independent accounting system that aimed to increase efficiency.

In 1981 responsibility was decentralized to the provinces under provincial committees for economic guidance that were responsible for managing the economic activities of the province. In 1985, however, the government established an integrated enterprise system whereby complementary enterprises were brought together under one unit to promote efficiency and reduce the problems of bottlenecks. The revised independent accounting system that emerged in 1985 gave enterprises more room for independent decision making concerning production input factors and greater discretionary powers. Furthermore, they were permitted to retain a part of excess profits for expansion and

provide material incentives to their employees. The system focused on the operational side of production whereas production output, such as prices, product, and marketing remained under central government control. The government viewed it as a system of a transitory nature which combined central management by the state with autonomous management by the enterprise:

The independent accounting system is a managerial method that heightens the responsibility and initiatives of the enterprise while firmly guaranteeing the state's centralized, planned management....therefore, the independent accounting system must be used as a means of scientifying and rationalizing management that responds to the various economic laws operating in the socialist society.

Thus a certain degree of adaptation was deemed necessary by the leadership, but reform remained under strict government control, and the changes reflected a growing unease about the production of consumer goods rather than about the necessity of far reaching economic reform and decentralization along Chinese lines.

With the removal of Kang Song-san from the economic scene and the appointment of Li Gun-mo as his successor, a new economic plan was finally approved in 1987. The preceding two years had been governed by the National Economic Plan for 1985 that aimed to readjust the economy, or in other words to allow extra time to enable the completion of those targets that had not been met. Officially only the goals of electricity and steel fell short of their targets. More to the point, in practice, the goals of the Second Seven Year Plan had clearly not been achieved. In the words of Li Gun-mo himself:

This was a wise policy to consolidate the successes achieved in socialist economic construction during the Second Seven Year Plan, and to realize successfully the ten major prospective targets of socialist economic construction set forth by the Party Congress by comprehensively exerting the might of the economic base already built.

Throughout 1986, however, reports emerged that the country was suffering from shortages, especially of raw materials. This was confirmed by the emergence of new mass campaigns, such as Produce More With Less Raw Materials in mid 1986. In the field of consumer goods, employees were encouraged to organize side job, work teams in factories and cooperative farms to boost the production of daily necessities, which indicated that no major progress had been made in this field. At the Eleventh Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the KWP, held in February, the need to

solve the problem of scientific and technological development was addressed, to break new ground in the fields of laser, ultra high-pressure physics, cell engineering, and the introduction of computers. It is clear that the leadership fully realized the need to update the economy, and the only way to achieve this would be through foreign co-operation and exchange. No doubt the appointment of Li Gun-mo, one of the most progressive premiers in the history of the country, was made with this in mind. The visit of Premier Honecker of East Germany in late 1986 seemed to confirm the fact that the government was actively seeking technical assistance, even more so as the new economic plan was announced during his stay. The new Third Seven Year Plan (1987-1993) was approved by the SPA at its second session in April, 1987 upon its presentation to the assembly by premier Li Gun-mo. In essence the plan was a four year extension of the future ten major targets adopted by Kim Il Sung in 1980 that was scheduled for completion by 1989; only now completion was deferred until 1993. The new plan again focused on the problem of electricity with an aimed output of 100 billion kilowatt-hours per year. To this aim most power was to be generated by expanding existing thermal power plants combined with nuclear power plants that were to be built with Soviet assistance. Indeed, the first of these had been completed in 1985. The problems facing steel production had not been solved as the target set by the Third Seven Year Plan was one third below that set by Kim Il Sung in 1980:

Considering the changed circumstances and the demands of the people's economy, our party and the government of the Republic have decided to adjust the steel production target among the 10-long range goals. ...Today, throughout the world, the rolled steel market is sluggish. As a result, in many countries steelworks are unable to operate properly.

Concerning the issue of consumer goods, Li's report referred to "more smoothly solving the question of food, clothing, and housing," suggesting that the issue remained a problem and no significant improvements had been made. Because the consumer industry relies on local production on a small scale (the side-work teams were another method of increasing production at a local level), black market activities started to emerge. These are known as farmer markets. They function like a normal free market with ready availability of goods superior in quality to those sold in state markets. They are said to account for about 10% of the market and are tolerated by the government if for private needs.

With the economy slowing significantly, or even facing a crisis, over the second part of the eighties, the country was increasingly faced with a lack of the resources needed to re-launch growth. Nothing had been done to solve the problem of huge foreign debts and in late 1987 the government could no longer meet the interest payments on its debt of \$779 million, and North Korean assets abroad were frozen. The country was in dire need of foreign currency and, with this in mind, the new plan increased the targets for a number of export products, such as non-ferrous metals and marine products, whilst it also aimed to increase foreign trade 3.2 times. The joint venture law had not yielded the expected results and foreign capital was not drawn into the country. It had mainly attracted loyal Korean residents in Japan, known by the name of *chongryon*, and a few investments from China and the Soviet Union. The ideological rigidity, uncertain profitability, and lack of international credibility seem to have been the main deterrents, especially for western investors. Furthermore, bad communications and infrastructure combined with limited markets could not convince prospective investors of the economic viability of launching upon such a risky scheme. The construction, which started in 1984, of a large 46-story hotel in a joint venture with a French firm, came to a standstill in 1985 whilst the hotel remained uncompleted. At the end of 1989 most of the joint ventures, including *chongryon* entrepreneurs, were reportedly 102 in number. Most of these were operating by early 1990 and were in the form of small-scale factories specializing in consumer goods. In April 1987, North Korea's first golf club, the product of a joint Japanese North Korean effort, was opened in Pyongyang, presumably to the great joy of the Japanese investors.

Kim Il Sung's New Year's message of 1988 differed greatly from that of 1987; indeed it reaffirmed the importance of *juch'e* in carrying out the three revolutions and did not mention the need for foreign technology and capital. The appointment of Yon Hyong-muk around the same time was presumably made with this in mind. Known for his commitment to the *juch'e* idea, it signaled a return to a more conservative approach to foreign trade, but the Thirteenth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the KWP discussed the development of science and technology, and especially the importance of electronics and biotechnology, to achieve the modernization of the people's economy. This could hardly be achieved indigenously without the aid of foreign inputs; hence the words of the leader contradicted actual economic policy. It could be that propaganda was seen as a measure to prevent foreign penetration from influencing North Korean society which in turn would undermine the regime. If the population strongly believed in the *juch'e* ideal whilst con-

demning the rest of the world, any contradictory reports emanating from foreign sources could be dismissed as propaganda and loyalty to the regime ensured.

In the same speech Kim Il Sung admitted that the country was suffering from shortages of food, clothing, and housing, fairly necessary items. The World Festival of Youth and Students, held in Pyongyang in 1989, further contributed to the economic difficulties facing the regime. The country had to bear the full cost of the event, and unlike South Korea, which recouped most of the cost of the 1988 Olympics through commercial fees, did not recoup any. The cost was estimated by the government at \$4.5 billion. In the second half of the eighties, North Korea had embarked on, albeit limited, economic reforms five years after those of China and a year before those of the Soviet Union. By the time changes were sweeping through the former Eastern Block, which were perceived as a serious threat by the North Korean government, the country found itself in a serious economic crisis which had led it to rely more strongly on the idea of self-sufficiency notwithstanding the realization that foreign exchange was to be the only effective medicine. The question remained of how to administer it without undermining the political system of the country.

THE REDEFINITION OF *JUCH'E* AS A MEANS OF POLITICAL SURVIVAL

The move in the late eighties to open up the economy was implemented under a leadership whose political philosophy remained that of *juch'e* and self-reliance which underpinned the entire legitimacy of the regime. Over the last forty odd years the political system had revolved around this concept. It has been cited as the basis of North Korea's claim to an important position among other developing countries, because, in theory, it does not rely on any major power for support. It has also been a strong component in the propaganda battle with South Korea, as it could claim moral superiority over a 'corrupt' leadership that had sold its soul to foreign powers for economic gain and military protection. To reconcile the new economic moves with its political philosophy, the latter would have to be adapted to include new concepts without losing any of the power which had enabled the leadership to justify its rule for over forty years. The political element would, however, remain more important than the economic components, as the entire system is built on abstract political concepts. *Juch'e* had to remain the only existing philosophy if the regime were to survive and not lose credibility. Furthermore, in a strictly con-

trolled society where the population has no knowledge of the outside world, not indeed of the fact that North Korea might not quite be a 'paradise on earth', the move away from excessive self-reliance could in itself be construed as a failure of the system. This had to be prevented at all costs, and that is one of the reasons that the reforms were far more limited than those of China in the late seventies or those of Vietnam in the late eighties. The collapse of socialism that spread throughout the Soviet empire in the late eighties was a further threat to the socialist elements that were the foundation of the *juch'e* philosophy. The failure of the socialist system combined with an economic crisis, which could only be salvaged by opening the country's economy to foreign exchange, threatened the entire political legitimacy of the regime. Consequently, the only way to survival was through adjustment of the political philosophy, first by redefining it to encompass other forms of economic development and secondly by disassociating *juch'e* from other forms of socialism.

In the early period following the 1984 Joint Venture Law the regime was largely in favor of economic opening, as witnessed by Kim Il Sung's New Year's addresses and the goals of the 1984 and the 1987 Seven Year Plans. In the late eighties, however, notably in 1988, there was a move back to reaffirming the importance of self-reliance for economic development. In fact, following the decision to open the economy the government had been increasingly concerned with the possibility of adverse impact from abroad. Leading newspapers started warning the population of the dangers of capitalist influence:

The victory of socialism in our society can be secured only when we eradicate the dangers that may induce us to return to capitalism.

The reform movements that were sweeping through the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe were strongly criticized in the press and emphasis was put on the successful transfer of power to Kim Jong Il in order to avoid any possible factionalism and social unrest. Internally the renewed emphasis on *juch'e* was further strengthened and adapted to the changing political circumstances. In 1986 a new theory appeared, under Kim Jong Il's name. This was known as the Social Political Life Theory which applied a "biological-organic" theory to *juch'e* ideology. In fact it compared the relationship between leader and followers to that of parents and children and was meant as a justification of the population's remaining loyal to the leader:

Nothing is more important to an individual than human life. Of all forms of life, socio-political life is more important than physical life, and social group life is more important than individual life. Only by relying on social group life can individual life be possible. Thus, when an individual is loyal to his Leader-

party-people, the origin of his own life, he is doing it out of the intrinsic need of his socio-political life, not because someone is asking him to do so. This is because being loyal is not for others, but for himself.

The leader, of course, is the centre of the social group, and as such loyalty must be extended to him unconditionally:

In our country, everyone regards and supports the leader as they would their own father. They trust and follow the party, regarding its embrace as that of their own mother. The leader, the party and the people form one socio-political organism, and share the same destiny.

As the theory carried Kim Jong Il's name, an analogy can be drawn with the role of his father, and it is clear that the content of *juch'e*, over all these years, has not significantly changed and still carries strong Confucian origins. In the same year Kim Jong Il also launched the idea of the supremacy of the Korean nation, which had clear connotations of nationalism, a concept that Kim Il Sung had always abhorred as one that contained both imperialist and aggressive elements. *Juch'e*, on the other hand, was justified as a form of defense against foreign influence and aggression and could not, in his eyes, be equated with nationalism. Until 1985 nationalism was rejected as:

. . . an ideology justifying the interest of the bourgeois in the name of the people's interests, that is obscuring class contradiction and impeding the working class' struggle, and serving as a justification for foreign invasion and plunder.

With the implementation of perestroika in 1985, however, and the inherent criticism of the socialist system that followed over the years, North Korea was anxious to establish an identity which would dissociate it from the tottering political scene of the former Soviet Union. The solution was to redefine the concept of the nation, and accordingly numerous volumes on the subject of the nation's essence and nationalism were published throughout 1985, topped by a publication called the "Theory on the Supremacy of our Nation" in 1989. The new definition given by Kim Jong Il was as follows:

The basic essence constituting nationality is consanguinity, language, and common region. Among these, consanguinity and common language are the most important elements of nation.

At the basis of the redefinition lies the principle of maintaining the North Korean socialist system by emphasizing its independence from the socialist block, that of China as well as that of the Soviet Union, and that its road to socialism was now to follow a path of its own, namely that of "socialism of

our own style," which leaned heavily on *juch'e* and self-reliance and would not include far-reaching economic reforms in the Chinese or Soviet style. The move away from economic issues, which featured in many publications in the first half of the eighties, signified that the regime was facing increased economic difficulties. The emphasis now lay on the mental and psychological satisfaction of the people, appealing to feelings of nationalism and unconditional loyalty to the leader, old or new, as a defense against the threatening world that lay beyond the frontiers, a threat that could seriously undermine the legitimacy of the regime at the dawn of a new decade.

At the dawn of the nineties, North Korea was still protected by its ideological walls, although it continued to flirt with foreign capital with the opening of a special economic zone in the faraway and isolated region of Rajin-Sobong. With Kim Jong Il now firmly in place, as the first father-to-son succession of the communist world is completed, it seems unlikely to change:

... Comrade Kim Jong Il consolidated the political and ideological situation of our country and, at the same time, directed greater energies to strengthening the People's Army, the pillar of our revolution and the main force for completion of the *juch'e* revolution, and he led the party, the army, and the people to rise up under the banner of self-reliance, overcome the economic blockade of imperialists and repeated national disasters, and bring about a turn in socialist economic construction.

It is really a miracle that we have exalted the dignity and honor of Korea, the homeland of *juch'e*, defending socialism by ourselves.

Obviously the ideological emphasis continues to lie on self-reliance and an independent economy; extraordinary is the fact that the revolution has become a national cause. It has even become a property of the nation; it has become a '*juch'e* revolution' and North Korea seems to be the only country in which socialism has survived. No longer is 'socialism of our own style' the projected road. North Korea is now the defender of the socialist ideal.

In 1995, the world predicted an economic collapse within the next couple of years and South Korea started to build refugee camps to cope with the expected flow of economic refugees, but despite the death of Kim Il Sung at a most inopportune time when he was negotiating with the United States and South Korea for a peace treaty and possible economic relations and a three-year wait for his successor to be announced amidst speculation that Kim Jong Il lacked sufficient army support, and despite reports of a famine that could be killing thousands of people and a worsening economic crisis, the government still stands; political continuity seems assured, and North Korea continues to defy international opinion on all fronts.

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Long Term Economic Goals over the Eighties

Sector	10 Long Term Economic Goals	Second Seven-Year Plan (1978-1984)	Third Seven-Year Plan (1987-1993)
Electricity	100 billion kwh	56-60 billion kwh	100 billion kwh
Coal	120 million tons	70-80 million tons	120 million tons
Grain Products	15 million tons	10 million tons	15 million tons
Rice			7 million tons
Chemicals	7 million tons	5 million tons	7.2 million tons
Machine Tools		5 million tons	2.5 increase (no figure)
Cement	20 million tons	12-13 million tons	22 million tons
Marine Products	5 million tons	3.5 million tons	12 million tons
Textiles	1.5 billion meters	800 million meters	1.5 billion meters
Non-ferrous Metals	1.5 million tons	1 million tons	1.7 million tons
Tideland Cultivation	300,000 hectares	100,000 hectares	300,000 hectares
RR Freight Transportation			1.6-fold increase
Auto Transportation			2.6-fold increase
Foreign Trade			3.2-fold increase
Technicians and Specialists			2 million

Source: *North Korea Quarterly* 48, Spring 1987, pp. 42-49

ANNUAL REPORT
of the
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY – KOREA BRANCH
1997

The Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was established in 1990 by a group of foreign residents in Korea, who sought to encourage investigation of all aspects of Korean life, culture, customs, geography, and literature in order to deepen their understanding of the country and its people and to make them better known to the rest of the world. The original nucleus was soon joined by many others, including a number of Korean scholars. Some of the members had great scholarly gifts, and their names will forever be associated with Korean studies, while many others contributed the first, and often the only, papers on many aspects of Korea, which left a legacy in the *Transactions* that is still a primary source of information on Korea in many fields. It is only appropriate that at this Annual Meeting we remember the great contribution of our forbears, and remember that the primary objective of the Branch is still the encouragement of studies on Korea.

The Korea Branch is organized with a Council of twenty-six members, including the officers. To carry out its functions the Council is organized into five committees: Membership, Program, Publications, Tours, and Finance.

Membership: At present the RAS-Korea Branch has a total of 1,378 members. This includes sixty-seven life members, 355 overseas members and 953 regular members residing in Korea.

Programs: Programs involving lectures, slide presentations and performances were held regularly on the second and fourth Wednesdays of each month except during the summer, at the Daewoo Foundation Building near Seoul Station. We are most grateful to the Foundation for allowing us the use of this centrally located space.

The annual Garden Party, graciously hosted by Ambassador and Mrs. Stephen

Brown at the British Embassy Residence, was most successful, with an enjoyable program of Korean *pansori*, special book sales, and an opportunity for members to become better acquainted with each other.

Publications: The Publications Committee had another successful year supervising book sales, reviewing manuscripts, and editing for publication Volume 71 of the *Transactions*. A revised book list was prepared and distributed to all members and to various libraries and institutions interested in Korean studies.

Tours: A full schedule of tours through the year took members throughout the country. A total of about 2,080 members and non-members participated in these tours which remain one of the most popular activities of the Society.

Finance: I am pleased to report that the finances of the RAS-Korea Branch remained on an even keel during 1997. Although operating expenses are modest, the Society depends totally upon the support you provide as members in paying annual dues, participating in tours, and purchasing publications. Remember, your support continues to be critical to the financial well-being of the Society.

I want to take this opportunity to express my thanks for the selfless efforts of the Council members and officers and Mrs. Bae, who has been the mainstay of the R.A.S. office for the past twenty-eight years. I would especially like to thank members of the publications committee without which our *Transactions* and other publications would not be published.

Lastly, I would like to acknowledge once again the generosity of the Daewoo Foundation in making the auditorium available free of charge for our regular lecture meetings.

Respectfully submitted,

John Nowell, President

1997 R.A.S. Lectures

Seoul Branch

- January 8 Korean Shaman Possession Dance and the Shaman Cosmology
Dr. Theresa Ki-Ja Kim
- January 29 Nationalism and State-Building During the First Republic of
Korea
Mr. William G. Bradshaw
- February 12 Concert of Traditional Music
Michuhol Korean Music Orchestra
- February 26 Searching for The Imperial Dragon Temple
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- April 23 Concepts of Evil: East and West
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- May 13 Dramatic Social Change in Cholla-nam-do, Korea
Dr. Terry Stocker
- May 28 Confucian Education During the Choson Dynasty
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- June 25 Conservation of Biodiversity in Korea:
Past, Present, and Future
Dr. Sooil Kim, Ph.D.
- August 27 An Introduction to Tea
Brother Anthony of Taize (An Sonjae)
- September 9 Impressions from North Korea
Mr. Jan Bosma

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The Descendants of Cain
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- October 8 Zen Dance (Son Mu Ga)
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1997 R.A.S. Tours

<i>Date</i>	<i>Destination</i>	<i>Attendance</i>
January 11	In-wang San Hike	16
January 25	Buddhism Tour II	29
January 26	Winter Break Tour	15
February 2	Chonju Tour	16
February 8-10	Lunar New Year Tour: Sorak-san	18
February 15	Traditional Music Tour	18
February 16	Sujong-sa, Tonggu-nung, Kungok-nung	19
February 23	Yuju Tour	24
March 1	Independence Movement Day Tour	15
March 8	Kiln Tour	16
March 16	Kosu Cave and Chungju Lake	39
March 22	Bird Watching Tour	37
March 22	Wonju and Chiaksan	37
March 23	Walking Tour of Choson Seoul	67
March 29	Art Tour	39
March 30	Suwon Tour	28
April 6	Realm of The Immortals Tour	20
April 4-6	Camellia Tour: Namhae-do, Dolsan-do	27
April 8	Puyo and Konju	29
April 11-13	Chinhae Cherry Blossom Tour	41
April 12	Kyonggi-do Cherry Blossom Tour	35
April 19-20	Cholla-do: Muju & Maisan Tour	19
April 18-21	Honshu, Japan Tour	36
April 19	Onyang and Hyonchungsa Tour	20
April 20	Cheju-do Tour	20
April 26	Kangwha Island Tour	20
April 27	Shaman Ritual (Baeyunshin Kut)	30
May 3-4	Kyongju Tour	45
May 4	Chongmyo Ceremony Tour	42
May 10-11	Ch'ollipo Arboretum	36
May 11	Flower Tour	20
May 14	Buddha's Birthday Tour	130
May 17	Sudok-sa Tour	15
May 17-18	Andong Tour	17
May 17-18	Andong Tour	17
May 25	Paekche Kingdom Tour: Puyo and Kongju	25
May 30-June 1	Hong-do and Huksan-do	25
June 6-8	Chiri-san, Chungmu, and Koje-do	34
June 14-15	Odaesan and Kangnung Tour	12

June 21	R.A.S. Garden Party	300
June 27-9	Wan-do, Pokil-do, and Chin-do	20
July 5-6	Pyonsanban-do, Tamyang, Pagoda Valley	25
July 7	Traditional Music and Dance	35
July 9	Ancient Egypt Tour	36
July 12	Island Hopping Tour	28
July 13	Songnisan and Popchusa Tour	29
July 20	Odaesan Tour	24
July 26	Exotic Shrine Tour	17
July 27	Soyang-ho and Paro-ho Tour	27
August 9	Inwangsan Hike	6
August 9	Market Tour	16
August 10	Insadong Walking Tour	10
August 15	Liberation Day Tour	19
August 16	Paekche Kingdom Tour: Puyo and Kongju	25
August 17	Tanyang Tour	21
August 23	Ho-am Museum and Hee-won Garden Tour	16
August 24	Yoju Tour	11
August 31	Mallipo and Ch'ollipo Tour	30
September 6	Silk Tour	26
September 7	Ch'ongp'yong Boat Tour	36
September 12-18	Ullung-do Tour	14
September 13-15	Chusok Holiday Sorak-san Tour	27
September 20-21	Kyongju Tour	22
September 27	Royal Marriage of Choson Tour	19
October 2-6	Mainland China Tour	39
October 4-5	Pusok-sa, Andong, and Hahoe Tour	43
October 11-12	South Cholla; Land of Exile Tour	15
October 18-19	Cholla-do Tour: Pyonsanban-do and Tamyang	20
October 25-26	Chiri-san Tour	33
October 25	Sudok-sa and Toksan Tour	20
November 1-2	Tongdo-sa and Haein-sa Tour	18
November 1-2	Cheju-do Tour	18
November 8-9	Maisan and Muju Tour	15
November 9	Walking Tour of Choson Seoul	55
November 15	Hanyak Tour	25
November 16	North Han River Valley Tour	16
November 23	Naejangsan and Paekyang-sa Tour	25
November 29	Ch'orwon Tour	15
December 6	Shopping Spree Tour	18
December 13	Churches Around Seoul Tour	18
December 13	Traditional Artists' Studio Tour	25

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