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**Order Number 8915582**

**Traditional religions of Korea and modern social institutions  
(work behavior under the principles of religious ideas)**

**Cho, Maingki, Ph.D.**

**City University of New York, 1988**

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TRADITIONAL RELIGIONS OF KOREA AND MODERN SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS  
( WORK BEHAVIOR UNDER THE PRINCIPLES OF RELIGIOUS IDEAS)

by

MAINGKI CHO

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in  
Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City  
University of New York.

1988

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

TRADITIONAL RELIGIONS OF KOREA AND MODERN SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS  
( WORK BEHAVIOR UNDER THE PRINCIPLES OF RELIGIOUS IDEAS)

by

Maingki Cho

Adviser: Stanley Aronowitz

This work describes the unique character of Korean culture as it affects the organization of the modern workplace and the attitudes, behaviors and relationships within the workplace. This thesis focuses particularly on the electronic and Semi-conductor industry and the spirit of personal community. I trace the contemporary challenges to the spirit of personal community that have emerged with the introduction of modern culture.

This work describes the relationship between traditional Korean culture with its emphasis on personal community and modern industrial capitalism; It focuses not only on the challenge that capitalism presents to Korean culture, but also on the challenge that traditional culture presents to modern capitalism. Out of this clash, Korea is developing its own, new and unique form of social organization that draws on both Western and Eastern culture. However, this is not a settled and peaceful form but one that is in process and beset by many conflicts and contradictions.

## Acknowledgment

To those who did not live in Western medieval society, the direct or indirect relations between lords and their serfs are not exactly understood. However, there perhaps were more religious, ideological, political, economical, and personal relationships between these two classes than those between owners and their workers in modern capitalist society. The serfs who lived with not much choices in given areas might also hope to religiously, ideologically, economically, and personally serve their lords, and to search for their spiritual, and material security from the lords.

Suppose that I was a serf in Western medieval society. This writer then hoped to serve and search for the lords. Like those serving and searching for lords in medieval society, I have met and served many knowledgeable, communicative, and disciplined teachers such as George Fischer, Joseph Bensman, and Stanley Aronowitz. Professor Fischer showed the direction and vision that I should follow, but refused to teach a course on Karl Marx's seminar or studies that he usually offered at the Graduate School of the CUNY and left the CUNY campus almost the same time as Professor Bensman. Then professor Aronowitz, who has a strong background in Marx, has continued the vision and shaped the structure of this dissertation.

I also experienced that writing a dissertation cannot be

possible only with vision and direction. Professor Roslyn Bologh, another advisor, dug into my ideas and writings for this dissertation. Professor Machael Brown also has guided me through the CUNY campus. Professor Alan Wolfe, Bogdan Denitch and Ivan Szelenyi are among those to share the output of this book. Finally I thank the English editor, Paula Giuliano who provided time and energy until the last moment.

In this way of sharing the outcome of this dissertation, I, as a serf, have too many lords, which could not have been easily accepted in the Western medieval society. However, the relationships between lords and serfs is based on communal, personal, and ideological sharing on the campus, rather than on the ideas of power and economical sharing in a hierarchical system.

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**\* INTRODUCTION**

## I. INTRODUCTION.

This thesis outlines a historical, comparative, empirical, and theoretical study of the work principle in social institutions. My intent is to discuss the historical development of Korean capitalism and social institutions (business enterprises, schools, and the state bureaucracy); I will consider, one institution within Korean capitalism--the very modern electronic and Semi-conductor industry, and compare its organizational principles with Buddhist and Confucian ideas.

In modern society, we all live within and with the help of secondary social institutions. This thesis refers to these as modern institutions. It has only been recently that these institutions control people's every day lives. The terms, 'machine age', 'total administration', and 'total institution' are frequently accepted without any negative response even though these have caused alienation from our bodies and from the realms of deep feelings. Except for an ability to create profits and be useful, there is not much space for the joyful life of the individual or for heart-felt emotional sharing among members of social institutions. In the public sphere, people very often doubt that the individual is able to produce true forms of art, magic, will, or have esoteric or mystical strength. Rather than experiencing the refreshment of spiritual enlightenment, a technologically qualified 'institutional

man' in a certain position, repeats fixed routine jobs under an impersonal authority. He or she nearly or totally controls his or her own emotions according to fixed written rules..

The symptoms of modern bureaucracy, however, were not formed within a single day. The origin of the machine age is found in the Western Enlightenment tradition which began at least two or three centuries ago. In that tradition, (1) the private and public sphere are separated; (2) the authoritative allocation of work is enforced by means of contracts; (3) all individuals seek rationally to maximize their utility and goals; and (4) people seek their own work based on skills in labor markets, etc. It is quite true that they regard bureaucratic institutions as the best way to attain these given ends. In accounting for these phenomena, Karl Marx(1967:1976) pointed to the high usage of 'constant capital' in 'organic composition'( the value-relation between variable and constant capital ) and indirectly, 'commodity fetishism' within bourgeois society. Afterwards, Max Weber(1958) analyzed modern social institutions in terms of discipline, rationalization, and the systematization of individuals within the principle of the 'Protestant Ethic'. Namely, the ideas of Protestant, as a religious orientation, extended to the principle of modern bureaucracy.

Weber, in the latter part of "Bureaucracy", admits a lack of total control by officers and indirectly implies that these bureaucratic systems are regulated by their own force.

Although the systems are purely controlled by disciplinary and rational ways of action under the enlightened Puritan faith, the cynical expression, 'iron cage' would not have been exceptional to a Protestant. Bureaucratization has proceeded more in this direction than even Marx or Weber expected.

Contemporary writers, such as Anthony Giddens and Juergen Habermas, who have studied Marx and Weber, partially accept as necessary the principles of modern social institutions. Giddens(1976), when explaining 'structure', discusses the importance of 'active subject' or 'human subject' including the condition of man in society. Habermas also concerns himself about human action in the 'lifeworld' within social institutions, and their structures and systems. As the best way to cope with the machine age and 'technological determinism' within social institutions, Habermas gives a solution based upon 'pure dialogue' that is, undistorted communication. Both of them agree that 'communicatively shared intersubjectivity' is the answer, and think that community activity allows the possibility of creating and recreating social institutions. Both use the human subject, intersubjectivity, and the situation within bureaucratic systems in order to stress interaction within the small group as essential to the creation of secondary social institutions. These three terminologies are important because the core of my thesis begins with small group

activity as described in the Eastern religious tradition.

Historically, there were many cases in which the individual experienced a joyful life, true forms of art, magic, will, and esoteric strength within the small group. These individuals frequently rejuvenated social institutions and society.

In the Judaic community, Yahweh's voice reached small plebeian communities. The smaller tribes usually initiated wars against the larger ones, and Yahweh very often saved the small Judaic communities through His mighty power.

Unlike the people's relationship to Yahweh in the Judaic community, the Mongolian community mainly created communal ties among members of the same biological blood and extended blood relations in the nomadic personal community. By means of the spiritual strength of communal ties, the Mongolian tribes invaded Germanic territory. In the same way that the smaller Judaic tribes invaded the larger, small numbers of nomadic tribes got spiritual strength within the Mongolian prairie territory.

Even though we forget the heroic and legendary stories, the meaning of daily life, as social animals, starts with the interactions within a small group of people: This is especially true in eastern countries, such as China, Korea, and Japan, where kingdoms rose and fell because of small groups, like kin-groups or 'kin-textures'. Confucian ideas based upon human heartedness were the norm for the every day life of individuals in the tribal society. Such

ideas are highly related to a practical view of life, not so much to an abstract or metaphysical one.

Today, the people of these Eastern countries( although China has a slightly different form of society compared with the other two) live within and with the help of modern social institutions, but nobody denies that modern business institutions and capitalism originated in the West. Those who support the world system theory such as R. Hilferding(1910), V.I. Lenin(1939), Rosa Luxemburg(1972), Nikolai Bukharin(1972), and Johan Galtung (1971; 'Dependency Theory') do not accept the positive side of Eastern social institutions and capitalism. In addition, many Western social scientists such as D.L. Lerner(1958), S.M. Lipset(1963), S.N. Eisenstadt(1966:1987), and George Henderson(1968) bring a Western bias--Eurocentrism--when applying their ideas to Eastern countries under the name of 'modernization theory'- the process of social change in which less developed societies acquire characteristics common to more developed societies. Marx called this development in Das Capital; the country that is more developed industrially shows, to the less developed, the image of its own future. According to the principle, and along with sharply breaking her own tradition, the less developed country follows western economic development, 'pluralistic'( multi- centered) society through bargaining power of multi- interests, 'self- regulative markets', universal laws, institutionalization of individual freedom,

commodification, urbanization and 'rational' culture, etc. Many Eastern social scientists who studied in Western countries introduced to their countries a similar bias and attitude toward Western forms of social institutions and capitalism.

In this thesis, I will delineate some of the 'Western bias' in these theories though my aim is neither to argue against western ideas and practices, nor to uncritically accept them and argue against traditional eastern ideas and practices. Rather, I aim to describe how capitalism and its institutional forms and practices have been uniquely oriented according to each society. My focus will be on the distinctiveness of Korean capitalism, its particular organizational and institutional principles and practices. I will be taking a historical macro level approach to Korean society and political economy along with a contemporary micro level descriptive approach to relations and practices in the work places of the semi-conductor and electronic industry. Given the distinctiveness and uniqueness of Korean organization, this thesis will perhaps contribute to a broadening of the perspective of all social scientists, especially to both those in the East who uncritically adopt Western ideas and those in the West who feel themselves living within the technological determinism of the machine age. I mean to suggest that given the differences in values, traditions, and culture that continue to exist between a modernizing and technologically advanced

segment of Korean society on the one side, and modern Western society on the other, there may be something to be learned by the West from the Eastern principles of social organization which derive from Eastern religion and philosophy.

Traditionally, in the case of Korean communities, the Confucian family, and not the individual actor, is considered the smallest social unit. The family is regarded with more importance than it is in western countries because of the religious, political, social, and economic roles assigned to it. The Confucian family( Confucian ideology became the state religion in the Yi-dynasty(The Yi kin-group:1392- 1910)) believes in ancestor worship and continuously keeps the souls of deceased parents in Shin-ju(a sacred box). The members of a family always live with the souls of ancestors, and frequently strengthen and reinforce the souls through sacrificial rites. Therefore, under Confucian principle, the home is considered 'sacred'. A latent function of these rites provides both solidarity among members and a proof of sacredness and purification in front of the ancestors' souls. Here the concept of the individual, as the smallest social unit, is family individualism. The Confucian norms describe or prescribe the relationship among the members of kin-groups in great detail. Confucius(551- 478 B.C.) himself lived in a tribal society.

While, the ties are not as strong as in the family

group, the ruling principle of the family or kin-groups extends to villages or school communities, where the founder of villages, the founder of schools, or Confucius is respected in the same way as ancestors are. In this thesis, I will call these villages, schools, and families, Confucian or personal communities. The mode of individual action within these communities is regulated by Confucian personalism (the human interaction in a kin-group, school, village members, and even among monks in Buddhist temples). Those living in such communities practice their sacredness through rites, ritual, and ceremonies. The ritual and norms under Confucian principles are extended to the state bureaucracy, the moral authority comprising the largest social unit having extensive power. Yet the people of small personal communities enjoy a good deal of autonomy through the help of communal ties that sometimes prevent coercive state power. Even now private enterprises may keep autonomy even though they are mostly created with the help of the state or state economic planning in the same way that the state, in the Yi-dynasty, superficially socialized people under the Confucian principle. The problems of morality, 'value rationality', and ethics which are important issues in Western society, are issues not in the East where the activity of each individual is mostly or carefully checked by other members within the personal communities. Because of this 'checking' activity, the members are ready to be helped through the sacrifice of others, or are also ready to be punished through the denial

of others. In this form of social organization, there is a high need for equality to continuously maintain communal ties, solidarity, and social consciousness. The hierarchical system in these communities is usually based on seniority or the order of lineage. Everybody gets a chance to be a respected person when he or she becomes old. I call this concept of freedom, communal freedom, that is the freedom of the community. The community regulates itself without the need for external control. The well ordered mobilized people easily experience magic or emotional sharing in certain situations within the communities. The members are also guaranteed their creating true forms of art, magic, will, and esoteric strength. Meanwhile, the people who join these personal communities sometimes do not like to punish their own members, and close off the Confucian communities more and more by promoting their own vested interests in the 'Machiavellian' sense. Especially in the state bureaucracy, the struggle among personal communities uniquely distinguished the Yi-dynasty. The character of Eastern bureaucracy does not have much similarity to Western bureaucracy because of its strong communal character.

For Western writers who describe the machine age as one in which the activity of individuals is totally controlled by machines or technological rationality, the fragmentation of the person through the division of labor does not create any kind of magic. For that reason, Confucian personalism

combined with the Buddhist sense of 'Zen' or 'Nirvana' may offer an alternative principle of social organizations for the machine age. Therefore, in the first part of my thesis, I will describe the history of this Confucian personalism and Buddhist Zenism, and how their ideas have been adopted to Korean capitalism. In the second part, I will show how these religious ideas have been applied as an orienting and organizing principle of modern social institutions as seen in the Semi-conductor and electronic industry. More specifically, to clearly explain my ideas, the second half of my thesis will discuss (1) The possibilities for spiritual enlightenment and spiritual strength in the machine age along with a comparison of the East and West within the concept of technology, science, magic, will, artistic form, and spiritual strength, (2) a comparative analysis between the Eastern 'regulative 'community' and Western 'possessive individualism' within the concept of private property, liberty, equality, and individualism, (3) the way of 'value rationality', (4) the communities based on Confucian personalism, (5) authority in the work place, (6) the trade union movement in the communities, (7) the principle of private property in the communities.

Buddhist and Confucian ideas do not easily distinguish between religious and non-religious ideas, and between 'sacred' and 'profane' because Eastern religion is itself the mode of activity in daily life: e.g. calligraphy to Buddhists is a product of practicing 'Zen', and

Confucianists, who practice ancestor worship, regard their own home as a sacred place as the Christians do their church. Therefore, the important question is, to what extent are people's activities considered religious ideas? In this thesis, these ideas include morality, asceticism, 'emptiness', or spiritual practices on the individual level; on the group level, they will include the whole mode of activity, even group entertainment.

Modern Korean institutions, such as business enterprises in contemporary society, are usually controlled by those who provide capital. For this reason, Korean institutions appear as if they are operating according to principles that originate in the West. However, traditionally, under Confucian principle, the Eastern state bureaucracy, as a moral authority, controlled the whole mode of life of the people, from religion, to politics, to the economy, to social relations. Although this state of affairs continues today, modern social institutions in Korean society are called private enterprises. From the perspective of an outsider looking in, the Korean system seems to work on the basis of the Western principle of bureaucracy. From the perspective of an insider looking out, the Korean system is far away from the Western one partly because personal norms do not easily change within a year or a decade, and partly because the history of Korean capitalism did not follow the Western development of the 'petit bourgeois class' ( I will explain

this fully in the thesis). The difference between studying and describing the Korean system as an insider looking out or as an outsider looking in presents a dilemma to the researcher. There is an Eastern way of looking and a Western way; each involves different value judgments and therefore raises the question of "objectivity".

In order to explain the principle of personal communities, my approach will draw on Confucian and Buddhist classical writings and contemporary Neo-Confucian thought. Based on a critical reading of the literature on Korean Confucianism. I will also develop an ideal type that can be contrasted with the Western cultural tradition. This ideal type may differ from the actual organization and practices of real historical communities. However, I want to develop and use this ideal type to investigate the contemporary situation of bureaucratic organization within Korea.

The first part of my thesis will theoretically explain the Buddhist and Confucian ideas which regulate an individual's mode of life, and which have provided the foundational mode of small communities for approximately one century. This section will include the development of capitalism and social institutions in Korea. I draw on scholarly works: government documents, books, etc. The second part of my thesis will use the contemporary work situation in the electronic and Semiconductor industry in Korea, including interviews with workers<sup>1</sup>, and documents such as newspaper articles and journalist accounts, to illustrate the applicability of this

typological scheme.

### References

1. The interviews were conducted in four major Korean Semiconductor and electronic companies along with 15 white and 15 blue collar male workers, 5 managers, and 15 female assembly line workers. Because of a theoretical orientation, and as a result of looking for a deep understanding of religious ideas, I did in-depth interviewing using 'open-ended' questions.

\* PART I

## II. KOREAN TRADITIONAL COMMUNITIES.

### 2.1 The Religious ideas.

#### A. Buddhist Principles Operating in Korean Communities.

The oriental societies of China, Korea, and Japan have much cultural similarity, especially in the religious life of individuals. Even though each country has developed its own unique religious form and practice, Buddhist and Confucian religious ideas form the basis of them all. Traditionally in Korea, the two Eastern religions have had a great role in creating individual and social consciousness. Thus, my main question is, "What are the main tenets of these religions from which people have created individual lives and communities?" Religious ideas here are not discussed for their own sake<sup>1</sup>. The essence of each religion is not even my question. Rather, my task will be to study not only the conditions and effects of a particular type of social behavior including people's habits, customs, behaviors, and value patterns as formed by Buddhist and Confucian ideas, but also the change in these value patterns and social behavior through time.

Buddhism, similar to Taoism in placing great importance on the order of cosmos, is still the most dominant religion in Korea, and has a longer history than Confucian ideology in Korea. Unlike the Christian God, Buddha was an individual just like you, and a person can become Buddha. A Buddhist

follows his religion because of Buddha's early awakening through suffering. The principle simply is; To be a Buddha, one has to have an "empty mind" <sup>2</sup> in order to learn a way of liberation, while memorizing Buddha's principles through training and suffering in 'Mahayana sects'. After repeatedly engaging in these activities while having curiosity and love of truth, one experiences the wisdom of the natural order. At the last stage of these activities, the emptiness of the individual creates the state of complete absence of sensation, "Nirvana", which directly brings one's mind into liberty. The ethical meaning of Nirvana in the Mahayana sects is; Emptiness is no different from form, and form is no different from emptiness; One man is all men, and all men are one man. This liberty is not the same as Jean Jacques Rousseau's concept of liberty based on 'social contracts' for the right of individuals. To those who look for power, prestige, and wealth, Buddhism seems to be an 'odd' religion because it focuses on the inner liberation of people. Approaching perfect self - control to attain these advantages also brings about the perfect self- frustration of an individual's mind. In contrast with mundane seekers, Buddhists always try to reach a certain mental comfort by pursuing Zen, the expression of a mentality which feels <sup>3</sup> completely at home in this universe .

When memorizing Buddha's principle, people notice its deep sociological meaning. A student of Buddhism is one who

has the will to obey and serve Buddha, and carries the wisdom and courage of Buddha. The student of Buddhism sees Buddha as sacred because of the latter's understanding and teaching about suffering rather than as sacred because of intrinsic holiness as, for example, Jesus. Meanwhile, during training, the students come to understand the importance of living beings in the cosmos because the students understand cosmological order in a holistic sense which includes themselves, other human beings, and nature. All these things are predestined in accordance with the deeds practiced in their previous existence. In the future, they themselves will be replaced into other beings and creatures according to their way of life in this world.

Because of the values which he placed on living beings, Buddha, who was a student, came from the mountains to save the people who were still swimming in the water of mundane interests. He preached the importance of an empty mind. Here the meaning of an empty mind, in the ethical sense, seems to be extremely meaningful for community, partly because those who are full of desires do not regard other people or the community as important, partly because those who are full of their own opinions do not think of public opinion as meaningful, and partly because those who have empty minds are flexible and can meet challenges. In the Buddhist community, people try to have an empty mind and experience their magical power through the change of nature. When people see Buddha in their community, they have the will

to obey and serve him, and Buddha's birthday brings remote villages together in rites and feasts in order to deeply imprint on one's memory of Buddhas's suffering and liberation.

The spirit of serving Buddha easily turns into the will to obey and serve leaders and the community. That spirit always keeps peace in the Buddhist community because people have an empty and compassionate mind for others. In terms of the principle of empty mind for the inner liberation of people, Lao Zu (604-531 B.C.) was a good man to be a Buddhist, even if he himself was not a Buddhist. Lao Zu can be translated only as "old person", one who is retired from society, but nobody knows what his real name was. In the Taoistic principle his name has a similar meaning. Namely, it is a kind of outward symbol of an inward liberation from the bounds of conventional patterns of thought and conduct<sup>4</sup>. In Taoism, a man has two types of desires which are called personal and natural desires. The natural desires mean basic needs. The personal desires contain not only the natural desires, but also the surplus desires from natural desires. According to Lao Zu, the best economic system keeps a person in the state of natural desires. More specifically, people produce goods by means of their ability and consume the goods according to their natural needs. Because of this principle, Tao's economic thought is called the economic theory of no desires<sup>5</sup>. The

production and distribution of goods and services are regulated by the simple market where people buy their necessities. Basically, the features of Taoism tend to devaluate given ideas and the world, and to minimize the control of the mind by the complex social order and individual desires in order to emphasize the mystic experiences and magical powers of people.

#### B. Confucian Principles Operating in Traditional Korean Communities.

The Confucian principle, based upon benevolence of mind, is not different from the Buddhist principle in the sense of emptiness in the ethical meaning, although the Confucian would not easily sympathize with a rigorously monastic type of Buddhism. The Confucian idea emphasizes mainly principles of harmonious social relationships through morals, ethics, and customs which are a great guide for daily life in society. The five most important norms of social relationships are the following; between father and son, there should be affection; between husband and wife, attention to their separate functions; between sovereign and minister, righteousness; between old and young, a proper order; and between friends, fidelity<sup>6</sup>. These principles assume a division of labor in society like the same described by Durkheim with internalized norms that apply to the positions within the division of labor. In Confucian ideas, these five principles are focused on benevolence:

Namely, if being a good son makes a good subject, being a good father will also make a good ruler. Love for people outside one's family is looked upon as an extension of the love for members of one's own family 7.

These principles are called the Way of Confucianism, which seems to cover the universe and man, and advocates harmonious relations among human beings, and between human beings and nature. Above all, harmony among human beings is the main concern of Confucian ideology.

An important question to be consider is, how do these principles create harmony in the community? Mencius( 1970) explains four characteristics of man's nature:

- (1). The feeling of commiseration is the principle of benevolence.
- (2) The feeling of shame and dislike is the principle of righteousness.
- (3). The feeling of modesty and complaisance is the principle of propriety.
- (4). The feeling of approving and disapproving is the principle of knowledge 8.

In other words, these four characteristics of man's nature are good principles for the mind. If, therefore, we develop these good principles in relationships with others, there will be harmony among the members of the community. More specifically, in an ethical way, the benevolence among these four concepts leads to what is called by T'oegye Lee, 1501-70: a Korean Neo-Confucian scholar, the 'public self' which includes all the people together in society. This principle of benevolence creates a harmonious communal and public life, and the public life is regarded as one's natural life itself<sup>9</sup>. In attempting to become 'good' for the public life, learning the virtuous behavior of such Sage

kings as Wen and Wu was extremely important. According to the higher moral and ethical studies of these Sage kings, an individual does not only control his own private mundane desires and emotions( private life), but also makes objective connections between cause and effect. For an example, let us see the typical guidance offered on making decisions on the wages, schedules, and vacations of workers:

An officer who takes care of workers should pay them as much as is needed to support their families. If a worker supports his old parents, and a large family, the officer should allow an additional payment. In addition, to be reasonable, the work time should be limited from 5 - 7 A.M. to 7 - 9 P.M. in the summer, and from 7 - 9 A.M. to 3 - 5 P.M. in winter. In this way the workers also have enough time to cultivate their land, to take care of their families. The higher officers should concern themselves about the harmony between the public and private life of the workers because it is their responsibility 10.

There is no compromise among the higher officers, lower officers, and workers when a decision is made. Power to make decisions is usually concentrated in the hands of a higher officer, but it is dependent upon his benevolence. In this way, if 'the higher literati'<sup>11</sup> has a mind of benevolence, there may be harmony in the community because it is an immanent virtue that men get from heaven. In this community, people are regulated by moral law rather than by legal domination. People under the control of moral law enjoy spiritual strength in daily life, including what Mencius called the 'inner' spiritual life and the 'outer' ethicosocial life. Namely, Confucian emphasis on inner qualities is one of the ways to bring about spiritual

enlightenment through the investigation of the natural order, the search for the love of truth, and the enjoyment of work, etc., However, the individual sometimes becomes a slave to this kind of enjoyment. To escape this indulgence, Mencius's ethicosocial order is a useful concept. Tung Chung-schu expresses an idea similar to Mencius'; Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their hearts; Wishing to rectify their hearts, they sought to be sincere( true-<sup>12</sup> without self- deception) in their thoughts . These rectified ideas are to be practiced by the people within the ethical community, and the people within this community guarantee the ideas because each individual, according to Mencius, originally has a 'good' human nature which is similar to the cultivated person's. In this sense, moral patterns also provide freedom for people within the community.

Nevertheless, sometimes the way of life seems to consist of fixed and rigid roles, without motivating the people. People in these role-relationships were expected to follow human standards which are defined as part of responsibility. Obligations rather than rights were emphasized and were the outstanding characteristic of this society. For example, a king was always king, and at the same time women were always women. There was no equality between sovereign and minister, and between men and women because these ranks were a given. In society, women followed their fathers when they were young, their

husbands when they were married, and their sons when they were old. Moreover, a woman had to be forever on the alert and keep a strict watch over her own conduct. In the morning she had to rise early, and at night had to go to sleep late in order to take care of a large family.

A woman's role in the home was to maintain tradition and socialize her child into the tradition. She also controlled the household economy. In Korean tradition, a gentleman did not worry about the household economy. Because of this principle, the woman's role of maintaining the economy in a large family was extremely important. Often an old mother and the daughter-in-law fought to attain economic powers and this struggle provided a crucial topic for anthropological research. The old mother-in-law had some power and did not easily want to give up it to the daughter-in-law. The economic relationships between the women within a household did not bring positive growth and motivation in the traditional society. Under this ascetic culture, people created individual lives and communities while practicing Buddhist and Confucian ideas.

#### References

1. This concept is usually used for a substantive definition of religion.
2. Empty mind is called the original nature of one's existence; To Buddhists, one's existence is empty, and emptiness is the origin. It is absolute truth and being which never change. In fact, it is the same as Nirvana and the body of essence of the Buddha.

3. Alan W. Watts, The Way Of Zen( New York; Vintage Books, 1957), P.174.
4. Benjamin I. Schwartz , The World Of Thought In Ancient China( Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), P.74.
5. Kyungtak Kim, "Contemporary Confucian and Taoistic Thought", Chunggyung Yeonku Vol. 37( February 1968), PP. 24-26.
6. James Legge, The Works Of Mencius( New York: Dover Publication Inc., 1970), P.252.
7. Ibid., P. 253.
8. Ibid., P. 202- 203.
9. Kidong Lee, "Lee T'oegye-uei Indochuueiwa Kyeng", T'oegye Hakbo Vol. 54( July 1987), PP. 38- 40.
10. Jonghwa Lee, Yissichosoensitaeuei nodongbueb(Seoul: Parkyungsa, 1969), PP. 281- 304.
11. The higher literati were mainly trained under the Confucian ideas, but the main exams of the literati were very often the problems of and solution for the state. In addition, the technical skills for dealing with state bureaucracy were taught within the institutions. However, the skills were not important because the main role of state bureaucracy was the place for testing moral ideas, rather than efficient management.
12. Benjamin I. Schwartz, P.405.

## 2.2. An Historical Application of Religious Ideas to the Community.

### A. Religious Ideas and Personal Communities

In traditional Korea( Yi dynasty,1392-1910), the founding principles were that; 1)there was a rigid social order in which each person accepted his or her role as given; 2)private property was hardly justified partly because merchant activity was limited, and partly because lands basically belonged to the kingdom. The Confucian scholar learned and practiced Confucian ideological principles in official places. When at home, he usually practiced the Buddhist ritual or Taoist principle of no desires. The Confucian 'status' group monopolized the learning of the difficult Chinese language and the taking of exams on literature and all subjects. The law codes of the Yi period also prescribed that the right to take exams would be limited to Yangban descendants, a governing class of nearly 18 percent of the population<sup>1</sup>. Then, if the gentry passed the official examination, the patrimonial government provided official lands for them which were to be returned when they finished the term of office. However, the literati in the later Yi-dynasty violated this regulation, and kept these lands during their lifetime, sometimes passing them on for one or two generations more. As a result, the land turned into quasi-private property. By later Yi period, the Confucian scholar, whether of the literati or the intellectual status

group, had become a middle or large land owner<sup>2</sup>. The population tended to be sharply divided into two classes; an aristocracy of landlords and an economically dependent peasantry. The land owner status group was similar to the nobility in western medieval feudal society, where the gentry took the key positions in the army, as well as the more important offices in church and state. In some ways, Mencius in the East also accepted a limited luxurious life for kings:

Kings may enjoy their huge hunting parties, expensive lavish palaces and concubines, but such luxuries are legitimate only if the people can also enjoy something of the good life<sup>3</sup>.

But Mo-tzu pointed out; The problem is not that of the growth of the forces of production, but the task of distribution<sup>4</sup>. To make matters worse, the high or middle literati, who did not directly participate in production, kept a larger proportion of land. The reality was that "learning activity got property". There was no other way to attain economic wealth because of the politics dominating the economy.

Patrimonial communities also had a positive aspect which may have come from the principle of community. As mentioned earlier, in regard to Mencius' ideas on human nature, if a man kept the four qualities of 'Man's good nature', society (as a community) did have harmony among its people. In action, his theory held true because the patrimonial bureaucratic system controlled people without the help of military forces through most of the Yi- period. The strong morality in people's minds provided a high degree of

individual freedom from external coercion. Through a common sense of morality, the people sustained social solidarity. Meanwhile there were extensive communal ties among members of groups within each part of that society, including Confucian scholars, monks in Buddhist temples, peasants, and kinship groups, all of which I call personal communities or Confucian personal communities.

The literati continued to control the schools in which they had studied, throughout their lifetimes. This personal group was both a secular community and a religious sect. Each school kept the Shin-ju (a sacred box) for the soul of school's founder and for Confucius. The religious rituals of the personal community operated as a social mechanism for reinforcing certain secular as well as sacred sentiments among its members. Through ceremonies and sacrificial rites, they practiced the way to keep themselves sacred in front of the soul of the school's founders. Latently, these ceremonies might fulfill the role of reinforcing the group's identity by providing a periodic occasion on which the scattered members assembled to engage in a common activity. The members sometimes joined the Kye association which was designed to promote mutual assistance, friendship, good will, and a system of common belief<sup>5</sup>. It meant that the members of the same school had to join the kye associations to maintain solidarity within the created personal communities. Through membership and participation in these associations, the gentry sometimes could easily move up to a higher position

through their personal connections. In general, the whole patrimonial bureaucracy consisted of many personal communities. There were also intensive factional conflicts outside these personal communities during the later Yi dynasty from generation to generation. A young male child was already made a member because of his father's school and social status. He followed in his father's foot steps only according to his capacity.

The members of the same schools always shared everything in common. Each noble held reciprocal relationship according to Confucian principles. A member of this gentry was easily publicly and privately observed by others in the same group. Because of an environment of constant observation, the status group controlled instinctive, irrational behavior, and egoism(unrestricted appetite). This characteristic can be called observed or regulative community. Sharing in common and neutral surveillance among the members within personal communities were strictly applied even to the king. The Confucian status group promoted a rigid acceptance of kings. But to those kings who violated moral laws, Mencius's theory of revolution was applied:

Mencius theory of revolution: the principle of the philosopher Yang was "each one for himself". Though he might have benefited the whole kingdom by plucking out a single hair, he would not have done it. The philosopher Mo loves all equally. If by rubbing smooth his whole body from the crown to the heel, he could have benefited the kingdom, he would have done it 6.

In this way, the moral laws and the obligation to obey these

laws were perpetuated by the basic principles of Confucianism in the observed community. How would the Buddhist principle of empty mind and the Confucian principle of benevolence operate in these circumstances? First, the environment of observation gave the feeling that there was an awareness and acknowledgment of other people's acts. Second, the environment of observation provided some protection from the other members in the same community. The relationship among the members of the community were reciprocal because each member knew the other's role and activities. When people know each other's problems, they are expected to and do help one another. The community was based on mutual help. Third, the customs of observing created an appearance of sacrifice for each other among the members in the group due to the principle of benevolence. These three principles of observation among the members created a unique community controlled by communal liberty and Confucian personalism. The personal community was organized within such occupations as production or services in the state bureaucracy, and monks, and within such groups as village, and kinship communities. But as a negative function, people among the members did not easily accept outside groups like many Protestants who do not accept other sects and religions in contemporary society.

Because of these norms of the community of observation, pure communities within the state bureaucracy according to Confucian principle existed in the earlier Yi

dynasty, while later in the dynasty they became the basis of factions. Even in contemporary politics in Korea, on account of the factionalism and Confucian personalism, modern party action directed toward a united goal does not work<sup>7</sup>. In sum, Confucian personalism was based on the communal principle, and the concept of freedom is collective (communal) rather than individualistic.

There were also other types of personal groups outside the state bureaucracy such as Buddhist, village, and kinship personal communities. The Buddhist monks formed one type of personal community. The Buddhist religion is frequently divided into two large branches; Hinayana and Mahayana. Under the former tradition, a monk awakens himself through training and suffering without heavily depending on the Buddhist bible (sutra). In other words, the formula that 'awakening oneself is salvation' is true under the principle of self discipline of Hinayana which does not place much emphasis on the Buddha's ideas and ceremonies, rituals, and rites which Buddha(sakyamuni) also chose as his principle when he attained salvation in early training and suffering.

Mahayana was formed in the east Asian countries where the rituals and rites were both emphasized in ceremonies and daily life. This branch insists on the assistance of Buddha's ideas and observing each step of Buddha's activities. Through the help of Buddha's power, one reaches salvation at beginning of one's awakening. In this process,

individual activities are limited, and the purpose of salvation for each monk is regarded as the salvation of all the people in society. The formula that 'salvation of oneself is sacrifice' forms the basic principle of this branch.

The temple authorities teach the 'deep' ideas of Buddha, the historical consciousness of Buddha, and the 'complicated' ceremonies of rituals. A young trainee of Buddhism starts by being adopted by a temple. He is taught everything by Sangjoa (godfather), from the activity of cutting hair to every step of all Buddhist rituals, and learns about the spiritual, political, and economic struggles among sects. Sangjoa teaches the young under unique ideological principles which are sometimes totally different from those of other branches of the sect. This old monk provides all kinds of economic help during the training process. The personal relationship between Sangjoa and the trainees is almost the same as that in families. The ideological principle in each sect is very much similar to the school tradition under Confucian ideas in which the lineage of ideology and family tradition were passed down from decade to decade. The political struggle among Buddhist sects is constant. The monks in each Buddhist sect did not like to compromise themselves with the members of other sects. The young were likely to choose a godfather from a 'good' family tradition because famous families in a famous sect held extensive power in the politics of the Buddhist community by means of group solidarity. A brilliant young monk alone could not do

anything without the help of the members of his adopted family. In addition, even today, those who do not have a 'good' family tradition do not easily join the Buddhist<sup>8</sup> bureaucratic administration of Korean temples. Today, The relationship between the local temples and the central Buddhist bureaucracy is the result of decentralization of power because the head priest in each temple is usually chosen by all the families of the congregation belonging to Buddhist sects. There was a similar phenomenon between the patriarchal government and large powerful families during the Yi period.

Another type of personal community was the village community. The whole idea of the state was based mainly on reducing control over the people so they could lead the simple, self-sufficient life of the village<sup>9</sup>. The farmers lived in villages too scattered, and isolated, This tendency was increased by the lack of strong feudal patterns needed to draw villages together. The 'corvee workers'<sup>10</sup> only served the state a few days, or for any time that would not destroy their agricultural usefulness. After the corvee service was completed, the worker was expected to go home and continue with his own business. Most of the population consisted of peasants living in villages.

Due to the complicated and costly ceremonies of the Confucian rituals, the average people, who belonged to the lower classes, and all women tended to go outside

Confucianism, either to shamanism, 'popularized' Buddhism, or ancestor worship. In some senses, these people created gods who always lived with and helped them. Their gods live in this world, unlike the Christian God who lives in Heaven and unlike Buddha who lives in the paradise of Buddhism. The traditional Korean gods always lived with the people who usually called their gods through exorcisers and sacrificial rites, and sometimes helped the souls of the grudge gods to settle down in a fine place. The members of the village community also had their own god. They had an ideologically unified system of beliefs and practices through the rites of the sacred village god. They reinforced social norms and solidarity through ritual and ceremonies, and rites. However, since the politics of the state controlled all spheres of the people's lives, the dominant Confucian state religion had to be applied in the village-like community. There was also a need to maintain communal ties under religion because both planting activities and irrigation in peasant society were not regarded as individual activities, but as group work. The people of the communities maintained intimate relationships at a relatively equal basis.

In these villages five families made up one unit (Originally, this law code was created because the peasant was not allowed to leave his village without the authority of the community because one whole community was jointly liable for taxes and for redemption dues<sup>11</sup>). Even individual families in this unit were considered

representatives of the primary collectivity. A wrong step would jeopardize not only the individual but also his or her group or at best, leave him open to contempt and ridicule. In this primary group, if a young man was doing military service, another young man in this community would provide the supplies for the army<sup>12</sup>. In addition, when one of the five families ran away, the other remaining four families would pay the state or local taxes for the escapees.

The traditional local village community in Korean society consisted of few or many units of five families. This system existed especially in the areas where cities were not developed. The members of these peasant groups created extensive communal ties by forming kye associations under Confucian and Buddhistic ideology:

Some kye associations were formed of small groups of the same age, sex, and social status. In other cases, the entire community would form kye associations for the purpose of improving general living conditions. Kye associations, composed of small, socially homogeneous groups, were often created for a specific purpose such as recreational or religious activities, community school maintenance, and guarding forest resources. Community wide kye associations looked after village needs and could be expected to help in the event of death, sickness and disaster. Groups of neighbors would also cooperate in maintaining roads and bridges and thatching and building houses<sup>13</sup>.

As Max Weber(1964) observed , this local community was sometimes strong enough to protect itself from the arbitrary power of the central government( In some senses, the policy of the Yi dynasty was to provide minimum livelihood and to teach the easy Korean language to the lower class in order to

establish its power because of the trying experience of  
'slave revolution'<sup>14</sup> in the later Geoyeo time). The village  
itself preserved some degree of communal liberty through  
communal ties. Extensive kinship groups supported the social  
order by determining the values which lead to social justice  
in the traditional society. Without the help of the  
extensive kin relationships, the community could not easily  
maintain the original Confucian and Buddhist practices.  
Basically, except for a small proportion of the higher level  
literati most people lived by cultivating lands through  
irrigating, planting, and weeding in rice and barley fields.  
The unit of production and consumption was not based upon the  
individual, but upon the family as the unit. The right to  
cultivate lands from the state was given to the head of the  
family, not to the individual. Perhaps the state wanted to  
control people through the family members. The individualism  
was family individualism in peasant society. The home was  
the sacred place where the people and the soul of their  
ancestors lived together. It was in the family that one  
learned how to exercise and submit to authority. The  
cultivated individual in a family was prepared for regulating  
the family and thereby, governing the state. Even today when  
members of large families live in cities, they maintain  
extensive ties to their native villages(The Korea Times,  
1985).

In sum, in this environment, a social unit, whether  
that of the literati, monk, village, or kin groups, (without

regard to the size), was clearly considered a personal community. This thesis will make clear two points about those communities; (1) Confucian personalism ranged from biological kin-groups, to non-biological groups such as the members of the state and organizations of monks, (2) an individual practicing self-control and self-abnegation in order to sustain communal ties required a sense of benevolence and an empty mind. For the latter, the individual was traditionally "other-directed" in a 'positive' sense, and his or her activities were based on an ascetic orientation. Here the character of Confucian personalism was based on asceticism even though 'personalism' contained emotional feelings.

#### B. Personal Communities and Social Change in Early Korean Born Capitalism.

Cities were not developed in the western manner because profit making was prohibited by the government and by Confucian ideology, and because this activity seemed to turn people's minds towards viciousness. This prohibition is one of the reasons why the city, in the earlier portion of the Yi dynasty, did not develop independent guild organizations as happened in the western medieval city. Instead of the guilds protecting the interests of established artisans as occurred in the West, Korean artisans and merchants who were called 'Kong In', were usually appointed by the government.

In urban settings, there was the group known as 'middle

men' made up of artisans, technicians and merchants who produced supplies for the government and its officials living in cities. Their social status would be middle class, between a higher official and an average citizen. However, unlike in Japan, these classes did not enjoy great status or power. In Japan the technicians were highly rewarded because of the frequent wars among Feudal lords (daimyo). Due to their skills, which were sometimes obtained from western countries such as the Netherlands, these technicians were regarded as crucial factors for the winning of wars. Artisans in Korea, however, did not have extensive power. They, therefore, could not be an independent social class; they had no right to private property. They were a salaried class of lower government officials (In the later Yi period there were free artisans working for merchants, but the artisans were not an independent class due to state control). Also in the cities, especially in the later Yi rule, lived another social class, the traders, who had a large network all over the country through the help of peddlers inns which started in 1895<sup>15</sup>. These people still could not be independent from government officials and the gentry. The social image of the traders was not good because of the taboo on profit making activity. This differed from Japan, where well educated samurai gave up their social rank in order to go into trade, and where many farmers moved to the towns to be artisans or merchants, and where a few merchants

were given samurai status in return for extraordinary services to the government<sup>16</sup>. However, in the later Yi period, a positivistic school of people who wanted to adapt utilitarian ideology, the Sil Hak School, argued against the metaphysical Confucian theory, Neo - Confucian thought. But under the situation in which Confucian scholars monopolized vested interests, the dominant class (Confucian gentry) did not accept this positivistic movement and did not want to create another new powerful social class. Above all, Confucian ideology prohibited any activity which broke communal ties. However, the weak traders maintained business privately with the help of the gentry (Owing to the military power which was controlled by the Korean patriarchal government). The aristocrat could not easily fulfill his own purpose unlike in Japan where each feudal lord could carry weapons, and directly help the merchant class who needed weapons to trade in rural areas where a transportation system was not developed. Because of a lack of ideological and substantial support for Korean traders, rich merchants were ready to give up their social status in order to buy the right to become members of the gentry. In Japan, by contrast, the son of a rich merchant remained a merchant rather than becoming a member of the gentry and entered the bureaucracy that way<sup>17</sup>. The merchant played a crucial role in the building of the Meiji government. In Korea, the merchants were excluded from high level government positions which were reserved for the Confucian scholars.

The Korean underground economy which took place under weak government control can be compared with the Russian one in the early period of industrialization. A keen foreign observer, Yuri Krizhanich who, in the seventeenth century, went to Russia, described the dishonesty of the Russian artisans and traders. The Korean underground economy lacked ethics even under the ascetic environment.

The samurai status group in Japan entered the trades. The Tokugawa regime lost control of power when western capitalism gained power in Japan in the 19th century. For this reason, the samurai could not stay in the same social position. Moreover, their economic situation was depressed in the early 19th century; the state accepted the idea of Hosoi - Heishu (1728-1801), a Japanese scholar, that the government should cut the salaries of the samurai in half<sup>18</sup>. In other words, Japanese society no longer needed so many samurai. It was necessary that this status group publicly enter trades or other fields. Furthermore, in Tokugawa Japan pure Confucian scholars could not easily argue that the activity of trade turned people's mind vicious because the Samurai had higher status and greater power than the Confucian scholars. In contrast, in Korea pure Confucian scholars were more highly regarded than the military gentry. In other words, Japan made it easier to adapt the capitalist system.

Traders in Japan held extensive military power in the

early period of Japanese capitalist history. Since feudal lords were ready to negotiate with the rich merchants for weapons, the merchants also publicly accumulated capital. In addition, the merchants profited from the spirit of militarism:

By 1880 slightly more than 44 percent of the stock in the national banks belonged to the new peers, mostly former Daimyo (feudal lords) and members of the imperial courts 19.

The government took a number of more specific measures, such as encouraging agricultural reclamation by Samurai and offering loans to set them up in business 20.

Many reasons have been offered to explain how Japan was able to industrialize so rapidly after the Meiji Restoration of 1868, but surely one of the most important must have been that the country was ruled by military men 21.

During the late 19th century, the feudal lords under the Tokugawa regime had lost power, while at the same time the centralization of Japan under militarism was accomplished. Korean, Chinese, and even Russian territories could not be independent of this aggressive and imperialistic power.

In Korean territory between the late 19th and the early 20th century, there were three dynamic social changes affecting the sense of community based on the discipline of Confucian personalism. First, a guild system with a national network was established in the period when government control was not strong. In a few decades, this system helped turn the territory into a relatively free capitalist economy, and from this the modern form of business company like the 'Sang Moo' (commercial) association

could be built. The members of that guild system also established peddlers inns ('Gaek Ju') associations, and then joined kye associations to keep communal ties among the members and to accumulate their capital without any help from the patrimonial government ruled by Confucian ideology. In this underground economy, the merchant did not have the Calvinistic sense of individual faith and will which are derived from a 'calling' (Beruf). The guild system rapidly spread all over the country, but the Japanese invasion of the late 19th century prevented the development of that system. Second, there was a peasant revolution, called 'Donghak', which translates as Eastern Studies, based on the three religions Confucianism, Buddhism, and traditional Zen thought. That movement rapidly extended into small and large villages and the members directly attacked local governments.

It was regarded ideologically as a religious movement, and politically as a revolutionary movement against the ruling class and foreign 'imperialism'<sup>22</sup>. Some leaders of the movement usually believed in Confucian ideology, but the others believed in traditional religions such as shamanism, popularized Buddhism or ancestor worships. This movement's members were unified by Donghak (the Eastern Studies), and the revolutionary agent consisted of peasants. Because of the spirit of revolution, the government army could not gain a victory over the Donghak army<sup>23</sup>, even if the Donghak people did not carry modern weapons. The strength of that movement,

which the government finally did dispel, only with the help of the Chinese and Japanese armies, was due to the communal ties and Confucian personalism among the members of the group.

Third, the factions among the ruling class under the patrimonial system were involved in keen struggles. Each group of people from the same school continuously argued against the others due to the different interpretations of the Confucian texts. Such argumentation was not very different from the Protestants under Christianity in contemporary society. The Confucian scholar who made a crucial mistake while competing with his fellows was likely to lose his honor, his property, and his life<sup>24</sup>. In contemporary times, the modern businessman who makes a crucial mistake while competing with his fellows (on the market), especially in the semi-conductor industry, may lose his property, but he certainly will not forfeit his life. Above all, to the Confucian literati, the struggle with other groups was due to extensive communal ties between the members. In other words, competition occurred among groups, not individuals. The main ideological support of the struggle seemed to be Confucian personalism even though the debate centered on 'hedonism' or 'egoism' based on Confucian benevolence and Buddhistic empty mind. In this sense, the struggle was made up of 'Machiavellian' fighting, and created the ideological splits among personal communities.

Eventually, the literati, including the kings, lost authority, in which the obedience of the subject is a pleasure and advantage to the superior<sup>25</sup>. In Eastern countries where people thought society was a given, each individual was usually regarded as a 'sacred being', and the 'common conscience' ( collective conscience ) was highly developed. Here authority was regarded as 'sacred' so as to preserve the Eastern community. The ruling elite then easily used coercive state power to maintain political or communal order during the period of change.

In traditional Korea, the literati themselves destroyed the 'strong' power of authority during their struggle. In addition, the literati themselves were the revolutionary agent according to Menciusan theory. As will be discussed below, society, in the later Yi period, was changing internally and externally. Here the dynasty had a special need for energetic direction, but did not have it and so lost authority. This loss of authority is no different from that in later bourgeois society, where the state and other social institutions do not have enough authority within the changing environment of the world system. The bourgeois lost their authority, and instead of having voluntary obedience, they needed to buy the power of authority by means of pecuniary power such as higher wages for workers. In addition, the secular state with the backing of the bourgeoisie did not have enough authority to cope with the changing society. In the Yi- dynasty, the power structure also lost its authority

to maintain communities. Because of a lack of authority which could not cope with the changing phenomena, the Yi period was brought to an end.

### C. The Structure of and Changes in Personal Communities.

Japanese imperialism in Korean territory had a tremendous impact by means of mandatory adaptation of capitalism and demographic changes which are necessary for understanding the characteristics of state politics and the structure of the capitalist system. Here instead of directly describing the social changes under Japanese colonization, there is a need to explain the social structure of the later Yi dynasty. For this purpose, my dissertation will deal with the kinship, social, political, and economic structure of the Yi period to clearly illustrate my point, and to clearly explain the character of Confucian personalism which usually includes blood, territorial, and school ties.

The Yi dynasty was controlled by the Yi-kin group, which lived in the Chonjoo province, and was the representative upper class. There were also many other powerful kin groups supporting the Yi-kin group in that traditional patriarchal society. These groups shared and competed for power among the upper status clans in society. The politics of the clans, which did not wholly originate in the Yi dynasty, because the Geoyeo dynasty(918 -1392) was already based on the principle of clan politics. Through a military force led by a member

of the Yi clan, the Yi successfully revolted against the Geoyeo dynasty. After this social change, many powerful clans under the Geoyeo rules did not accept the legitimacy of the coup d'etat because the upper classes thought that the movement was unnecessary and illegitimate. After generation later, the descendants of these classes took the Yi literati examination<sup>26</sup>.

In the power struggle among large families, there was a rule, from which no one was exempt, stating that the kin groups of people who wanted bureaucratic government positions, had to participate in the official examination on Confucian subjects. To those who had vested interests, the struggle in order to get continuous power was regarded as the history of the Yi dynasty, and no clans wanted to be easily defeated in this 'zero-sum' power game for the given positions. However, because of the characteristics of the power game, there were winners and losers. Those who won the struggle among kin groups for existence did not finish the fight in one generation. Those who retired from government positions usually went back to their homeland to teach their descendants, although there were a few exceptions in cases where the literati brought dishonor on his own family tradition.

In general, in the struggle for existence, the older generations had the responsibility to make sure that their sons served in government positions in order to

directly preserve noble families, and to indirectly create 'good' government through the help of the descendants of the noble families (those in the priestly office) under Confucian ideas. For these purposes, succeeding generations followed every step of the rules of the older generations. The religious and family sphere in the Eastern tradition, as pointed out by W. Schluchter(1981), largely coincided within the institutional order unlike in Western countries where family and religion were institutionally different so that Westerners had to obey God more than a man, and the heavenly father more than a natural father<sup>27</sup>. In the East, the old acquired extensive authority, while on the other hand, the young served the rules of the old. The activities of the two groups were founded in Oriental philosophical wisdom. The old performed two activities, asserting both authority and benevolence along with empty mind. In practice, extensive authority necessarily created unequal power sharing between the old and the young. Old generations could use much more extensive power than young ones. The worship of ancestors and the respecting of the old under Confucian rules had been thought of as a basic principle of the static society. In other words, old people received an emphasis in the traditional society and knew social norms and value systems better than the young. Because of this, old people, the upper class, and people in high positions in the patriarchal government frequently made trouble, abusing their power. However, on the other hand, by means of Oriental wisdom, all

these old groups of people, in some senses, were ready to sacrifice themselves for the lower groups. For example, even in contemporary Korean cities where nuclear families are consumptional rather than productional units, and where the wealth of the nation is still at a relatively poor level compared with other developed nations, a poll in 1986 showed that the greatest wish of 84 per cent of Korean adults was for the success of their children, and 86 percent of Korean adults regarded their children's success as their own(Joong-ang Daily News, May, 1987). This explains why only 5% of the Korean population is illiterate. The relationship between adults and their children is not compatible with or covered by Marx's belief( 1964, P.62) that the bourgeoisie has torn away the family's sentimental veil, and reduced family relations to mere money relations. Thus the character of individualism is regarded as family individualism, and liberty among the members of families is thought of as communal liberty. Because of the family tradition during the Yi dynasty, an individual who did not have a good family background could not participate in the government examination in the traditional society.

In this patriarchal Yi dynasty, only those kin families that produced governmental officers within every four generations were called Yangban(upper class). The Hyangban status was the group who did not bring up any literati within these generations, and who were the descendants of former

Yangban. The Yangban status was effectively restricted to descendants within the fourth generation of a literati-official. Toban, in the same way, were said to be those people whose far remote ancestors were literati-officials, but there was no clear demarcation between Hyangban and Toban<sup>28</sup>. In this sharply defined and divided class society, the order of and position in kin-groups were clearly delineated. Along with struggles among various kin groups, there were also tense conflicts among the inner members of clans. The hierarchic order of the family gave priority to the first son rather than the second. The former had the right to leader the sacrificial rites for his ancestor worship. Priority was also given to sons rather than daughters, and to the first wife rather than the second. Especially, Soe-oel who were the offspring of a Yangban and his concubine, could not enjoy the same privileges as their brothers. Because of this tight Korean tradition, Korean family law still bans marriages between men and women having the same family name and the same ancestral village (the relationship is considered incestuous, although their ancestors lived there 40 or 50 generations ago). There are still many unequal statutes for inheritance rights, divorce codes, and head of household privileges that are all heavily in favor of men and against women even though the large family system is beginning to be broken through industrialization. Each year 'feminist' groups want to change the law, but the Confucian scholars still do not

support their voice.

Where cities were not developed, these upper class clans stayed in their home places, and the groups had some lands which they acquired from their ancestors. In order to break the upper class power of the Geoyeo dynasty, the earlier Yi wanted to get rid of the vested interests of the gentry, and all the lands were considered the property of the Yi kingdom. However, the plan was not totally successful because of the power of the gentry status.

The home land was the ground for the upper kin groups, and all the kin people, with the help of natural resources from the land, preserved family tradition from one generation to the next generations. The clans in each province did not frequently move into other places because, as a latent function, the kin groups themselves created and recreated extensive power through family ties. When the Yi dynasty settled down, the society was under the control of that kingdom, and the politics of the kingdom ruled every sphere of daily life including economics, as in contemporary society. The king of the Yi dynasty was also the representative of religion under Confucian ideas. In this circumstance, the upper clans could recreate political power through the literati examination for the positions in the patriarchal government. The members of these clans had less economic wealth than extensive political power because it was difficult to be big landowner under Confucian ideas

according to which the literati should return their land to the state when finished with official duty( without the land there was basically no source of accumulating wealth for the literati, eventually creating the egalitarian society).

In the later years of the Yi dynasty an odd monopolistic practice took place at the literati examination and among the upper status family groups. Namely, there were egotistic status children who did not follow the rule that " a ' good' son makes a 'good' ruler", and lacked self- discipline, as do many second or third generations of capitalists in modern society. These egotists easily passed the literati examination or were admitted for government positions by means of the examinee's family background. In this way of examination, a few members of upper status groups( Yangban) filled the limited numbers of bureaucratic positions. These family groups, including the Yi- clans, ultimately ended the 'privatization'<sup>29</sup> of power, prestige, and wealth within the state.

As an ironic phenomenon, because of the privatization of these privileges by the gentry, the society created the mass production of Yangban by allowing people to buy status. In other words, almost all people except a small number were not pure Yangban, while on the other hand, a great many people thought that they were Yangban. Namely, the low class of family groups started the privatization of power, prestige, and wealth. Eventually, this phenomenon of privatization of social privileges led to an ideological

split within the Korean territory. This phenomenon accelerated in this rapidly changing society. According to research, 65.5% of the whole population were regarded as the Yangban status group in 1858( Choeljong)<sup>30</sup>. People had a strong desire to improve their status, and desired precious gold rather than copper money. As a result, the whole population became Yangbans and of the upper class. The upper status group lost its legitimacy in the people's eyes. In addition, the upper culture was adopted by the lower class people. The common and lower class people( Sangmin and Ch'onmin) were basically not supposed to easily follow the Yangban's behavioral pattern, but imitated it.

Theoretically, the privatization of social privileges took place in the kin- groups. Each family did not want to lose in the zero- sum power game for these social benefits. Each family unit, consisting of a biological social group in which people enjoyed sexuality, biological reproduction, maternity, and consuming goods, provided spiritual strength, and maintained family ties in order to participate in the power game, whether in upper or low clans. The members within a family usually shared their emotions that were sometimes far away from a rational or calculating mind. However, the emotional sharing very often provided courage or psychophysical energy for the members, which Aristotle regarded as irrational energy. This energy was also regarded as the spiritual enlightenment of both the individual and

society. In sum, the privatization of power, prestige, and wealth in clan politics created the spiritual enlightenment of the later Yi- dynasty.

Some of the lower class families, who usually acquired wealth through agricultural laboring and shop-keeping activities, very often bought the rights to be Yangban in the later Yi rules. However, most of the people were not regarded as 'sophisticated' under the changing circumstance of social class. They were themselves revolutionary agents in order to utilize their courage and public good, rather than participants in the privatization of the social prestige, and they joined the Tonghak(Eastern studies) revolution in order to create social justice without regard for their lives. The lower class people or peasants chose Hyangban, Toban, or Soeol as their leaders instead of the ruling class. In sum, in the earlier period of the Yi dynasty, the upper status group having the 'high culture' of the Confucian principle, as revolutionary agents for social justice used authority, and benevolence, but later, this group used more authority than benevolence. As a result, the society became completely unequal, and there was no communal liberty between the upper and lower classes. The lower groups of people, having the 'popular culture' of Confucian principle, performed the role of revolutionary agents.

Meanwhile, as has been discussed, the upper status groups, which monopolized passing the literati examination for government positions, accumulated wealth from

government land that sometimes they did not return and received additional lands through the aid of their descendants in the patriarchal government. The gentry also accumulated capital through the help of guild organizations. Private property was created for the upper class gentry enabling them to keep their land and pass it on to their descendants rather than turn it back to one king, and the big land owners were mostly Yangban descendants. When the kin groups of the gentry started to create their wealth in the local areas, the Yi-kin groups, as the ruling group and having vested interests, became weaker and weaker in their power position. The gentry, who were landowners, usually used tenant farmers because the mass of slaves were emancipated in the later Geoyeo dynasty as a result of the slave revolution.

As mentioned earlier, territorial ties among the people is one of the important elements of Confucian personalism. In this society where transportation systems were not developed, communal ties among the members of kin groups were formed by marriage according to social status. When there was a desperate need to have a great degree of group solidarity, the status group discouraged marrying someone from another group. Based on this principle, only a few higher literati could find their partner from outside towns. Second, the communal relationship between landowners and tenant farmers was regarded as important in the consideration of Confucian

personalism. Here the Yi law code provided four restrictions on the activities of landowners, and provided communal relationships between landowners and tenants. According to The History of Agricultural Economics in the Yi Dynasty, first, there was the right for permanent cultivation by the tenant. In other words, the land lords could not change the tenant by means of their own power, and the tenant could transmit the land from generation to generation. Second, the tenant had the right of Doji Kwon (possessing one-third of the lands including the right to sell that part of the lands). Third, the tenant had the right to totally possess the land which was cultivated from the wild areas belonging to landowners. Four, the tenant had the right of Ibhyei Kwon (using the landlord's mountains for his own every day needs). Because of these four rights, the tenant farmers stayed in their home towns for a long time, and the peasants maintained communal ties within the members of the group (The Korea Times May, 1987). The patriarchal government also did not permit peasants to migrate from one place to another.

In fact, the early government of the Yi dynasty did not create many landowners which mean, as stated earlier, that peasants had a small amount of land, but later there were more landowners because the upper status group bought small parts of land from each peasant. The upper groups of people perhaps used extensive authority instead of empty mind and benevolence. As a result, the later Yi dynasty necessarily created an unequal society, and class divided communities.

The society did not follow Confucius' ideas; "the problem is not the degree of wealth, but the degree of inequality." Even in this unequal circumstance, peasants continued communal ties through Kye associations for a specific purpose and for planting activities. Japanese rule caused a great change in these four rights of the peasants. The Japanese confiscated these four rights from peasants, and gave the rights to landowners to easily control Korean territory and easily exploit the country. The tenants, under Japanese rule, had to make a contract each year. The rate of rents was also changed from 30-50% to 70-80%. Some of the Japanese collected the rents from landowners, and they lent the money to 'poor' Korean farmers usually in the spring when the time is far from harvest season. The landlords under the Japanese rule, as Johan Galtung once said, are compared with the 'comprador elites' in the capitalist systems, who usually use the dominant culture, capital, and technology of core countries, and live with the help of core countries within peripheral territories. Namely, the Japanese attempted to accumulate capital through the help of the Confucian scholars. Meanwhile, within this policy of imperialism, the Japanese also did not forget that an accumulation of capital, as Rose Luxemburg once mentioned, can only be possible through an expansion into a 'third market' (outside the capitalist domination). People in rural areas, except the landowners who were usually of Yangban status, lived in absolute poverty

under this circumstance. In 1918, for example, eight years after annexation, tenant farmers made up 38 percent of the total farming population, but by 1937, tenants increased to 55 percent<sup>31</sup>. By 1939, 63.3 percent of families lived in one Jeong (99.17 acres), in which area the peasants lived under absolutely poor conditions when compared with small farmers in Germany who had 3 Jeongs at the same period. During these hard times, the peasants could survive through Kye associations within the personal communities. However, the Japanese used every method to destroy the rural communal ties among the members, even banning the traditional festivals in villages (The Korea Times May, 1987). Basically, the Korean Japanese governor-general established strong military and police power in order to control and exploit Koreans. Sometimes they used these strong forces, and through this process, Korean people were compelled to adopt the capitalist system. The poorer farmers worked as seasonal employees and occasionally these workers formed mobs. Some moved into cities for cheap wages, usually half the wages of Japanese laborers. Many Korean workers were paid daily, but wages were not improved and labor began to strike. Even the young children of poor families, used as 'fresh labor' in third markets, joined in the labor market to earn wages for the family. There were a great deal of continuous strikes which eventually turned into riotous mobs. Some poor families, who worked long hours for low wages on a daily basis, went around from city to city and migrated outside the

country to such places as Manchuria, Japan, and America. According to the government's estimate there were 460,000 Korean immigrants in Manchuria by 1920. By 1935 this figure increased to about 810,000 persons, most of whom were engaged in agriculture. In Japan, there were about 30,000 immigrants in 1900, and the number increased to about 530,000 persons by 1930<sup>32</sup>. The imperial Japanese government did not provide any chance for the accumulation of domestic industrial capital for Koreans. For example, in 1945, the last year of Japanese control, 94% of the manufacturing industries were managed by Japanese capital, and 80% of technicians were Japanese. The Japanese possessed one million acres of fertile Korean land, or four-fifths of South Korean territory<sup>33</sup>. At the same time, Korea seemed to be a consumer market of Japanese goods. After the liberation from Japan in 1945, there was not enough domestic capital and technicians to take care of Japanese factories because 94% of the factories were managed by the Japanese<sup>34</sup>. During the next year, the rate of operation of these factories was just 60% because of the lack of technician and capital<sup>35</sup>.

Under Japanese colonial control, Korean social structure and cultural phenomena experienced a great deal of changes. First, there was an adaptation of military culture and mentality in order to accept capitalism under the resisting environment of Confucian ideas. The Korean literati traditionally retained military certificates after having

passed state examinations. Yet for a long time the attainment of such military certificates had hardly any connection with an actual career. In addition, there was disfavor toward the military mentality under Korean traditional rules. A cultivated literate would not engage in social intercourse on an equal footing with army officers, especially one in the Geoyeo dynasty. Under the Yi dynasty, there was a little improvement of the social status of military men unlike in the Geoyeo period, but they still had weaker status than a civilian official. Under Japanese control, the Japanese general brought Bushido (Samurai-culture) which had originally been developed for practical necessities for warriors, and which was originally popularized by Confucian moral ideas, not only as the morality of the warrior class, but also as the cornerstone of national morals. But the Bushido brought into Korean territory did not have any Confucian morals of benevolence, but only the practical necessities of warriors. This military culture perhaps began the 'popularization' of Bushido, which had been developed under the Western capitalism after the Meiji-Restoration of 1868 in Japan. The general principle of the military rules under the Japanese control of Korean territory was the usage of naked power, rather than authority which might be established through both power and benevolence along with empty mind in Eastern society. In general, control under an authority extensively using naked power necessarily created an unequal society, as

in the Japanese society:

Directly beneath the Shogun in rank came the small body of great lords or Daimyo(feudal lords). There were 194 of them in 1614 and only 266 immediately before the Restoration of 1868.----- At the later date the largest fief was registered as producing 1,022,700 koku of rice. The average was about 70,000 koku 36).

Japan started industrialization under an unequal basis, and the Daimyo did not totally give up their private property when the Meiji regime was restored:

----- At the same time,it[industrialization] enabled some of the greatest lords to become members of the dominant financial oligarchy. Funds obtained in this way played an important part in promoting capitalist industry 37.

In sum, the Japanese transferred military culture into Korea, and the culture, which adapted capitalism, was totally based on an unequal balance between authority and benevolence. In some senses, the development of capitalism depended on the unequal basis of society. As a result of this characteristic of the capitalistic system, the society is formed internally as a status divided structure, and externally as imperialism.

Second, the warlike operations introducing capitalism under Japanese rule caused the loss of morals in the Confucian sense of benevolence. As has been mentioned, the Korean ruling elite did not bring up the merchants as a powerful social class, and the Confucian scholars in power did not accept utilitarian ideology( Silhak school) because of a loss of morals. T'oegyee Lee ( a famous Korean Neo-Confucian scholar), who ideologically provided motivation for the Shil Hak school, pointed out that a human being has two

selves ; (1) the one is a spiritual self( Ri; soul being) which is already in one's mind as a good personality, and is usually found through the learning activity of Sage kings. Eventually through Ri, one is awakened to himself or herself in the universe, Heaven's will, and the order of nature; (2) the other is the emotional self( Ki; body being) which contains human desires, and sometimes drives morally 'good' or 'bad' activities including the desire for economic wealth. The teacher Lee pointed out that the relationship between Ri and Ki oppose each other and also complement each other in a dialectical manner, unlike most Confucian scholars who usually deny and retain the merit system of the emotional self. Namely, for teacher Lee, 'Oppose each other' refers to mutual exclusivity or the struggle of two contradictory aspects. 'Complement each other' means that in given conditions, the two contradictory aspects unite and achieve identity. However, teacher Lee usually emphasized the importance of Ri and refused the merit of Ki because it usually does not bring pure morality for a utopian society. The Eastern society focused much longer than the West on morality or humanity rather than on wealth for a utopian society. In order to attain that utopian society, the concept of politics straightens out people's minds with the help of Confucian scholars who truly know the will of Heaven and the order of nature(Tao). The Confucian scholars who did not accept the teacher's ideas, accepted capitalism under

Japanese military rule, with a great loss of morals, and with a great sacrifice to imperialism.

Third, Japanese rule destroyed the Korean kin system, and personal communities, and caused an ideological split. Although the peasants usually could not sustain a large families on account of the lack of property under the harsh exploitation by Japan, the burden was more than they had expected. The small farmers could not cope with the rapid social changes, and started to move into cities. By 1945, the population of the cities, according to the Korean Economic Planning Board, was 14.5 percent of the whole population. Many of the migrants to the cities, who suffered from both poverty and oppression, transferred their religious ideas from Confucianism and Buddhism, to Christianity. While on the other hand, the upper aristocrat perhaps did not easily choose migration into urban areas because the large family provided many advantages in traditional society. Unfortunately, many of the landed aristocrat shared mutual benefits with the Japanese rulers. Meanwhile, the Buddhist monk communities could not rigidly maintain their position in this changing social order, and many of them who passively accepted the social order were teaching the young generation only how to experience the spirit of Zen<sup>38</sup>. However, everybody at that time perhaps knew that the activities of the monks were not preparing for the coming age. Adapting from the Japanese, many priests of Buddhist temples married, and held special privileges such as earning money from the

rents of rice fields and mountains . During the break-up of personal communities, the ideological split among people within Korean territory caused deep trouble because of the people's powerlessness under foreign rule. After world war II (1945), the Japanese withdrew from the territory, and within a few years the new Korean government started, without considering Korean tradition, its own policy based on the Western principle of democracy and capitalism.

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### III. CAPITAL ACCUMULATION AND TECHNOLOGY.

#### A. The Early Years of Korean Capitalism.

In this chapter, this thesis will show that 'positive' capital accumulation and technology which are not acceptable to the Marxists and Neo-Marxists, and that the Korean development within the world system is not able to apply modernization theory; Korea has uniquely developed capitalism under her own principle as a country highly dependent on others.

Before describing in detail the social changes after Japan's withdrawal from Korea, I will point out the character of the traditional Korean state as compared with that of Japan and of western countries. Japan's invading Korea was regarded as 'militarism' under partial acceptance of capitalism because the Japanese adapted capitalism to their own 'Shindo' and Buddhist principles. Capitalism was understood as political capitalism or an economic system including state intervention, and continues to be so understood in contemporary Japanese society. Namely, the state provides capital to promote broad goals of national development, national security, and national integration, although the bureaucracy does not directly threaten private accumulations of capital.

In western countries after the Enlightenment, the capitalist, as either an individual or part of a class level, participated in a war against each other, a struggle for markets, raw materials, and spheres of

investment, without the complete support of the state. To Marx, the state was the tool of the capitalist class under the capitalist system. From the later nineteenth and earlier twentieth century, capitalists, as a social class, already monopolized internal and world-wide markets based on so-called 'combined production', that is to say, the grouping in a single enterprise of different branches of industry( for example, the smelting of iron ore into pig iron, the conversion of pig iron into steel<sup>2</sup> ). Capitalist development was a result of the expanded production within internal and international markets through monopolization and cartels. Underneath the expansion of capitalists, there was 'finance capital' which in the early twentieth century already dominated industrial, commercial, and bank capital within the developed Western countries. The German economist, Jaidels, has compiled very complete data on this form of concentration of capital and of enterprises. Six of the biggest Berlin banks were represented by their directors in 344 industrial companies, and by their board members in 407 other companies<sup>3</sup>. The result of this association among industrial, commercial, and bank capital was the elimination of free competition. Individual capitalists, who used large monopolist combinations, caused a change in the relation of the capitalist class to the state power<sup>4</sup>. France, Italy, and the United States have especially developed a 'weak' state compared with the capitalist class. In the United

States, the state virtually never competes with private firms in commercial markets, and even in a strong centralized France, private actors have succeeded in effectively colonizing the state .

Like Japanese Shindoism, the Korean state, as the largest social unit, traditionally had her own god, that was called Sajik. The god had been divided into both earth and grain gods in the farming society, and the two gods were sometimes considered as the state itself. The state god originated from the Korean ancestor, Dankun( 4th century, B.C.). The earth god kept the property of land. Traditionally, whenever sacrificial rites for the earth god were performed without faith, the people usually believed that the god would send them a natural disaster. In order to escape from the natural disaster, the leader of sacrificial rites who was also the ruler, always kept himself pure, and with the help of the purified mode of activity, had taken the right of cultivation from the earth god. One of the duties of the leaders was to equally distribute land to all people within the territory. Because of the importance of the earth god, who held the land, the sacred box (Shin-ju) in which the earth God was kept was regarded as important. Its importance was seen in 1592, when King Suncho escaping from the Japanese, who had invaded Korean territory, took the sacred box( for the earth and grain gods), and left behind many precious things. In the Yi dynasty, the Yi kin group also had their own ancestor worship called Chongmyo, but

the state god was more powerful than the Yi kin ancestors. The king of the Yi dynasty, as the representative of the state bureaucracy, had the right to perform sacrificial rites for the state God. Because this activity was one of the outstanding characteristics of Korean social thought, the people thought about obligations rather than rights and purgatives of the individual in relation to society. These religious ideas are far from those of the pluralistic or multi-centered democracy among interest groups, and self-regulated market economy or capitalism in western 'civil society'. The leaders of the Korean government still feel nostalgia for the king's power in the Yi dynasty.

The fragile Korean state, having lost traditional prestige after Japanese rule, started its own policy. In June, 1949, the 'Bill of Agricultural Reform' passed the National Assembly, restricting the size of a farm; every farm household could not process over 3 Jeong(297.51 ares). As a result, eighty percent of Korean farmers could farm their own land, and the traditional landowners had to give the rest of the lands to relatives and tenants. The problem was that people owned and shared a small piece of land, not large enough to sustain their families which had an average 5.8 members at that time. These small pieces of land directly broke up the large family system and indirectly contributed to the development of cities.

There is a need to further see the details of social

structure and cultural change after Korean liberation from Japan. As the winner of World War II, America had two countries, Korea and Japan, under her control. However, American policy in Japan and Korea seemed to be quite different because of democratic and non-democratic policies. The American Military Government Office made Japan an offer; (1) the head office of large Japanese companies should be disorganized, and the stocks of these companies should be made open to the public; (2) the large stock holders of these big companies, who were sometimes big landowners, should not join direct management; (3) the strongest conglomerate companies should be divided into many small companies<sup>6</sup>.

The policy for Japan was quite democratic or equal (whether or not Japanese policy was successful is another question for consideration), but Korea was dealt with in an undemocratic way, perhaps in order to break the internal social and economic system. The policy for Koreans was highly related to anti-communist state building<sup>7</sup>, and the American military government stated its policy that (1) properties reverted to the government, and (2) American aid was given under the principle of anti-communist state building.

According to law 3 of the Military Government Office titled "the affairs of gaining Japanese property", the office transferred Japanese properties in Korea to local Korean landowners by means of receiving some fees. Those who had money at that time were certainly not peasants, migrant

workers, laborers, and the lower people in cities. Those who accumulated capital were the landlords, small businessmen (traditional artisans and traders), and especially Achuen. Achuen, who usually were regional tax collectors for the state government, had created extensive power in the later Yi- dynasty because of the subjective method of gathering taxes from peasants. They also had enough knowledge of the trades routes. The Japanese had needed this Achuen status group to both combat the Yangban group and to easily control Korean territory. The former status group, as an elite group in Korea, had already gotten some land directly from the Japanese, some of which had belonged to the Confucian aristocrats in the later Yi dynasty. The industrial sphere was regulated by law 210 of the office titled "disorganizing Japanese property". In 1948, property was given, for a small fee, to the privileged person with good family background and born in a powerful region. Some businessmen who backed the military government, and who were the peace makers for stability, monopolized the industries<sup>8</sup>. But Korean public opinion prevented the plan, partly because the image of the 'peace makers' chosen by the Military government office was not good enough, partly because there was no clear reason why the peace makers got the industries. Some men, through the help of personal relationships with power sources, found the means to achieve power, prestige, and wealth from local governments; some gained power through city governments, or

through the central Korean government, or through America, the Soviet Union, or China. The question at that moment was; "who got power, and how?" In addition, among politicians, students, and the members of trade unions in factories( even in small shops), there was an acute political struggle like the jungle of animal worlds during the turmoil world. More specifically, in 1949, South Korea's president, Syngman Ri, ordered all youth groups combined into the Taehan Youth Corps, and all unions into the Korean Federation of Trade Unions( KFTU). These led directly into party politics in 1951<sup>9</sup>, and both organizations were used as the foundation for the Liberal Party. While on the other hand, political activity in the North was dominated by the North Korean Workers Party ( NKWP) founded by Ilsoeng Kim in July, 1946. Uniting with the remnants of the South Korean Labor Party(SKLP) organized by the socialist ideology, it became the Korean Workers Party( KWP) in June, 1949. The two groups, KFTU and KWP, brought world ideology into Korean territory. The sharp struggle between the two groups, for example, in factories, provide one of the reasons why Korean industrialization did not much include the trade union movement, not as Western industrialization did.

The excessive motivation of the people for social privileges helped to cause the Korean War(1950- 1953)<sup>10</sup>, and the activities of the Korean people provided a great opportunity for foreign countries such as the Soviet Union, America, and China to join this war.

After the Korean War, the people experienced world culture as a multi-culture container because many capitalist and socialist countries joined that war. In only half a century, the Korean people had experienced the cultures of Japan, Germany, the Soviet Union, America, England, France, and socialist China. World people, whether they were white, yellow, or black, came into Korean territory with their culture. They fought against each other under the name of ideology, and raped the land under the excuse of world peace. Unfortunately Korean intellectuals, like the Confucian scholars who volunteered for the Japanese and Chinese armies in order to defeat the Donghak army, were the leading members of the Korean War.

After the Korean war, half of the Korean territory adopted capitalism. To clearly make my point, and to narrow my scope on cultural changes, religious ideas, and the principle of social institutions, I will explain the character of Korean companies after the war. Businessmen did not want to share their strength between small and large companies. Each company, whether large or small, produced finished products because the division of labor was not familiar to the Korean people. Each biological kin texture, such as father, sons, brothers, sisters, and brothers and sisters in law worked together in a manner similar to the kin-politics of the Yi-dynasty. Perhaps, the members easily shared their emotions, and were observed by others within the

personal communities. E.F. Schumercher( 1973) believed that small organizations are free, efficient, creative, enjoyable groups that embrace communal, handicraft, tribal, guild, and village like- styles as old as the neolithic culture. M. Gandhi, who began with villages, to stabilize and enrich India's traditional way of life through labor- intensive manufacture fields, used traditional principles for his scheme. But the sacred tradition of the Korean people within personal communities prevented a person from sharing outside his group.

With the assistance of the Korean government, large companies, as part of the personal communities, accumulated capital by using American raw materials and half made goods and increased more rapidly than small or medium sized industries. In some senses, this activity of the elite groups ( even to the Yangban status group which did not traditionally accept the ideas of merchants because of latter's characteristic of being full of lust) is ideologically understood as not totally 'negative' because these intellectuals want to accept the material dimension of reality, rather than emphasize Neo- Confucian metaphysical ideas of the later Yi- dynasty, and the philosophical subjectivity from which contemporary marxists take the idea of 'bourgeois rationalism'. In the same way that traders could not be independent from government officials and the gentry in the Yi- dynasty, many of these big corporations became Korea's leading business companies with

the special help of Korean political leaders and the American government. These leading companies used half made spinning and weaving textiles, refined sugar, plastics, and cement which came from America. Through personal relationships, limited numbers of capitalists received privileges from Korean leaders. In addition, because the Korean situation after the Korean War was insecure, these companies, in some senses, provided stability by employing the flood of migrant peasants, unlike profit making institutions at the state level( although the businessmen of these companies mainly regarded the corporations as profit making vessels). These companies mainly produced consumer goods (TABLE 1; 74.4 % of the total products were consumer goods compared to 18.3 % in production goods in 1953). The new immigrants in the cities also wanted consumer goods and home comforts, more than savings and future planning under the unstable society( It is basically true that consumption becomes a larger element in the standard of living in the city and not in the country<sup>11</sup> ). The new immigrants from the country side also enjoyed Western culture and commodities. The Korean people, motivated by the need for expanding markets, also moved into a deep economic relation with Western capitalism. This process, in some senses, is regarded as the process of moving into the world system and commodification within the world system. In sum, the state adapted economic development under a self-regulated system, and created such interest groups as

political parties, and trade unions for imitating western democratic state building, and experienced commodification, and urbanization which took place in the western cities. In some senses, modernization was a starting point to measure the degree of the modernizational theory.

TABLE 1: The Rate of Productional and Consumptional Goods in Korea. (%)

Year Contents	1953	1961	Japan(1959)
Productional Goods	18.3	19.3	58.7
Chemicals	7.6	8.2	11.1
Machinery	/	/	34.3
Steel	10.7	11.2	12.3
Consumptional Goods	74.4	77.3	30.1
Foods	27.0	28.6	12.8
Textiles	17.9	17.4	8.8
Ceramics	3.7	4.2	4.9
Others	25.8	27.1	3.6
Others	7.3	3.4	11.2

\*Source: Dae Hwan Kim, "A study of Korean Economy in 1950", The Competition in 1950 (Han Gil Sa, 1981), P.211.

The people who migrated into cities needed money because in such places there was no other way to survive. However, domestic currency was not stable enough to maintain a standard, and domestic products were not good enough to use. The government could not create jobs because of a lack of capital under this circumstance. The migrants, who were usually employed in service sectors, enjoyed Western culture, money, and products, and recreated that culture. In other words, people experienced a different value system through exposure to western culture, but with a 'false

consciousness'. On a theoretical level, economic development is supposed to have four main components for positive growth; (1) motivation of people, (2) 'know-how' (for technology), (3) capital for economic development, (4) additional output requires additional markets. But Korea did not have know-how, capital, and markets. Rather, the people formed the 'third person' developed as markets and fresh labors.

The accumulation of capital in this circumstance was limited to the producers of consumer goods, such as Samsung and Lucky groups. The Samsung group, which was ranked 42 in the world in Fortune in 1986, and which had one of the leading semi-conductor companies, produced textiles and sugar at that time. While the Lucky group, which is world ranked 43, outside America by the same magazine, and which has a semi-conductor company like Samsung's, produced plastic goods. In order to export their products to western countries, the Lucky group succeeded in the assembly of the vacuum tube radio in 1959, and therefore opened the electronic market. Except for a few companies, the rest were relatively small. Many small family companies, as is usual with the character of petit bourgeois, were never registered and regulated because almost all of them were not easily measured and did not pay taxes.

Above all, imported grains brought a great change in the sense of social structure. Because of American grain, the small farmers could not survive in rural areas, and

migrated from rural areas into cities. For this reason, the primary industry( agricultural and marine products), rapidly decreased from 52 to 36.2%, and the third industry( services) which was not familiar to the traditional Korean society increased from 39.1 to 40% during the next sixteen years (TABLE 2). In addition, traditional landowners began to lose their power because of cheap American grain and agricultural technology.

TABLE 2: A Trend of GNP in each Industry.

Year	Primary Ind.	Secondary Ind.	Middle Ind.	Third Ind.
1948	52.	8.9	6.8	39.1
1953	45.1	2.1	6.3	43.8
1955	44.8	13.7	9.1	41.5
1957	42.0	17.	11.7	41.
1959	40.6	18.9	12.3	40.5
1961	42.4	19.3	12.4	38.3
1963	36.2	23.8	15.8	40.

\*Source: Korea Bank (1965)

First industry, agriculture, and marine products:  
 Second " , manufacturing:  
 Third " , services.

Those who migrated into cities could not get enough job opportunities during the rapid economic change, and did not have any skills except agricultural ones. In addition, the population explosion continued by the rate of 2.88%, which was the biggest growth in the world from 1955 to 1960 .

In reaction to the increasing social instability, big companies were forced to work with the the korean gov't in

creating jobs. But the state and fragile capitalists did not provide social stability:

When the American government reduced the aid program in the later 50s, the large corporations reduced the rate of operation, and this provided one of the main reasons why the dictator could not control the country 13.

Although Koreans had a bad image of consumer goods because their culture lives with asceticism, American influence changed the life style of the Korean people. Some Koreans had already experienced western culture, both through earlier Christian missionary groups and the Japanese in the colonial period. Western culture provided the awakening of individualism, unlike the traditionally home-oriented culture in which each individual was only a member of a large family, village, monastery, and literati communities. Some of the Christians perhaps learned that the fulfillment of the obligation to their work and social positions was imposed by God. To the Christian labor was regarded as a calling and appeared as the outward expression of brotherly love. While, other people in the cities at least started to perceive that labor was the original source of wealth and the basis of ownership. However, inside the consumptional culture, there was a negative side to individualism that derived from individual consumption by the city's residents who did not believe in the 'ethic of conviction' and 'ethic of responsibility' which form the merit system of the protestant ethic.

The adaptation of western culture by Korean people can

somewhat be understood through Eastern religious ideas. As has been shown, the art of memorizing Buddha's principle in the Mahayana sect means that learning activity involves serving and obeying Buddha's authority. In other words, to be a Buddha one has to have an empty mind in order to keep the courage of Buddha through spiritual enlightenment. In the same way, Confucian ideas emphasized this learning activity because it was carried over into the culture in which a child should uncritical obey and serve his father, or another authority. Through the extensive culture of the learning activity through serving and obeying, western Protestant and individualistic culture easily penetrated into the minds of the Korean people. Moreover, the western technical educational system, which is useful in labor market systems, also influenced the Koreans' minds. The mass introduction of Protestantism turned Korea into a new world.

The movement from the old tradition to new Western culture, and the high rate of unemployment caused by the reduction of American aid, especially in the cities, could not make the old political order possible. Another liberal democratic government appeared in the society, but the military government did not permit this liberal government to exist. In this sense, the state did not adapt a positive economic growth, nor did it follow the western system in a helpful way, all while moving deeply into the world system.

## B. The Later Years( 1960- ) of Korean Capitalism.

In the following two sections of this chapter, I will discuss how Korea accumulated capital and expanded markets( Perhaps Korea still does not definitely have a positive growth development because of the short history of capitalism. Also the positive or negative grow is not my main concern). An importance question this thesis poses is; How does the concept of modernity, including the concept of technological rationality, disenchantment, technology, and science apply in Korea? The application of these concepts will indirectly show the cultural difference between the East and West through historical facts.

In the same year, 1960, a second democratic government took over and was followed by the military elite who took power by means of a coup d'e tat. This elite, having nostalgia for the King's power of the Yi- dynasty( one centered and not multi-centered) , under the slogan 'Get Rich', like the logic of Guizot, the Minister of Louis Phillipe of France in 1840, and like Bukharin in Russia in April 1925, introduced a modernization program through a five-year economic plan <sup>14</sup> ( without much concern for market economics), similar to the Russian economic plan of 1929. This military elite, in some ways, imitated the spirit, culture and mentality of militarism in Japan, industrialization was distinct from the role of the samurai during the Meiji-restoration of 1868. Namely, the samurai status group

acquiring capital and attaining extensive military power in the early period of Japanese capitalist history, directly or indirectly participated in trade and business. But the military elite in Korea did not directly participate in business and in the production of commodities, although some of them took positions in private business institutions. Instead, civilians such as the Yangban, artisans, and traders, and Achuen descendants conducted business. Civilians had no right to carry weapons, but also did not have enough capital to build large factories. Therefore, the business elite still could not be independent from the military regime for power and capital. In some ways, the semi- autonomy of the business elite was perhaps regarded as similar to the relationship between the king and village people in the Yi- dynasty.

In 1962, modernization occurred under this plan by the military elite who borrowed foreign capital and used the bureaucratic technocrats who were usually trained in western countries and Japan. One of the first projects was the enlargement of Dong-Yang cement from DLF (Development Loan Fund) in 1959.

The Korean government opened the door for Japan on the recommendation of the American government <sup>15</sup>, and borrowed capital from Japan. There was no other way to mobilize the huge number of migrants coming into the cities, who brought about a 3.46 percent increase in labor force each consecutive year from 1973 to 1978. Employing 1 percent of the whole

work force at that time required 2.5 percent growth in the GNP. Therefore, in order to employ surplus labor forces, the state created 8.5 - 9 percent growth in the GNP( with 4 percent unemployment) because mass unemployment brought instability, especially in light of the threat of North Korea. Without heeding any conditions, the state borrowed as much foreign capital as it could from world banks including America and Japan. The calculating minds of the business world wanted a high level of interest rates for their national benefit. The world capitalist continuously lent money in order save the original capital from the Korean government. The state sometimes borrowed money not only to pay the interests on the foreign debts, but also to repay the original money. They borrowed without losing any credit over 47,000 million dollars, which were equivalent to \$1,100 per person since there were 40 million people. The borrowing activities of the Korean government was regarded as a voice crying to the world. The suffering caused by borrowing so much money is similar to the Buddhist's process of awakening through suffering. Foreign debt, at the state level, accumulated rapidly in the name of public and private loans, from 57.88 million in 1962 to 47 billion dollars in 1985 (TABLE 3).

TABLE 3: The Introduction of Foreign Capital (Unit: Million Dollars)

Year	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966
------	------	------	------	------	------

amount	57.88	69.62	100.54	183.21	179.22
Year	1979	1980	1981	1982	1985(total)
amount	5,629	6,865	5,125	4,744	47,000

\* Source: The Year Book of the Bank of Korea (1966) (1962-1966); The Economic Planning Board (1979-82) The Joong-ang Daily News (1986).

The state government used mandatory ways to accumulate domestic capital through banks, post offices, and agricultural co-operatives. In this way, big companies got an opportunity to build banks, short-term financing companies, and life insurance companies all of which probably imitated the finance capital of the West, without experiencing the self-regulating market ideology of Adam Smith, and David Ricardo. Because of an inflation rate of 20% in each year it became meaningless to save money in banks, and traditional people lived without any help of public institutions. These two and other facts prevented the accumulation of capital through public channels. Therefore, private loans greatly contributed to the creation of big business in the 60s (These loans were in accordance with the people's desire to obtain foreign currencies such as the dollar and yen rather than domestic ones). Foreign culture was much more popular than domestic in the early 60's. Private jobs, such as real estate, speculation, prostitution, running contraband goods, and other service jobs through which capital was easily gained, were more popular than public jobs in the early 60s. In addition, the underground economy still formed 30 percent of the Korean

GNP in 1986( Korean- American Daily News April, 1987) The culture of the underground economy played a great role in breaking traditional norms. These people's lives explain the reason why the method of physical science cannot be applied to the study of politics or economics, and why modernization cannot be applied in the same way as in other countries. Rather, the cultural approach will be more easy to predict what the future will be for each country.

The government built express ways by using foreign capital. Here the Hyundai group, as a Chaebel( conglomerate) group which has diverse business combinations including an electronic company in one semi-conductor industry, was greatly expanded from a small business company through the company leaders' personal relationships with the state leader. Another Chaebel group, the Dae Woo group, followed the Hyundai group in 1967. These four gigantic groups, Samsung, Lucky, Hyundai, and Dae Woo, which cannot be easily overcome by small companies, have achieved these positions with the special help of the Korean state just as the top four Japanese companies Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, and Yasuda, received help from Japanese government after World War I in order to move into world markets. In some senses, it is quite true that today there are more large organizations and probably also bigger organizations than ever before in history. Also the competition within the world market in the machine age creates a lot of technological change that directly brings social change

because people handle the technology.

The state policy mainly emphasized modern institutionalized methods, technological rationality, rather than cultural goals, value rationality, unlike the traditional goal of the state which was moral authority and the vessel of Ri( reason). Both technical rationality and value rationality usually operate jointly, utilizing practical techniques under the priority of morals, ethics, and customs in the traditional society. But the policy of industrialization emphasized only technological rationality. In addition, the elite, during the process of providing social order, did not notice that people cannot be injured in any part without a painful impression being carried to the brain. The public force should always protect the poor from the tyranny of the rich. In other words, small businesses should be protected by the state because of Confucian ideas. Inner qualities, whether in a person or society, should bring about spiritual enlightenment through the investigation of the harmonious natural order. But this order cannot bring forth the spiritual strength of the individual without conflicts because the natural world is always changing. In addition, capitalism exists and increases with the help of lust among Ki( emotional beings), among whom Ki itself always create conflicts and changes within the individual mind. In this context, the state, searching for a stable political order, repressed the conflicting interests of small businesses and

small powerless groups of people.

Just as the American semi-conductor industry had developed through the help of U.S. military demands<sup>16</sup>, the Chaebel group was built on account of a special grant from the Korean government:

Chaebels obtained capital relatively easily because of government subsidized low interest rates on loans, favorable exchange rates on low tariffs for imported capital goods, tax holidays on new investments, and accelerated depreciations on capital goods<sup>17</sup>.

However, unlike American companies controlled by Anti-trust laws, Korean Chaebel groups were present in every sphere of industry, and equipped themselves with highly efficient machinery by using foreign capital<sup>18</sup>. Some Chaebel groups continued the production of both consumptional goods and of labor-intensive products which were appropriate for small businesses in the early 1960's. Metal industries, which were appropriate for big corporations, were controlled by small businesses at that time<sup>19</sup>.

In the late 1960's, the Chaebel group, backed by the military government, took over the field of heavy industries, and small businesses were driven out of business because of the capital owned by the Chaebels. In other words, the goal oriented government did not introduce policies which would bring about a balance between small and large businesses. This problem is still producing, even today, great instability and negative social conflicts which easily destroy harmonious social order.

The government did not concern itself much with bringing

about a balance within industries, because the aggressive policy better accommodated its military mentality. By helping the policy of the Korean Economic Planning Board, the government achieved a greater division of labor within the administrative machinery, and a more detailed and exacting control of the sources of revenue:

Under the direct control of banks by the government, domestic capital formation was heavily subsidized by the high rate of domestic inflation. The interest rates on loans, and the structure of loans were directly influenced by government policies. Moreover, a large amount of foreign capital inducement after the financial reform of 1965 stimulated rapid domestic capital reform 20.

This policy of industrialization had changed many social structures. For example, in 1961, 49 percent of Korea's gross domestic product (GDP) was in agriculture, 13 percent in manufacturing, and 38 percent in services. By 1981, the GDP for manufacturing almost tripled to 37 percent, 20 percent in agriculture, and 43 percent in services <sup>21</sup>.

But the urban population (Table 4) rose by much more than planned, housing space by much less, and overcrowding became more severe than before.

TABLE 4. The Percentage of the Urban Population.

Year	45	65	75	85
% of Population in Urban areas	14.5	33.8	48.4	65.4

\*The Korean Economic Board.

Because of this warlike domestic policy, people lost many traditional values, and a change took place in the

mind of the people. However, Koreans accepted the benefits of modern technology without completely accepting modern industrial culture. In this adoption, the advanced methods of production and equipment were beneficial for Korean development, and richer sources of raw materials seemed to become available by using the latest methods of transportation. The latest developments in industrialization are the most efficient because they use the most advanced forms of equipment and tools, so that the Japanese and Germans, borrowing technology from such countries as America and England, experienced the power of "hybrid vigor". Industrialization can be explained through enlightenment and technical rationality. But the reason why eastern countries accumulate capital is different. In the western interpretation, the concept of private property is the core issue in the enlightened tradition; Let's ask, who gets capital and technology, and how is capital accumulated? According to the enlightened tradition, property provides outward freedom for the individual. As discussed, freedom under the Korean culture was communal within personal communities, where the people practiced morality through the 'checking' activity, and freedom was granted by the members. However, morality is not an outward expression like property (in some senses, the same to the law which emphasizes the western enlightenment), but forms the inner subjective mind. ( In the Buddhist ideas, the emptiness of the

individual creates the state of complete absence of sensation, "Nirvana", which directly brings one's mind into liberty.) Morality emphasized the inner mind, strength, and spiritual enlightenment, and then brings freedom to the individual mind ( perhaps to the western physicist, morality is an expression of amateur ideas because the ideas are not logical ). In this way, the eastern people who enjoy freedom within the mind will not depend much on property. Although the people accumulate capital along with the mind of lust, the people enjoy freedom, not from property, but from morality. In other words, the people make money without spending, and accumulate capital without bring much concerned with the importance of capital.

In Japan, the great difference between Western and Eastern culture make a stronger hybrid vigor. Namely, the Buddhistic empty mind easily accepted the logic of machine technology. The Japanese, in a secular Buddhist manner, followed western culture with empty mind. A young Buddhist follows Buddha's idea through suffering which usually brings about a flexible mind easily meeting challenges. In the awakening through empty mind, the Buddhist always experiences spiritual enlightenment and magical power. The degree of spiritual awakening, therefore, may be connected to that of suffering. But sometimes the way of spiritual life will cause one to be a slave to one's own enjoyment and to have a lack of structure in the mind. As a result of this problem, the old, maintaining benevolence, acquired extensive

authority, and the young served the rules of the old in the ethical communities of Japan. In a technological sense, the spiritual ideas of the individual elaborated and structured the individual mind within the ethical communities. Such an individual is called a highly disciplined worker by the Japanese.

Hence, there is a reason why the Japanese made the most success out of their "hybrid vigor". The lower status group supported the authoritarian leaders as though they were serving or obeying Buddha. The lower group had created the Buddhist community to help the authoritarian leaders under emperorism, and these leaders had not betrayed the lower groups of Japan. Under the centralization of power, the establishment of a unified national ethical system, and compulsory education, the Japanese were able to embrace the philosophy of machine technology. The Japanese, in the Taoistic sense of growing, succeeded in textile, electronic, and semi-conductor industries, all of which were regarded as labor-intensive. But the lower status group in contemporary society does not want to heavily sacrifice for its leaders any more, and in addition, as economic conditions improve, the Buddhistic community under the impact of commodification is becoming weaker and weaker even though a higher and complex technology needs to have a tightknit community and group spirit. Because of the breakdown of such a community, Japan is experiencing a dilemma which had already

been experienced in the western countries after one century of industrialization.

C. An Introduction to the Development of Technology (The Semi-Conductor Industry).

Unlike the Japanese success with hybrid vigor, the Korean economy does not have enough of a capitalist history to prove whether or not it is a success. The Korean people are still trying to adapt both foreign technology based on a logical mind and overseas capital brought in with the help of the Korean government as part of the world system. The Chaebel, with its energetic motivation, is a leading group among Korean companies. This kind of energetic motivation is also present in the electronic and semi-conductor industries. Gold star (Lucky group), a member of the Chaebel group, made a success in 1959 of the assembly of radios for which the technology originated from America's invention of transistors in 1948. Unlike Japan, which invested a lot of capital and which then was a country well known for household electronic tools, Korea lacked capital and as a result, was prevented from doing research and developing digital radios. Based on assembly, Korea made a success out of exporting both radios in 1962 and TV receivers in 1966. Even though the activity of assembly was somewhat successful, the mentality of this activity was very much similar to the popularization of the Yangban among the lower classes in the later Yi dynasty in that it was regarded as the passive

acceptance or imitation of culture or high technology without self-criticism and the will to deeply master the new culture. In some senses, this vulgar mentality could be compared with that of West Germany in 1949 -1952, and that of Japan in 1958 -1960 when they sold cheap labor, lacking 'know how' in world markets.

Because of these successes, the government knew that Korean workers, especially women( the female body is metaphorically seen as the source of nature in its state of non-being, and the root of human beings and the earth.), had special talents in the electronic sphere. Women looking back to the traditional Korean housewife who believed in Buddha and who had a quiet and delicate mind which easily turned into emptiness, easily created a community.

There are several reasons why this thesis makes a connection between religious ideas and the concepts of modern science. As has been discussed, assembling radios, TV sets, and ICs( from simple to complex) is a result of technological or Taoistic growth. In order to make my point clear, I will explain Martin Heidegger's and Friedrich W. Nietzsche's concepts of technology and science. To Heidegger, techne, the original term for technology which subsequently arose from science and which is subordinate to it, is the name not only for the activities and skills of the craftsman, but also for the arts of the mind and the fine arts<sup>22</sup>. More specifically, Heidegger searched for the arts of the mind that are in the concealed darkness by moving forward and ever forward, not

bound by any given formulation of thought. Therefore, his concept of technology is the 'very mode of being' or 'revealing of itself'. Also, Nietzsche( 1974) described science as 'ourselves', and the will of an individual is the will to be master, to become stronger, to grow. When the ideas of technology and science in Heidegger's concept are adapted by Korean women, the latter discover that they already had the capacity to accept Western skills, and to master 'know how'in the Nietzschean sense.

Although Koreans have the capacity to develop this skill on a technological level, because of a lack of capital, the government opened the door for foreign capital under the name of direct investment and joint venture. Meanwhile American multi-national corporations were looking for foreign investments based on two types, investment in "offshore assembly affiliates", and "point of scale affiliates":

"Offshore assembly affiliates" had been established largely to take advantage of low-cost labor in southeast Asia and Latin America to take advantage of low-cost foreign labor to assemble U.S. manufactured subassemblies for export back to the United States and to third markets 23.

"Point of scale affiliates", on the other hand, had been established primarily in Europe both to mitigate the impact of the relatively high European economic community tariffs and to better coordinate integrate circuit designs with European buyer demands 24.

Wanting to become part of the offshore assembly affiliates for 'the third persons' or 'fresh labors', Royal Pac corp., made a contract for a joint venture with a Korean partner(

Jung Ang Sang Yuk Corp.) in the semi-conductor industry in 1965 when Fairchild was the leading company with the invention of DTL (Diode Transistor Logic) in America. In the next year (1966) Fairchild and Signetics Control Date came into Korea to assemble and test ,and in 1967 Motorola did. Later on, in 1984 twenty one SC companies including AT & T, IBM, ITT, Siemens Signetics(German), LM Exicsson (Sweden), N.V. Philips (Holland), ITT/BTM, Northen Telec., Nec, Toshiba, Matsushita, Fujitsu, etc. were in Korea under the name of direct investment and joint venture mainly for assembling or licensing. It seemed to be another silicon valley in assembly. But basically the equipment and technology belongs to advanced countries, and by means of adding low skills such as assembly and testing of ICs and assembled TV sets, the capitalist brought these products to the Center countries and left some of them in Korean markets, very much like the phenomena of Johan Galtung's theory of imperialism in science:

In science we find a particular version of vertical division of labor, very similar to the economic division of labor: the pattern of scientific teams from the Center who go to Periphery nations to collect data( raw material) in the form of deposits, sediments, flora, fauna, archaeological findings, attitudes, behavioral patterns, and so on for data processing, data analysis, and theory formation( processing, in general) in the Center universities( factories), so as to be able to send the finished product, a journal, a book( manufactured goods) for consumption in the center of the Periphery 25.

The Center country with its network of world informational systems through its own multi-national corporations

regulates and controls prices in the industry, its great advantage.

In the American case, manpower in Silicon Valley can be regarded as the center for world technicians because of the many technicians who want to become American citizens:

For a unique example, even in England, there was a big problem of scientist emigration into American territory. A science and technology committee in England quoted that, according to a report of the National Science Foundation in 1985, one thousand scientists or technicians, which are 50% of total European emigrants during that year, left their mother land in order to be American citizens in 1984 (Dong-A Daily News March, 1987).

Moreover, such Center countries as America and Japan protect technology by means of America's law for chip protection and Japan's prohibition of high technology transfers. They want to develop other more sophisticated technology before the later developing countries come into this market.

The later 60s witnessed a big change in the world division of labor. In the earlier 60s usually, nations were divided into two categories, the developed countries and the underdeveloped countries. The former produced sophisticated goods called heavy industry, and the latter, simple goods called light industry. However, because of air pollution, water pollution and the oil shock, the cost-push made the division between heavy and light industries meaningless. The basic policy in the developed countries was 'education for leisure' and transferring technology to the poor countries. In addition, the low level workers in the

developed countries were replaced by machines. Workers in the center countries punched the 'start' button on presses and spent most of the day watching them and standing ready to push the stop button if things went wrong. The principle that " a complex knot cannot be explained in works alone" was disregarded. And technology cannot be explained without appreciating the importance of low level skills which are a part of the electronic and Semi- conductor industry.

By means of foreign capital, the Korean government at that moment changed the structure of the industries producing sophisticated goods. The electronic and semi- conductor industry was included in the strategic policy <sup>26</sup>. The highly sophisticated, delicate, precise, and artistic character of the industry itself was not only labor intensive but also technologically intensive. Because of rapid technological changes, the automation of technology is not easily applicable to the field.

In some senses, the character of the industry is taken from Eastern religion. In Taoism, the meaning of Tao is ten thousand things return to Tao, and yet it lays no claim to being the people's lord, but is only a process which can be named. Also in Taoism, the concept of nature within the concept of time, may be understood as the value of change and process which can be described in a succession of stages and in terms of concrete articulations and relationships toward spiritual enlightenment and artistic form. This Taoism

easily forms a structure in the mind of the individual influenced by Confucian ideas; each person under a rigid social order is accepted and socialized according to his or her role, especially within personal communities. In this way of Taoistic understanding which emphasizes much more spiritual strength than 'rational' orientation, the spiritual strength of the individual will help the development of the Semi-conductor's delicate and changeable skills, and the membership will provide innovations in this industry.

For the development of higher technology in this industry, the government established three institutions, the National Industrial Research Institution (NARI), the Korean Institution for Science and Technology(KIST), and FIC. In addition, the state directly helped business companies:

The firm which now is the largest producer of Computer Numerically Controlled Lathes in the newly industrialized countries was set up in 1977. During the development, the intervention from the state through the R & D institute, KAIST( Korean Advanced Institute of Science and Technology) which is financed by the Korean government, allowed the firm to operate without a short-term profit restriction, which allowed a notable accumulation of skills, as well as a quick move into the high-risk CNC Lathe field.

Many institutions followed these three; for example, the Korean Institute for Economics and Technology, the Korean Institute of Machinery and Metals, and the Korean Institute of Electronics Technology(KIET). In 1986, the Korean Semiconductor Studies Association was established. But these institutions did not present such new innovations as did both Fairchild and Texas Instruments which were the first

proprietors ICS in 1959, and as did the Ministry of International Trade and Industry(MITI) which announced Very Large Scale Integration(VLSI).

Let us briefly look at the development of the electronic and semi-conductor industries of Korea within the world system. Three companies, Gold Star(Lucky group), Dae Han electronic, and Dongnam Tools produced electronic goods for the consumer, and two companies, Gold Star Telecommunications and Dong Yang Precision produced electronic goods for industrial use at an earlier time. Meanwhile, foreign companies participated in Korea both for the assembly of ICS and for the production of Semi-conductor(SC) details( TABLE 5). Many foreign companies participated in joint venture and direct investment mostly in 1970( TABLE 6).

TABLE 5.

The Trends of the Electronic and SC Industry (Unit: Thousand Dollars)

Year	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
Prod- uction	15,896	26,833	44,734	82,560	107,375	138,089.
Export	3,579	6,545	22,275	41,937	54,964	88,603

\*Source: FIC (Korea Precision Machine Center) 1973.

TABLE 6.

The Trends of Direct Investments and Joint Ventures( Unit: numbers).

Year	65	66	67	68	69	70	71
Detail							
Direct Invest- ment	/	2	3	3	2	6	4
Joint venture	1	2	/	1	6	18	6
Total	1	4	3	4	8	24	10

\* Source; FIC, 1973.

In the later 70s there was a decrease in direct investment and joint venture. But on the other hand, license contracts increased in the early 80s.

In 1959, Jack Kilby, working at Texas Instruments, received a patent for his invention of the basic integrated circuit (IC) structure, and in the same year Robert Noyce in California, invented a scheme for interconnectional circuit elements which had been used in the Minuteman missile, and that made the IC practical. The invention of the micro processor, a powerful computer whose evolution is still proceeding, by Ted Hoff at Intel in 1971, followed the invention of ICS. Japan introduced transistor radios in 1955, and its technology lagged only two years behind that of America. The Japanese were slow in making the transition from germanium transistors which they built under license from General electric, RCA, and Bell. Later on, 1952 to 1973 in the semi-conductor field there were 226 technological transfers from American firms (WE. RCA. GE. FAIRCHILD, TI.etc) to Japanese firms<sup>28</sup>. In addition, the Japanese established major facilities for the production of bipolar ICS during the 1960s. In the later 60s, the technology of

transistors seemed to be old fashioned. Because of the lag in technology, Toshiba established a joint venture with a Korean partner, Hankuk Electronic in 1970. Samsung(a Chaebel), which joined in electronic production with the help of Sanyo and NEC in 1969, took over Hankuk semi-conductors( a small business) in 1974. At the time, Samsung started to produce the assembly of electronic clocks by using ICS in that year, and in the next year exhibited the watch made by LED semi-conductors. Lucky(a chaebel) also joined in the production of the semi-conductor by taking over Daehan semi-conductors( a small business) in 1977.

The decade of the 70s witnessed a big change between Japan and America. The Japanese organized the association of VLSI (Very Large Scale Integration) with the assistance of MITI (the Japanese Ministry of International Trade and Industry which was set up in 1966, and which broke new ground by calling for the priority of development of knowledge-intensive industries in 1972). Because of rapid technological development Japan produced sophisticated semi-conductors, and the American companies began dumping in Japan. However, the Japanese companies, with help of this association, moved to the mass production of MOS(Metal Oxide Semi-Conductor) ICS from 1976 to 1980. The Japanese organized a VLSI Technological Research Association for that same purpose and began technological interchange with America because the American companies knew that Japan was a developed country in the semi-conductor industry.

Samsung joined with Hewlett-Packard in 1977, and established eight-research institutions. This company, in third place following Japanese companies, was successful in developing 64KD RAM in 1983, and manufactured wafer based VLSI technology. Meanwhile, Hyundai (a Chaebel) built the five inch manufacturing of wafers, and Daewoo( a Chaebel), which took over Daehan electronics( a medium size business), joined the semi-conductor sphere in 1983. Now five Chaebel companies, Samsung, Lucky, Hyundai, Daewoo and Hankuk electronics have established the manufacturing of wafer called VLSI Technology. In total, Korea had 5 joint ventures, 12 domestic, and 9 foreign companies in the semi-conductor industry in 1982. Now, she has the biggest assembly company (Anam Industrial Co.) in the world, and five domestic companies which are involved in the manufacturing of wafers. Because of these companies, Korea produced approximately 5% of the world's semi- conductors, including the assembly in 1985, even if the total domestic production based on its own technology was only 1.5% of the world's semi-conductors (30 billion dollars in 1985).

The frightened Japanese started dumping in the American market because of the Korean success of 64 KD RAM in 1984 and 256 KD RAM in 1985( Dong-a daily News August, 1986). Although the Korean companies made a success of 1 MD Ram, 256 KS Ram and an announcement of 4 MD RAM( the size of line, 0.8 um), they lagged behind in basic skills and equipment and

continued their dependency on the advanced countries.

In sum, whether in the electronics or semi-conductor industry, the Chaebel groups( except for Hankuk electronic company) have played a crucial role in the domestic development of technology. The Chaebel groups, Samsung, Hyundai, Lucky, and Daewoo built the capital intensive manufacturing of wafers, as did four Japanese semi-conductor companies( NEC, Toshiba, Fujitsu, and Mitsubishi) all of which in 1983 started Very Large Scale Integration(VLSI). As mentioned earlier, in order to accumulate domestic capital and to achieve domestic stability in the government, the Chaebel companies generally received preferential treatment for capital and technology and as a result, the semi-conductor industry was introduced by the Chaebel companies. The technology however began with the skilled hands of young women who had worked in the foreign owned semi-conductor industry located in Korea.

After demonstrating that the female labor is a kind of human capital for the semi-conductor industry, the monopolistic Chaebel group without experiencing self-regulating market principles took over the technology from small or medium sized businesses. Although the Chaebel group took over the semi-conductor industry, the latter was not compatible with big companies for the following reasons; (1) the market for the industry is more important than anything else; (2) a few brilliant scientists are all that is needed to transform the technology, and this is incompatible with a

bureaucratic system; (3) the short life cycle( approximately 2- 3 years) of the technology makes it problematic for a huge multi- national corporation. However, the Chaebel group, like Toshiba, NEC, IBM, TI, etc., moves more and more deeply into the world system and markets.

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\* PART II

#### IV. SPIRITUAL ENLIGHTENMENT IN THE MACHINE AGE.

##### A. The Machine Age and Spiritual Strength.

In this chapter, I will review the sources of spiritual strength in Buddhist, Confucian and native Korean religions as well as the sources of spiritual strength within protestantism and Western political philosophy. These ideas and concepts will be examined in the light of modern western finance capitalism, and the unique character of modern Korean capitalism, and the unique principle of modern Korean social institutions. My focus is the spiritual strength of modern Korea in the machine age.

As has been discussed, Korean history, like that of any other country, is precisely the history of the changes in public and private institutions. In some senses, the social institutions are regarded as the best way to efficiently control people, and these institutions easily bring people together in society. The questions that this thesis poses are; What were the basic norms and the value system of the Korean people that persisted throughout the the historical changes in their social institutions? To what extent did the state bureaucracy regulate people? What was the character of the state bureaucracy and what was the relationship between the state and private institutions? The intention of my thesis heavily depends on the relationships between traditional norms and value systems and the principle of business institutions. In other words, in

order to explain the principle of business institutions, this thesis considers in a comparative manner the causal chains between these two major systems. However, there is a limit to tracing the development of contemporary business institutions back to the traditional state bureaucracy and its religious ideas because the aims of the two institutions are not similar. The traditional state bureaucracy controlled people through maintaining moral authority, but business institutions are heavily concerned with profit making, with the material cost and the material serviceability of the output. Although the aim of these two major institutions are not similar, my purpose is to trace relationships and changes between traditional norms and the principle of modern social institutions, rather than to consider the aims of each separately, and respectively as social control and moral authority, and a favorable pecuniary difference between expenses and receipts. In addition, this thesis discusses the business institutions which so easily and rapidly change according to such material factors as costs and benefits, that like the definition of 'positive science', they are rationally explicit. Above all the Semi-conductor and electronic industries are controlled by technology, a more artificial type of knowledge having the character of rapid change. My interest lies in the causal chains between the least changeable aspects of Korean religion among the various metaphysics and the principle of business institutions

characterized by the most changeable factors including material and rational calculation and the character of positive science.

In this thesis there is a need to fully and historically describe the social changes on a macro-level of study, including Western and Eastern world religions, in a comparative manner in order to have some grasp of the 'machine age'.

As has been discussed, capitalism under a world system has destroyed the spatio-temporal barriers between different lands and territories. Foreign trade among capitalist countries creates the exploiter and the exploited and acute competition. The people of each country adapt and assimilate the culture of foreign countries. Every country experiences the machine age, whether from acute competition or from cultural assimilation, and this accelerates the cultural similarity of late capitalist societies( Although this thesis mainly searches for the unique principle of modern social institutions).

Marx already predicted the higher use of capital( constant capital) compared to the use of human labor( variable capital) in capitalist societies. The various manual tasks associated with machine operation were transferred to the machine, and the highly skilled and hand-sensitive jobs of rollers were eliminated because machines took over the worker's place. Keeping in step with higher learning in modern capitalist society, people migrate into white collar

service jobs. A large bank, an electrical corporation, or a department store employs a great many white collar workers who are little more than trained routine workers, and whose higher education, if they have had one, is more or less a matter of indifference to the employer. They are also constantly in danger of being replaced by unskilled, or Semi-skilled workers, and female workers often offer strong competition to male workers. In this circumstance, the capitalist consumes workers for his own purpose just as workers consume goods and products for daily life. In addition, the development of computers and the computer industry promote the computerization of work places. Decision making for the white collar workers is increasingly confirmed by the choice of the computer's ' commands', and the dominant technology is computer- based <sup>1</sup>. Moreover, robots, instead of workers, are slowly implanted on the assembly lines, which Braverman(1974) called all capitalist productions. As a result, the work forces directly move to the margin of the labor process, and the autonomy of workers is lost. The 'unhappy' workers only perform their jobs for material needs under the culture of consumerism. This culture is far away from Martin Luther's idea of, 'the activity in the world as a thing of the flesh'. Namely the bourgeois culture manifestly depends on "specialists without spirit and sensualists without heart". The culture is also rooted in our alienation from our bodies and from the realms of deep

feelings. Except for an ability to create profits and utilities for consumption, there is not much space for the joyful life of the individual or for heart-felt emotional sharing among members of modern social institutions. Furthermore, in this public sphere, people very often doubt that the individual is able to produce true forms of art, will, magic, and esoteric or mystical strength through spiritual enlightenment from labor activities. The language, which is the collection of people's natural ideas used under this circumstance exists only in an abstract and rational form which lacks the language of actions and processes. Unfortunately, this language does not provide the true form of mystical strength which cannot be obtained from 'reason' and a rational or systematic mind. Rather, this spiritual enlightenment is achieved through body being or passion-nature.

Before considering the main idea of mystical strength and the importance of body being, let us examine the meaning of art and will through the definition of science and technology which are the main ideas of the machine age, and which form the 'dominant assumption' of technological rationality. Art and will are easily seen from the ideas of Martin Heidegger and Friedrich Nietzsche.

People usually define science as an objective product which is apart from the human individual or as the discipline of history with its representation of historical events as causal sequences like in physics. B. Malinowski looked for

the concept of science in the primitive knowledge of savage man which was based on the normal universal experience of everyday life, the experience won in man's struggle with nature for his subsistence and safety, founded in observation, and fixed by reason<sup>2</sup>. However, traditional science was never exact, could not be exact, and did not need to exact, but modern science is more exact than that of primitive knowledge.

Heidegger, as an 'authentic' way of art and a metaphysical way of looking which are useful concepts for machine technology and 'instrumental rationality' (Zweckrationalitaet) in modern society, pointed out that science, like 'any discipline or branch of knowledge' including 'the way of thinking', is a social process rather than an objective product, a so-called 'complex of ready-made things'. He also pointed out that the essence of technology is 'the very mode of beings' ('revealing of itself'). Then Heidegger looked for the revelation (unconcealment) of the concept of technology through history with the help of poetic languages in The Question Concerning Technology, in which he used the concept of science and technology as something beyond words themselves. Basically, he thought that everything stands in relation to everything else although people usually travel a particular path to think in fresh ways.

Nietzsche elaborated much more the meaning of art and

will in the definition of science. Nietzsche defined science as ourselves, whose activities include birth, aging, getting sick, and death according to the order of nature or to the 'situation' which is constantly the stage for the action of a subject, without accepting any form of thought. This action, according to Nietzsche, is easily seen in the will to power, in a nihilistic sense which is very often understood only as the devaluation of the highest values (such as machine technology and technological rationality). He is devaluating goals or science itself (Wissenschaft sei erfunden worden, um Wahrheit abzuwehren). For example, unlike the usual concept of subordinates from the view of the masters, to Nietzsche, the subordinate as subordinate in a hierarchical system, or the servant as servant always has will in the midst of his own serving. He is a subordinate yet a master, and to be a slave in this way is to will to be master. In other words, Nietzsche evaluates values differently and overturns of the nature and manner of valuing. Furthermore, the will is willing itself and the essence of value is 'becoming itself'. To a Taoist, the idea of Nietzsche's nihilism comes from the metaphor of the female body (having a weak image in the power struggle), which is the world of nature in its source of non-being, and the root of human beings and the earth.

Descartes explained that spiritual enlightenment and strength come from body being. Descartes once attempted to explain the ego as soul as the subject of 'passions' (

Aristotle's irrational part of soul; love and hate, joy and sorrow, generosity and jealousy, regret and gratitude, and so forth); he linked souls to blood circulation and to transformation in the brain because he thought that "the nerves themselves contained a certain very fine air or wind called animal spirits"<sup>3</sup>. Descartes pointed to spiritual enlightenment through body being.

T'oegye Lee/ a Korean Neo- Confucian scholar traced the importance of seven human passion natures (Ki) (joy, anger, sorrow, fear, love, hate, and lust) including the human desire of economic wealth in lust, unlike other traditional Korean scholars who believed that spiritual strength is lost through the human passions. Teacher Lee pointed out that Ri(reason) and Ki (emotion) oppose each other and also complement each other in a dialectical manner. In this sense, human passion will also be a crucial factor in explaining the character of magic which is the opposite of mechanical process, and " which is very esoteric encompassing all the ancient techniques of deepening the awareness of psychic development, and of heightened intuition"<sup>4</sup>. Unlike Ri (Reason) which is based on rational ideas, Ki( emotion) is not easily accepted in a large community, although the human passions include the merit of magic, spiritual strength and enlightenment. Nevertheless, human passions very often find a place in the relation with an other, especially within the Eastern 'collectivistic' society where the smallest social

unit is a family. For example, desire(lust), which includes the will for power, wealth, and prestige, takes place in human relationships with others. But the individual activity of the human passions having magic and spiritual strength is not easily acceptable to other people within a larger community, and the rational knowledge of all the people contains still too much magical and spiritual strength.

To the Korean, this magic, which is called Shin Param(god's wind), is usually experienced through exorcist rites for families, kin-groups and the villages of personal communities. These rites, used for caring about and for serving a grudge god(soul) who already 'unhappily' passed away, but whose soul still moves around the villages, and village gods, are performed by an exorcist in front of the members of the personal communities for a few days. When these rites take place, people in the personal community have already suffered from the grudge gods and village gods, and have felt stress from these gods. The people in the community hope to escape from the nightmare, and experience magic in the final stage of the rites. At the dramatic moment of the rites, the exorcist and people emotionally feel together, and all the members see a special bamboo pole move without being touched when the exorcist lets it go. Everybody in this community has no doubt that this pole is moving by the help of the grudge gods. This phenomenon takes for granted miracle and magic derived from the esoteric techniques and psychic development of the exorcist with the

assistance of group spirit. Many people outside the personal community do not believe the miracle, but the people within the community accept the magic as a religious system of beliefs and practices. Again magic and spiritual enlightenment from Ki are based on the specific experience of emotional states in which the true is revealed not by reason but by the play of emotions upon the human organism.

Traditionally, the spiritual enlightenment of art, will, magic, and spiritual strength was mostly related to religious ideas. To Durkheim, religious phenomena are arranged in two fundamental categories; beliefs and rites. The former is the statement of opinion, and the latter is determined by modes of social action. Every religion has these two aspects, but the emphasis is different; namely the Christian religion relies on the former, and the Eastern religions regard the latter as most important.

In Lutheran and Calvinistic sects which consider the individual as the smallest social unit, the central principle is salvation through faith, not through works or ceremonies. By this principle, people have a limitation for understanding all sorts of things, unlike the supernatural God who is mysterious, unknowable, and incomprehensible. But a Christian, following God's will, experiences the power of magic which he does not get from the ordinary procedure of positive science or the corresponding common-sense empiricism.

Rites, "the rules of conduct prescribing how a man should conduct himself in the presence of sacred objects",<sup>5</sup> are easily seen in Eastern religious, customs, moral rules, ceremonies, cults and rituals. Through these rites, which resolve uncertain factors and strong emotional interests, people experience 'collective representations' and group unity through myth and magic. Those who join rites and ceremonies experience the release of tension and solidarity with the members of the personal communities, and are reinspired with courage from this solidarity. Above all, people feeling the strain of a given community experience extensive magic and spiritual strength.

In sum, the individual and the personal community are able to produce true forms of art, will, magic, and esoteric or mystical strength corresponding to the ideas of Heidegger, Nietzsche, Christianity, and the Eastern community. The next part of this chapter will explain the ideas of the Buddhist, Confucian, and Christian religions related to the work ethic and group activities for spiritual enlightenment and will include a brief history of the machine age. This thesis will also examine the difference between 'Eastern regulative community' and 'possessive individualism' within the concept of private property, liberty, equality, and individualism in order to make its point clear. As a result this chapter intends to show how the Eastern regulative community merges with capitalist culture in the machine age.

## B. Religious Ideas and Spiritual Strength.

The Protestant religion, through the 'disenchantment' of the world, has its own discipline which provides ideas and practices for effectively and systematically dealing with social institutions. Buddhism also has a merit system for creating art, will, magic, and spiritual strength within these institutions. According to Buddhist Karma, this and the future world of Buddhists are completely connected within a self-contrived cosmos. Your social status, your wealth or poverty, and your life span are predestined in accordance with the deeds practiced by you in a previous existence. Guilt and merit within this world, therefore, are unfailingly degenerated or compensated by fate; the successive lives of the soul which may be reincarnated into animal, human, or even divine forms. In order to improve a previous incarnation, people accept Dharma as duty, which consists essentially in the traditional obligations of everyday life. From the concept of Karma and Dharma, people see that Buddhism is based on mysticism because this and the unseen future world are drawn within a successive line. Duty through works is for the sake of spiritual exercise and religious practices. Old monks teach to the young and the people:

"Farming is nothing but the doings of a Buddha. You should attain to Buddhahood through your work. You should torture yourself by working hard at your own vocation in order to redeem the sins committed in your former life, and merchants should never enjoy and pursue profits single-heartedly" 6.

According to Karma and Dharma, people in Buddhist

countries latently have the right to attain jobs, some as religious devotees, public spenders, merchants, painters, poets, craftsmen, tradesmen, and architects. These people, through various kinds of labor, enjoy pleasure from work, action, truth, curiosity, and even consumption. There are various other occupations and every one of them has some contribution to the world. Old monks will also preach that "No working is a day of no eating". The meaning of work is not only for the basic needs of daily life in this world, but also for replacing the coming future world. The very start of economic planning in the Buddhist state would be a plan for full employment( In this sense, the best government and social institutions will depend on the numbers of workers). If a man has no chance of obtaining work, he is in a desperate position in this and the coming world. In sum, within communities, people's work has at least three fold meaning;(1) to give a man a chance to utilize and develop his faculties and pleasures, (2) to enable him to overcome his ego-centeredness by joining with other people in a common task, (3) to bring forth the goods and services needed for communities. In this 'utopian' world where everyone has the opportunity and right to keep jobs, and where people live through labor, there is no real need to accumulate riches. Gold, silver, fortune, and treasures are the common property of the whole world. There is no need to discriminate between self and others through wealth in this pure Buddhist community, and the ordinary man equally has the character of

Buddha if he has a total presence of mind and the 'natural state of mind'. For example, the monk in training practices ritual principles such as the four principle activities of man, which everybody can easily do - walking, standing, sitting, and lying. These are called the 'four dignities' since they are the postures assumed by the Buddha in his human body when having the total presence of mind. In this way, teacups when regarded in a secular manner are somewhat larger than the usual ones and may be works of 'art' but they are made of nothing more extraordinary than clay; to the Buddhist believer the transformation of clay into a lovely teacup is religious itself.

Those who practice the Buddhist idea maintain self-discipline with a calm and well-regulated mind with the awakening of consciousness. During the process, the will of the trainee is usually split into two; actor and observer. The will inevitably causes a conflict between the two, but he eventually becomes free from the limitations of the observer-self in a successful case of spiritual enlightenment through introspective mysticism and heart searching.

Yoga, in India is an extreme cult of mystic strength laying hold of spiritual powers. In Yoga, the sect is a technique to eliminate desires because the practitioner thinks human feelings including desires, are evil. But the Buddhist practitioner in Eastern countries, especially in

Japan, enjoys the techniques of mysticism in this secular world. To attain awakening while keeping one's discursive mind is not to attain anything outside the teaching itself. Awakening points directly to the human mind; it means seeking one's nature and attaining Buddhahood. Our minds operate by natural law similar to the sun's rising in the East and setting in the West. When one has nothing in one's mind and no mind in things, one will be vacant, spiritual, and empty which is called Nirvana and Tao. The character of Nirvana is also described as the spheres of boundless space, boundless consciousness, nothingness, and neither perception nor non-perception are styled on the mind's realization of its own nature. This state of mind is similar to the Nietzsche's will to power which, in a nihilistic sense, is devaluating oneself and not accepting any form of thought. The will is willing itself. Form is no different from emptiness; emptiness is no different from form. Form is precisely emptiness; emptiness is precisely form. Emptiness in the mind removes all the false goals and projects of higher civilization and returns minds to the pervasive sway of tao, for which emptiness is a way of liberation and growing. The Confucian stress on the importance of family life would not be easily empathized with by this rigorously monastic type of Buddhist. Except for its discursive form, the scientific, mechanical, and artificial method of predicting the future toward the idea of 'modernity' will not be acceptable to the Buddhist, and the people in this community

will not adopt cybernetics( the science of control) and impersonal ways of abstraction because pure control is pure frustration. Those who practice Zen say: I am lying. It is implied that the statement is itself a lie. An actor, in attaining a given goal will not choose systematic or rationalizational means, but discursive forms which are themselves considered technology.

A Chinese proverb describes the concept of technology; "One showing is worth a hundred sayings", and " A complex knot cannot be explained in words alone". However, there is a basic rule among discursive forms which usually emphasizes the harmonious pursuit of a given goal easily adaptable in every situation according to the nature of order. Technology will perhaps be like riding a bicycle; when one starts falling to the left, one does not resist the fall by turning to the right. One turns the wheel to left in order to restore balance.

A person having the mind of emptiness is similar to an empty room for the guest. The occupied mind leaves no room to accept anybody else, A guest room can be used to receive guests only when it is empty. If occupied, where is the room for guests? Everyone who appeals to the mind is like the one who leaves the guest room empty. The ethic of a community for the Buddhist is; " One man is all men, and all men are one man". There is no difference between the purpose of individual interests and the interests of the group, and the

marginal man is the core man in Eastern Buddhist communities similar to Nietzsche's sense of the subordinate, yet a master. People having no desires will become simple and free in the ethical communities, but those full of desire for power, prestige, and wealth will make themselves 'sophisticated' and unfree, such that men have no effective freedom when their actions are completely controlled by desires.

Those who support the Mahayana sect which upholds ideas of the total presence of an individual's mind and of ethical communities accuse the Hinayana sect of a selfish preoccupation with individual salvation. To the Mahayana's monks, the Hinayana sect( including the Zen sect) is dangerous in a social context where convention is weak, and where there is a spirit of open revolt against convention. To the Mahayana monks, the Hinayana are ready to destroy the Buddhist communities. Therefore, the Mahayana monks get their own enlightenment with the help of the total presence of their masters through face to face contact. The master is held responsible for the Karma of the student, and the student is expected to have absolute obedience to the authority of the master. The relationship between the master and the student is regarded as purely a consequence of ritualistic devotion. In this sense, the coming of Buddhist ideas to Eastern countries creates an assimilation applicable to its own traditional norms. Namely, the Buddhist in Eastern countries accepts somewhat the principle of individual salvation in Hinayana, but great importance is

still placed on the ethical principle through norms, rites, ceremonies, and rituals to enhance group solidarity, especially in personal communities.

God in Eastern countries, unlike the Western Christian God, may not be the holy God because there is no clear concept of the mighty power of Holy God. But the gods, except for the earth and grain gods of the state, without any power of absoluteness, keep themselves in people's everyday life. Rather, the concept of rituals and rites is more important than that of god for bringing people together. Religion in Korea, therefore, "operates as a social mechanism for reinforcing certain secular as well as sacred sentiments among its believers" and obtains sacred power from ceremonies and 'holy rites'. For example, the ceremony of marriage brings direct proof of being a married couple within the community, and latently through rites, the people gain the prestige of being family, a degree of wealth and proof of solidarity with others. The culture that emphasizes ritual practices also creates exemplary rather than emissary prophets through a demonstration of one's personal example to others for religious salvation. In sum, the Eastern countries accept the Buddhist's ideas of art, and will, magic, and spiritual strength, but under the higher value of ritualized patterns of behavior, and ritualized standards or normative patterns.

The rituals, rites, and ceremonies focus one's attention

on the community's elder because one's sense of respect is concentrated on the old in age. Some of the elder under the Confucian principle, who are the the oldest in the family tradition, retire from government positions, get their ideas from mystical experience through reviewing the classics, and acquire authority through rites. The elders, in a 'conservative' way, enjoy the rest of their lives within what Mencius' calls, 'inner' or 'outer' life which is the inner or spiritual life of the individual and the outer ethicosocial order. They especially enjoy the inner life which Chung-schu describes: Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their hearts, and wishing to rectify their hearts, they sought to be sincere ( true-<sup>7</sup> without self-deception) . In this tradition, negotiation and compromise by the old are not recognized as a social norm. They must maintain their purity of consciousness, and not accept any kind of cultural pluralism and free exchange of ideas. In addition, the legal order does not have an existence different, separate, and independent from morality, religion, or any other order. It upholds patriarchal law, which takes into account only the person and the concrete situation which is called 'Khadi Justice' in the West. Primitive law, according to which a decision becomes the subject matter of discussion, cannot be generalized and formulated as a rule. Thus two important principles of the regulative community are: rituals and the proving of oneself through exemplary ritual practices and the authority of the

elders who must maintain purity of consciousness, unsullied by the ideas of others.

The next concern will be the ability of human passions and Ki (emotional being) to create the spirit of personal communities and the strength of spiritual enlightenment. As has been discussed, the social structure of traditional Korean society, which did not develop in cities, and which did not create a conflict between the state and merchant capitalists and landlords, is based on personal communities such as kin-groups and villages. Those communities with forms of self-knowledge or 'cohesion' were scattered, and lacked any strong feudal pattern. The Confucian idea of the state is to reduce to a minimum all the projects of civilization, making it possible for the people to seek the simple life to maintain a self-sufficient daily routine.<sup>8</sup> The state also had a limitation on using corvee labor for its own purpose. The workers, in most cases, were mobilized in a relatively short-period at least within 6 days in each year. In the worst cases their agricultural usefulness was not destroyed, although corvee labor was forced labor. When the workers finished the obligatory duty, they were expected to go home and continue with their own business. The state policy of the corvee provided perhaps the reason why there were no marble and stone buildings in public places, and why the state did not have enough power. Rather, the state built public places with wood which mostly did not require as

much labor as marble and stone.

The property of the society according to Marx was controlled by the 'Asiatic mode of production' and 'Asiatic landed property' in which 'the production was internal to the community', and in which the property of the individual was considered communal property. The people, through rituals, rites, and ceremonies in these personal communities, were carefully checked by the other members. Because of the 'checking' activity, the members were ready to be helped through the sacrifice of others, or were also ready to be punished through the denial of others. The individual's activities and freedom were totally submitted to the basic principle of norm, values, rituals, and rites. Private property was distributed by and under the control of the personal communities. I therefore, call them regulative communities. Although the state officials did regulate the communities, people in the local areas of the personal communities remained as a self-governing settlement without a mandarin. In addition, through the activities of communal labor such as irrigation and planting, the members were more or less granted equal labor opportunities. This means that each individual was guaranteed a share in the total communal product.

The role of kin-groups among the personal communities was religious, and the natural family was a 'holy family' because of ancestor worship and cults, unlike in the Western tradition in which the family and religious institutions

were separated. The members learned how to exercise authority and how to submit to authority, and the cultured individual was prepared for regulating the family and thereby, governing the state.

Let us examine the research of Kim Kwangoen on the shape of Korean houses( The Korea News, March, 1988). This will explain one of the phenomena of the traditional family, and support my main point on the spiritual strength of personal communities. Traditional Korean houses, according to Confucian and folk principles, are the places where the three main groups( people, ancestors, and house gods) live together. There are many gods in a house, including Soeng Chu-sin( the house keeping god), Toe- Sin( the house site god), Cho Wang-sin(the kitchen god), etc. But among the gods, the ancestor of the family takes the most important place in a house. When people build a house, they decide where the souls of their ancestors should be kept; the place is called Sa-dang. There are usually sacred boxes(Shin-ju) for keeping the ancestor's souls in the Sa-dang rather than sending the souls toward God as in the Western traditions. People choose the place of Sa-dang in the northeast, toward the place where the sun rises. The head of the household according to Confucian norms, keeps the room nearest to Sa-dang, and the household wife takes the farthest from the Sa-dang in the northwest. The house is totally a sacred place because of the existence of these gods and the ancestors' souls. The

members of the family practice their own purity and spiritual strength in front of these gods who do not have body being, and live with them in everyday life. The members also frequently reinforce spiritual strength through sacrificial rites.

The family then is regarded as an organization based on biological or blood lineal relationship highly connected to Descartes' human passions that start with blood circulation. One member of the family shares his passion nature with the others, and the emotional activity is approved by the presence of the ancestors and house gods. Except for the head of the family, it is not right for the members to represent the honor of the family under Confucian tradition. The family, as the smallest social unit(not the individual in Eastern culture), starts with the activity of passion-nature. In other words, the family is mainly a unit for consumption which reinforces the passion natures, and through the consumption based on relative equality among the members, they also reproduce biologically. Biological reproduction, makes for a blood relation. Interestingly enough, this social unit, as a pure form of institution which starts with biological or emotional beings, has the strongest solidarity of any social organization. In some senses, the early development of the spirit of the 'petit bourgeois' took place with the help of the solidarity of these groups in the West.

In a primitive society, those who continue the

solidarity also extend the relationship to other families through marriage. However, the members of the family and extended kin groups are limited in their sharing with others outside the units. For example, the business man in the earlier portion of Korean capitalist history did not want to share each strength with small and large companies because each company, whether large or small, produced its finished products under the principle of personal communities. Koreans extend the solidarity of a small social unit. The solidarity, through passion nature, is extended in personal village communities mainly because of the communal activity of labor such as irrigation, road repairing, and communal security, etc.

Those who trained under the communal principle through labor activity use a unique language. A Korean with others does not clearly answer 'yes' or 'no' when responding to critical issue. The Korean usually explains vaguely around the critical issues in order to know the pure will of the others during dialogue, and explains his intention through vague words<sup>10</sup>. The Korean perhaps thinks that communal sharing is more important than personal views. In addition, there is not much need to have words for privacy which is usually regarded as selfishness or loneliness. When this manner is extended into society, the Korean tends toward vagueness of definition, functional generalization, and amorphousness of form. The society also emphasizes

obligation rather than rights because of the lack of privacy. In social organizations, the Korean system does not sharply separate the man's role as employee from his role as husband and father. We have been seen how human passions and emotions are 'checked' in the personal community. We have also seen how the family is a religious institution that combines passion, emotion, and consumption within a home that is like a religious temple. The solidarity of the family, created through combining passion-nature with religious rituals and mutual checking, is extended to the village through communal labor and communal sharing.

As has been discussed, there is a need to explain the spirit within the village communities. Thus, the next question which this thesis poses is, How do passion nature and spiritual strength actually work in the personal communities? This answer also provides at least some ideas for explaining create social movements or wildcat strikes. There usually are many kinds of festivals including incantations, exorcist rites, before and after communal labor, held by the group which has socialized group 'consciousness' in everyday life( Alltaeglich), and which is always ready to join their group activity, with the traditional instrumental music of peasants, having four main musical instruments such as Soe( the high tone gong), Puk( the drum), Ching( the low tone gong), and Changku( the double headed drum). The group consists of 10- 30 musicians, and the people of the villages also voluntarily join the festival

whether they are old or young, men or women, of high or low status. Through these rites, people enhance the solidarity among the members and release the tension gained from stress. Let us carefully examine the activity of these musicians during their playing. The main role of the festival depends upon the two Soe players. The first Soe player, who is usually old, has much experience, and who is a spiritual leader in the community, leads the group. The second Soe player, who knows the leading man, and who often practices with him, usually transfers the sound of the leading Soe player to the other members of the musicians through body gestures and winking his eyes. Following him is not easy for other musicians because of the vagueness and the speed of the gestures. These gestures are basically used for calling the gods, and serving and caring for the grudge gods. The leader, with his passion nature, should cheer up all the musicians and spectators to enhance the group spirit. The leading man, keeping the tradition of all the villagers, also corrects all the sounds of the other musicians, but at same time should follow the sounds of the last musicians for his next activity; in this way he is not only a leader but also a follower. The leading Soe- player, through his passion nature enjoys Mencius' 'inner' and 'outer' life which form the inner or spiritual life, and the outer ethicosocial order. At the most dramatic moment of the rites, all the players and spectators lose themselves as observers. This produces an

experience of ecstasy. All the members are actors in the rites through their passion- natures, and this phenomenon is called the spirit of personal communities in which spiritual enlightenment is handed down from ancient time; it is useful for wildcat strikes and creates group spirit or 'cooperation' in factories.

#### C. The Adoption of Machine Age and Social Change.

The Korean capitalist system and modern institutional forms, however, did not originate from the spirit of personal communities in villages. Rather, the tradition of the modern capitalist system which required a monetary system, cities, guilds, and patrimonial state, kinship organization and law was mostly imparted from western countries. The Korean people had voluntarily or involuntarily, or even compulsively accepted these systems during domination by Japan, the American military government, and the Korean military state. In this way, Korean lifestyles in the machine age also originate from the Western tradition. Therefore, there is a need to elaborate on the spirit and spiritual enlightenment of Western capitalism through the important concepts of private property, liberty, equality, and individualism, which brought about the machine age. However, this thesis introduces Western culture, including the machine age, in order to clearly show the uniqueness of Korean culture.

Capitalism in the earlier portion of Korean history,

did not develop mainly from or manifestly depend upon Confucian religious ideas because profit making seemed to turn people's mind towards viciousness. Also the literati and upper status clan which monopolized government positions did not want to create another powerful social group. This latent function is similar to that of Western medieval society in which the ruling status group was made up of fief-holders who enjoyed a virtual monopoly of wealth, military prestige, and political authority. In other words, the royal nobles vassals, through the help of their feudal tenure, monopolized the army, as well as the more important offices in the state, and even in the church.

Although there is a similar tradition of upper status groups between the East and West, the concept of private property in the West, unlike the 'Asiatic mode of production' in the East, was already developed in early Rome. In Rome, private ownership of land presupposed membership (citizenship) in the community, and membership in the community required private property<sup>11</sup>.

In medieval society, the concept of privacy was frequently used with the idea of controlling of public power. In the studies of Philippe Aries and Georges Duby (1988), 'privacy' meant power, especially the power of the head of the household and included privacy from rivals, the state, neighbors, servants, and even members of one's family. Marx's concept of Germanic private property clearly showed

the meaning of 'privacy'. This property, in which the relation of the individual as landowner to the land did not appear to be a relation within community was regarded as individual property<sup>12</sup>. Individual property did not appear to be mediated by the commune. The totality of production in 'Germanic private property' was the family unit of the proprietor. However, the relationship between adults and their children is explained by Marx's belief that the bourgeoisie has torn away the family's sentimental veil and reduced family relations to mere money relations. Namely, the individual produced individually, not communally. Furthermore, his property did not belong to the community.

In the earliest stage of capitalist history, independent small artisans, small guild masters, and free peasants were both proprietor and worker. In addition, in American settlements, where a passion for owning land prevented the existence of labourers for hire, individuals could only accumulate capital for themselves<sup>13</sup>. Early Americans frequently built their own houses, and carried to market, at whatever distance, the products of their own industry to sell. Those who had artistic skills and were willing to accumulate capital perhaps entered the market's control through the exchange of commodities. In these individualistic ways, one could gain(1) the internal satisfaction of one's mind, (2) the external necessities for one's body, and (3) the enjoyment of positions and wealth acquired by one's own industry and good fortune.

With the help of the Christian ethic in the West, Max Weber described art, will, and spiritual enlightenment through the individual's enjoyment of work. Weber examined the doctrine of predestination of Calvinism. At God's will, a small proportion of men are chosen for eternal grace, and the chosen can only be understood through the word of God in one's own heart. In addition, the world, for Calvinists, exists for the glory of God. The elected Christian, therefore, is in this world only to increase this glory of God by fulfilling His commandments to the best of his ability. The activity of labor through one's 'calling' is regarded as the outward expression of brotherly love, although the vocational ethic minimized the importance of community by emphasizing personal responsibility. The calling is an absolute duty and the mystical experience of the Protestant.

Lack of self-confidence, for the Christian, is the result of insufficient faith. And the faith of self-confidence has to be proved by its objective results. Proving one's faith through work provided a firm foundation for the accumulation of capital and credit under the principle, time is money; credit is money; and money begets money. Basically, as Benjamin Franklin mentioned every hour lost is lost labor for the glory of God. The mastery of the world as a religious obligation according to Weber, extended the institutionalization of the values of universalism and

achievement. Namely, Protestantism contributed directly to economic rationalization.

Before describing Weber's institutional forms leading toward the 'iron cage' or the machine age, there is a need to see the implication of his and other philosophers' ideas for Western social organization and spiritual strength, particularly how they apply in late capitalist society. The activity of the Protestant individual implies at least two meanings; (1) business interests, for Weber, were subordinated to the pursuit of salvation, and (2) the same personal code of morality (which usually provides the discipline of communal action) prevailed in the activities of business. On morality, Alfred Marschall clearly says; "the man of free enterprise is by no means rational only for prudential motives. He has rather an ethical obligation to be rational". David Hume( 1981) also emphasized the ideas of morality, ideas and property must be preserved by other general values and property must extend to the utility of the whole society, so that everyone is virtuous when his private will conforms in everything to the general will. In other words, property is to be held in trust for the community. At the state level, individual weakness must always be protected by public force, and the poor should be protected at home against the tyranny of the rich. In addition, under the name of 'Yeoman democracy', John Locke suggested 'majority rule democracy' and the 'sovereignty of the majority'. To him, the state is like a

joint- stock company of owners whose majority decision binds not only them but also their employees through the individual's rights and duties. Society is a pure form of equality among its members. There is no proper antagonism between the role of society and that of the individual. The people, under this principle, have possession of something if they have the capacity of labor( which is called possessive individualism in which labor is the principle of value and the source of wealth). I may exchange your products. Mine must suit you when you are the buyer, and I must be satisfied with yours when you are the seller. There is nothing useful that cannot be exchanged, and nothing exchangeable that is not useful. Value in use and value in exchange are inseparable. Supply and demand are naturally under the 'invisible hand' of God. No one has a right to impose his own merchandise upon another because of the fixed concern for judgment of utility. Americans well demonstrated how labor markets work. Americans define success in terms of the outcome of free competition among individuals in an open market<sup>14</sup>. Most of them think that they attain their present status in life through their own hard work rather than through family, school, and other advantages. In market liberalism, property is to be used to the maximum advantage of its possessor and his acquired skills and technology. This form of possessive individualism and Weber's ideas of Protestantism apply to an earlier capitalism that was controlled by a petit bourgeois economy

of small property owners, a period when an extensive morality of the individual under Protestantism maintained society. However, without an external determinant of values and ethics outside of the individual, that is, in a society in which the individual is the basic social unit who determines for himself what is right and what is good, social justice is imperfect and impossible. In addition, the art, will, and spiritual enlightenment of the individual cannot be approved within society based on individual conviction.

Although Yeoman democracy and the free market system in capitalist system are one way of thinking, Marx's views of the capitalist culture do not provide an optimistic vision of art, will, and spiritual strength through the labor activity of the individual. To Marx, labor means 'man's realizing his essence', because it provides the opportunity for man's human creative activity. Marx extends labor activity into social relationships. In other words, political economy, to him, deals with human working activity, not from the standpoint of its technical methods and instruments of labor, but from the stand point of its social form.

The worker within the capitalist system cannot be motivated for the process of production because the workers' product makes the worker into a commodity for 'exchange value' based on a quantitative rather than qualitative change. Worker's 'use value' does not count in this commodity. The activity of the worker is for the production of the commodity which directly transforms into money.

Money, as a measure of value, a medium of circulation, and a means of payment, creates universal buyers and sellers of all commodities. Namely, the worker sells labor, like any commodity, to the capitalist. In exchange the capitalist gives him wages and sets the prices. In commodity economy, social relations eventually take the form of things. Every contact of a worker's life becomes more and more material and impersonal. Art, will, and spiritual enlightenment through the labor activity of the worker no longer exist under this principle of political economy. The worker who has a full mind of 'technological rationality' has limited freedom in the work place. Moreover, labor, under the division of labor in the capitalist system, is sold piecemeal as is every other article of commerce. The worker is totally alienated from (1) the laboring subject( not a creative actor), (2) the commodity which he produces, and (3) the determination of labor through social needs, which is an alien compulsion to him. All the alienated forms of the worker start with the commodity which is a mystical thing concealing the social character of men's labor, the meaning of the product of men's labor, and the objective character of one's life.

Under this idea of political economy, the 'proletariat', who has no 'means of production' except for his own labor shares with the 'bourgeoisie. The proletariat enters into an unmediated cultural relationship with the

opposite side of culture that is a given. This culture creates the reification of every aspect of the proletariat. Traditionally, the bourgeoisie has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his 'natural superiors', and has left no other remaining bond between man and man other than marked self-interest and callous 'cash payment'.

The proletariat does not receive the traditional, expected wage for his work because the bourgeoisie determines the value of labor. The capitalist exploits workers in the 'valorization' of labor price. In addition, the capitalist has effectively succeeded in 'colonizing' the state. The state, having the public budget, assists this social class through public financial guarantees for mortgages, small businesses, and failing multinational corporations. The capitalist also accumulates capital not only from the exploitation of workers' wages, but also from the rent of land, and profits from stock. With the additional capital, the bourgeoisie is constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and all old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed by the bourgeoisie. The individual who just has labor power( possessive individualism) cannot easily buy the expensive machines needed to run factories. In some senses, for the workers, the possibility of purchasing a factory is similar to that of the Lotto player's winning the game with

one ticket.

In factories, the capitalist increases constant capital, although the rate of profit decreases when it is extensively used. In other words, the capitalist replaces workers with machines in the work places. In society, unemployment and over- population of laborers increase. The competition with other companies creates a monopoly with the help of intensive capital. Powerful and wealthy capitalists themselves create monopolistic combinations and cartels. The previously separate spheres of industrial, commercial and bank capital are now brought under the common direction of high finance, in which the masters of industry and of the banks are united in a close personal association ( although <sup>15</sup> personal relationships and communal ties are lacking in the narrow circle of a feudal association). In this high stage, capitalism is impossible without the labor force of the non- capitalist sphere, because according to R. Luxemburg(1972) capitalism will inevitably decay when lacking a third market. These third persons are not only within a country, but also outside. Namely, capitalists who have modern technology and capital go to the non- capitalist sphere for fresh labor and markets. They export more advanced goods at expensive prices and import more materialized goods at cheap ones because of great competition in that commodity. The ideology of that class, except for technological rationality, cannot be applicable to Weber's

Protestantian ethic in which (1) business interests are subordinated to the pursuit of salvation, and (2) the code of morality prevails in personal activities of business.

When capitalism brings international exchange to third persons, the whole world becomes one capitalist nation where all other forms of economy and society have already disappeared. Thus Marx presupposed in The Communist Manifesto that all bourgeoisie societies are going through the same basic stages of evolution, as did Western civilization:

When the ancient world was in its last throes, the ancient religions were overcome by Christianity. When Christian ideas succumbed in the eighteenth century to rationalist ideas, feudal society fought its death battle with the revolutionary bourgeoisie 16.

In this context, a new established industry does not develop from handicraft beginnings and techniques into modern giant capitalist form, but is established as an advanced capitalist enterprise. So capitalism is now imparted to a new country in its most advanced form.

The phenomenon of the world as one capitalist nation applies to Korea where the Western monetary system, cities, organizational principles, and capitalist law were adopted and developed in a few decades. The speed of development and social change is so tremendously fast that individual workers are directly affected. The workers who do not follow the changing circumstances leave the work places earlier. The business institutions, with the help of the mass production of higher learning, and the 'reserve army' in labor markets, reject old foremen who were popular among workers because of

the new technology in factories and offices. The new manager in factories emphasizes task-oriented rather than status-oriented workers. The young start to criticize traditional norms, values, rituals, and rites, and also have rational or calculating minds. In some senses, the manners of the new managers with their fixed way of official duty are one of the most efficient ways of purifying the old system of bureaucracy.

In factories, the concept of technology has been defined as efficient, mechanical, and the objectified performance of work in order to attain a given goal. The capitalist must maintain a favorable pecuniary difference between expenses and benefits. The workers are subordinate. Machines and computers automatic systems, assembly plants, computer-based machines, and computers fill the work places, and the workers' autonomy is limited within the scope of these machines. Furthermore, robotics are slowly implanted on the assembly line. The real life of workers is indistinguishable from the movies. The sound film creating wonderful illusions leaves no room for imagination or reflection on the part of the audience which is unable to respond because the films is already made.

Under the machine age, the pure principle of Korean villages based on regulative communities does not seem to work in social institutions. The people, without the rituals, rites, and ceremonies of traditional personal

communities are not carefully checked by the other members. Lacking 'check', the members are not totally ready to be helped through the sacrifice of others and are also not totally ready to be punished through the denial of others. The individual's activities and freedom are not totally submitted under the basic principle of norms, values, rituals, and rites. In addition, private property is not controlled by the personal communities. The meaning of labor is no longer communal, involving irrigation, planting, or road repairing. Section chiefs and foremen cannot be Soe-players who enjoy the inner or spiritual life and the outer ethicosocial order through their passion natures.

Chemists always experience that various substances do not function as expected but these substances still somewhat follow the basic rules. Similarly, the character of Korean capitalism and institutional forms has seen a lot of changes between traditional norms and the principle of institutions. Nevertheless, Korean capitalism, through the changes, has a unique principle which provides spiritual strength. The principle of personal communities as described above, continues to operate even under conditions of modern rational capitalism.

The Korean state directly or indirectly borrowed finance capital from Japan, America, West Germany, and the World Bank, etc. The Korean business institutions accepted Western technology and organizational principles in the same way that young students of Buddhist communities follow old

monks. The state policy, like that in other Buddhist countries, is to create jobs for the Dharma of the people through the help of business institutions. These institutions have succeeded in the assembly of radios(1959), televisions(1966), and the assembly and test of Semi-conductors(1966). In other words, the skills of these assembly line workers have reached a high level.

The Tao appreciates the necessity of continuous 'becoming' and 'growing' that is art, will, and spiritual enlightenment. This spiritual/ growth may perhaps be compatible with the accumulation of capital which also cannot be possible without continuous growth.

To conclude, it seems as if the introduction of capitalism into Korea has created business institutions that resemble those of the West in which the traditional Korean culture has no place. This thesis next shows how the principle of personal communities continues to operate in the modern rationalized electronic and Semi-conductor industry in Korea. I also show how the principle of personal communities clashes with certain principles of Western capitalism and how it nevertheless also contributes to certain successes of Korean capitalism. In short, I claim that Korean capitalism has its own unique form that distinguishes it from Western capitalism. This unique form is not settled but is being created in and through conflict, and contradiction.

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## V. AN APPLICATION OF RELIGIOUS IDEAS TO THE WORK PLACE.

### 4.1. Value Rationality Through 'Empty Mind' And Benevolence.

As has been discussed, world technology creates a system, and each country takes a role as a part of the whole structure under a principle that likens the whole world to one capitalist nation, and under which all other forms of every society have already disappeared. Korean technology moves deeper and deeper into the cycle of the world's machine age and technology. Korean monopolized capital more or less imitated the form of finance capital in the West. However, this 'world system theory' of capitalism is in some senses superficial because Korean capitalism created its own singular method of capital accumulation and technological development under unique circumstances and culture. The main topic of this thesis traces Korean uniqueness through cultural studies and religious ideas although the Korean people live in the machine age and with the help of the machine technology.

Suppose a design for artificial intelligence in computers is developed in the western countries, then a Korean company would likely adapt the technology. But there is a great possibility of not being able to easily and efficiently develop new designs in home territory partly because Korean engineers do not have a similar level of skills to develop that technology, and partly because the Korean organizational principle or culture does not have the

attitudes for developing new technology. In this sense of culture and individual personality, there is a distinctive difference between organizing and adopting, and developing technology. As a good example, American engineers are well trained to bring about the innovation of new products in a short period, while the Japanese have another mentality which easily produces in a short period a commodity taken from new world technology. The division of labor, in some ways, is possible in the world system, and that is one of the results of cultural difference.

Before moving into the uniqueness of the Korean culture, this thesis will review these three terms, value rationality, empty mind, and benevolence, and the relationships between them. I will show how these concepts apply to the division of labor, self sacrifice and self-abnegating behavior at work, the organization of the work place, attitudes toward saving, the relationship between private life and work life, corporate expansion rites, and ceremonies at work, corporate loyalty, political patriotism, workplace communications and the stress on strict but unwritten rules and norms in the bureaucracy.

As discussed, the emptiness of the individual creates the state of complete absence of sensation which directly brings one's mind to liberation (Nirvana). This process of mental comfort, empty mind, was described as Zen, considered the expression of the mentality which feels completely at

home in this universe. When you have no thing in your mind and no mind in things, you are vacant and spiritual, and empty. Namely, Zen, with its natural state of integrity and non-duality, described as the spheres of boundless space, boundless consciousness, nothingness, and neither-perception nor-non perception, are the methods of the mind's realization of its own nature.

The feeling of commiseration is the principle of benevolence, and the meaning of benevolence is to 'sacrifice oneself to preserve one's integrity'. These two concepts, empty mind and benevolence, which brought people together in society, were understood as having ethical meaning in Mahayana sects and in T'oegye's public life. Traditionally, the form of production in Eastern agricultural society was made possible through the means of communal activity. Even in modern factories and offices, the workers perform their jobs for a given goal with the help of the division of labor. Each individual, as a part of the whole, performs his or her labor activity to accomplish a given goal conveniently, easily, and efficiently. To a Buddhist, who believes that everybody has the character of Buddha, and that the soul, unlike one's body, is not distinct( according to the principle of 'Karma'), there is no difference between the part and the whole, so that factory work is not possible without the help of others or the division of labor;" One man is all men, and all men are one man".

Whether according to the Buddhist idea of empty mind,

or according to the Confucian idea of benevolence, each individual having body being is presupposed to have conflicts in order to harmoniously maintain social, natural, and universal order because the passion nature in the individual's mind( the 'seven- human passions'; joy, anger, sorrow, fear, love, hate, and lust) changes through time, and nature or the world itself always changes. Perpetual change always causes a conflict within the inner mind of the individual and also outside in the world. Those who diminish the character of the passion nature through emptiness and benevolence and follow the harmonious social or natural order experience will, and mystical, magical, and spiritual strength. But this spiritual enlightenment( the thought which offers fresh ways of looking) should cause a change according to the change of nature. In this sense, the will of the individual who has body being always causes conflicts in the inner mind in the same way that form is no different from emptiness and emptiness is no different from form. This will, therefore, can only be understood as willing itself in order to live a harmonious life in ever changing nature.

This life, based on the will, is possible without satisfying basic needs. The most efficient way of attaining these needs for the individual, who is a 'social animal', is through the division of labor in society. In this way, labor through the division of labor provides not only the basic needs, but is also the source of keeping the will for empty

mind and benevolence which make harmonious life possible. More specifically, within a factory or service company, an individual attains his or her natural needs by using, as a means, the division of labor. The product of labor, as a result of empty mind, self-denial, or self-abnegation, is regarded as the outcome of the will which provides the spiritual strength of the individual. A contribution to society, as an expression of benevolence or of sharing, eventually makes harmonious order possible:

The workers sometimes get a chance to work until midnight. I usually experience a blank mind along with a loss of my consciousness, and do not even notice the fact that I am still working. In some senses, the night time, seems convenient to me because it is not bothersome. My hands move very fast in order to produce a large quantity.

( with P in the D semi-conductor industry).

Also, a product's quality depends on the degree of spiritual strength obtained through conflicts in the workers' mind without this enlightenment, the worker's mind, while in these factories, will be regarded as existing in the state of 'status quo' which is itself the unrecognized but constant<sup>1</sup> reconstitution of human affairs. The order of nature always changes and the workers' minds require change in order to create a harmonious order within nature.

This thesis next poses the question, "how do people socialize or practice the activity of empty mind and of benevolence and minimize their passion-natures?" The answer lies in the help of husband and wife, parents, brothers and sisters, old persons, and school teachers, who are all part

of such personal communities as families( especially central in forming religious ideas), kin- groups, villages, and schools. The product of this socialization through empty mind, benevolence, and minimizing passion- nature is called 'value rationality', frame of reference, common sense, or morality which sometimes originates from religious rituals, rites, and ceremonies and which also provides a common ground for the members of personal communities.

In the traditional society in small villages, there is a ritual, called Hyangchon. If a tiny dispute happened between husband and wife, between mother-in-law and daughter-in- law, or between neighbors, the people went to the old persons who were thoroughly familiar with local customs in order to ask for judgment on their conflicts instead of going to local governmental courts. Even if they went to the local government court, the judgment did not depend much on the law code, but rather on the personal decision of the government literati. Under these circumstances, the people preferred to go to the old persons, who were trained under Confucian norms and values, and who judged the conflicts by taking into account the harmony of the family or village. Moreover, the conflicts among inner family members were quite interesting in that people controlled themselves. The fighting usually started by locking doors. If a visitor came to the house at the peak of the fighting, the family member kindly greeted that visitor as if nothing had happened in the family. The

moment after the visitor left, the doors were locked and the fighting started again. This activity of controlling and concealing from others one's passion-nature affects aspects of Korean social life.

Traditional Koreans wanted to control their emotions as much as they could, in order to not show their animal behavior or passion-nature to others. People very often controlled their emotions in a given circumstance to make the common ground of a people or a community possible. For this reason, Weber explained that Confucian rationalism meant rational adjustment to the world; protestant rationalism meant rational mastery of the world.

One adjustment activity that Koreans engage in is choosing and adapting their action according to another's position. That activity or behavior is opposite to that of Westerners whose integrity lies in being true to their inner convictions and determining their action according to their own individual will. For example, "my boss ruled like a dictator, recalled Iris Marcha of her days at an executive placement firm in Massachusetts." "The boss liked to threaten people, to keep them on edge" (The New York Times December, 1986). Boldness, whether in the boss or in the new employee, is not easily seen in personal communities in Eastern society, in which children are socialized in families during the age of appetite and curiosity. For example, a young person usually does not eat dinner before his father and

grandfather come to dinner. At the dinner table, the young usually do not pick up delicious food before the father picks it up first. In other words, the individual is socialized to subordinate his own needs, desires and feelings to those of his or her superior. In traditional families, the mother brings up children in that manner. When a neighbor visits their home, the children go outside, and even an adult son does not smoke in front of his father. In the work place, when a young worker who has just come into the place, sees the activity or the face of the boss (supervisor) or the head of department, he adjusts his activity according to the emotion of the boss. This behavior is not seen as cowardly, lacking in integrity or as sycophantic as it might be considered in the West. Rather, it is seen as being respectful, dutiful, and conscientious. The head of each department similarly follows his executive officer:

The section chiefs of each department uncomfortably leave their office at 8 pm when the head of the department and the executive officer are still in the office. But the head of the department usually does not leave earlier than the executive office 2.

Privacy for new comers is extensively limited, whether liking or hating the limitation. Even though there are some different degrees, the boss also looks at the emotions of young workers:

The manager or head of each department does not do the same as in old times, before the company held the attendance cards, from which a worker's presence and absence are under the control of this head. My duty increased, but I cannot neglect this duty and the harmony of the department because, many heads of departments and workers work together in a big

office where each person sees and checks the others.  
( a interview with C in the C electronic company).

In addition, young workers get out of the office with co-workers, go to bars together, and start back-biting about the bad points of their boss. In this place if the relationship among the whole body of workers is not smooth, everyone is isolated from the group. However, as Alvin W. Gouldner( 1954) mentioned, the close supervision through the activity of checking sometimes poses the dangerous problem of unmotivated workers. To solve this problem, the D chaebel group transferred the power to decide 'tiny' affairs and ready-made financial to section chiefs and heads of departments.

As has been discussed, the wage system and workings hours of the Yi dynasty followed two basic principles; enough wages for workers and no clear concept of time. The boss' principle of benevolence makes him take care that workers be paid as much as needed to support their families:

I and other workers did not think that the company exploited workers because the company usually gave the highest level of wages in Korea. The company paid the workers( until 9 pm). In other words, if the workers left earlier, they got payment without working overtime.

The company, despite what others say, did not arbitrarily fire workers, managers, executive officers, or the president, even though this meant risking of great loss for the company. In most cases, the company provided another chance to make up the losses in which the workers got another chance to move up to a high position.

( with K, a former worker in the D semi- conductor company).

The boss' authority allows him to decide hours of work because of a lack of precise scheduling. In the Yi dynasty,

workers began from 5-7 A.M. and finished from 7-9 P.M. (Koreans usually do not have a precise concept of time). For example, now many white collar workers sometimes extend their usual schedule by 2 to 3 hours, or even 5 to 6 hours without any additional payment (The Korean News January, 1987).

Another's position is usually seen as having imperative social norms and values, and is regarded completely differently from the predetermination of Protestantism according to which activity is determined by God. "The world to that ethic, its order of things and the state of grace of every man in it, was created and predetermined solely by God's absolute power. This power could not owe anything to a corporation or be connected with achievements or the quality of one's own faith and will. God's will on this earth is directly connected to an active ascetic in this worldly course of action<sup>3</sup>. In Eastern society, the concept of Holy God is not clear, and therefore the best way to reach grace is in imitation of Sage Kings who lived with benevolence in this world in legendary time. Here the meaning of imitation has a special significance. The ideas of the Sages did not much consider being with the body, but only being with the soul which provides spiritual strength. The Confucian scholar continuously learns and practices the activity of the Sages, the ideas of the soul or spiritual being, until he knows the order of nature (Tao). The way to imitate human beings is understood in the same context as that of a son and his

father and of a young worker's behavior towards his boss. The two younger people, in the spirit of apprenticeship, should deny some of their emotion, their body being, and passion nature. This activity of imitation and empty mind through controlling one's passion natures is perhaps understood in the context of saving. In capitalist cities, pecuniary wealth is important for the daily life of individuals and a small body of people have enough money to spend for unending appetites, but most save money in banks whether or not the practice is recommendable. The rate of saving is approximately 30 percent of the national product in East Asian countries such as Hong kong, Taiwan, Korea, and Japan where Confucian and Buddhist ideas are a basic principle of daily life.

The will to obey and serve Buddha requires the wisdom and courage of Buddha. Every Buddhist sublimates self-love (body being) to other-love partly because of Buddha's compassion, and partly because of the ideas of the vanity of life. A human being lives only about 100 years or 100 springs, which is a very short time compared to the the whole of human and earth history, and his mind is very limited in the order of nature(Tao). In addition, the self having passion nature which always changes, is not only vain, but is also dissolute and uneasy. The true self, in this changing social order, will be the Buddha's mind. For this reason, the people who pray to Buddha should purify themselves in the manner of the true self before they pray. Those who want to look for

interesting and precious subjects or spiritual enlightenment from the changing self do not look for these worldly values in nihilism. When the principle is applied to modern bureaucracy, those who develop technology do not use automatic machines which do not bring any spiritual strength. For example, in daily life, when Korean people choose a cup of tasty coffee, they do not use the coffee vending machine on account that the machine does not feel what they want, whether black or light, and whether more or less sugar. Research done by Korean-Americans (Joongang Daily News May, 1987) showed that almost all Koreans are likely to choose peace of mind rather than liberty and equality.

In the Buddhist bible which is called Jikwan Kyung, people knowing, training, and suffering under the Buddhist empty mind acquire four kindnesses, and are devoted to; (1) parents, (2) neighbors, (3) the government which provides security, and (4) Buddha who teaches the way of the true self. This sense of Buddhist mind is no different from Confucian ethics. Love for people outside one's family is looked upon as an extension of the love for the members of one's own family. When this order of nature is applied to modern bureaucracy, the boundaries among the members of groups, under the way of open mind, are minimized. In addition, a company trains, as a group, workers under the principle that they are able to perform any duty without regard to position. For workers, there is no distinction between public and

private:

The workers take four- day vacations each year which provides a chance to go home from the dormitory. But during the last five- years of work in this company, the company is like home to me because the dormitory is more comfortable than home. My mother was unhappy in the last vacation when I said that my home, was not my home any more.

( with C in the C electronic company).

During the time when our team( 5 members) started the development of Digital TV, I did not go home for two months during the peak time of our research, and worked there with a sleeping bag.

[Daewookachok( the company magazine),87( 11), P.33.].

The workers join their friends or co- workers (approximately four members) in a room of the company's dormitory. In the case of co- workers, the workers live together 24 hours a day.

( with H in the D electronic company).

Nowadays company couples are increasing because the workers always stay in their company, and there are not many chances to meet people outside the company.

( with P in the C electronic company).

This is vastly different from the British factory system which sharply separates a man's role as employee from his  
4  
role as husband and father .

In this sense of emptiness, Japanese workers very often compare their activity of working to the pursuit of Zen rather than to the economic activity of money collecting, and the manager or owner, for the purpose of Taoistic 'growing', tries to invest in the enlargement of the company( The Korea Times January, 1986).

The idea of considering one's self in relation to another's position is seen in the rites of religion. The characteristics of Eastern traditional religions through animistic types of gods such as ancestors, Sage kings, the

earth god, and Heaven are mostly applicable to sacred beings through rites, rituals, and ceremonies, and derive from spiritual being (soul) rather than body being. Therefore, those trained under a limited body being through suffering are respected by people, even though they live in this world. The sacred being under Confucian principle will be the person who trains and suffers through ritual, rites, and ceremonies. For this reason, Confucius once mentioned that ceremonies do not confuse people's minds, but from the beginning to the end, the people who know the rituals, rites, and ceremonies have a sense of shame. That sense of shame is the beginning and the end. To Confucius, a state in which people live with no sense of shame is seen as animalistic. The Yangban knows the mind of Confucius, and this group was basically the moral agent for the masses. Traditional Korean society was mainly controlled not by technological rationality, but by value rationality (action determined by a conscious belief in a value for the sake of some ethical, aesthetic, religious or other form of behavior independent of the prospect of success<sup>5</sup>), by affectual action-benevolence (action determined by the actor's specific effects, feelings, and states), and by traditional action (which is determined by ingrained habituation). Traditional Korean society did not have as many components of boldness activity as Protestant society. According to Weber, Protestantism, like every rational type of asceticism, tried

to enable a man to maintain and act upon his own motives<sup>6</sup>.

The Korean community controlled by value rationality has created and recreated these symbols of moral norms in institutions even today. The B chaebel group like many other Chaebel groups in Korea prays a few times each year to the earth god for good fortune, which is called shamanism or animism in the West, and which may fulfill the latent function of reinforcing group identity:

The company holds sacrificial rites to the earth god for new products, new machines, unexpected accidents, or 'good' accomplishments. All the workers share the foods after these rites, and give the foods to the persons passing by the place.

( with P in the D semi- conductor company).

The company was building a branch factory in a foreign country. Because of rain, we could not continue the job. The company decided to practice sacrificial rites as usually held in Korea, but the workers and residents did not like the sacrificial rites. As a result, the Korean workers went to the mountain to perform the rites. When the factory was finished, the same thing happened. The rites were performed only by the Korean workers after the other workers had left the offices and the factory.

( with K in the D electronic company).

The sacrificial rite, is held according to a pious or complex program with sacrificial foods. The chief prayer of the B group leads the prayer and the whole body of top class workers performs that rite after self- purification. All the people also shares the food when the ceremony is over. That rite has a great many meanings; first, the politics and ideology of the rites are controlled by the chairperson according to the order of the ceremony. The leader has absolute power in the ceremony, and the possibility of

continuing that power in every day life in this institution, but even the top leader is controlled because there is an order in the rite. If not, the ceremony is useless like a person who wants to be a Buddha for his own advantage. For the chairperson, purification in daily life through suffering, necessarily creates an accumulation of capital. Second, the place is proved sacred by performing the rite. The workers pray to the earth god for good fortune, and every worker pledges to carry out the duties of everyday life before the god rather than asking for rights in the work place because the earth god gives good fortune to the chairperson in this institution, and that chief provides good fortune to the low level workers. In other words, the giving activity depends on the earth god, and the given fortune is shared by the top boss. Above all, the boss of each department sometimes scolds the low level workers when he sees them playing and drinking in the office and asks; "Why in the office?" That head of the department perhaps considers the place as sacred. Third, the members accept given positions as authoritative and share sympathetic faith among themselves. The division of labor in the work place considers the importance of the whole system rather than its parts. In this ceremony of the sacred duties of workers, individual virtues in this place are considered as a means to an end, and a means to an end is only valuable so far as the end is valuable. In addition, this virtuous activity of workers must be derived from virtuous motives,

and the motives should create justice which brings about public good and interest in the work place. Because of this concept of social justice, Korean state bureaucracy (in Eastern society under Confucian principles, there were no other institutions except the state bureaucracy because the state totally controlled the territory) was traditionally regarded as the place where the morality of the country was tested.

In traditional Korean society, each king might create a virtuous bureaucracy, and in this circumstance, anonymous notes from Confucian scholars or people created a tremendous impact on the kingdom. Even today some anonymous notes from company workers tremendously change the work places, and every Korean knows that some Chaebol groups have already been destroyed through the state's having received anonymous notes on illegal practices.

Ceremonies are based not on yearly rites, but on everyday rites in order to create consciousness which typically refers either to the prevalence of political awareness among the members of a class or to an individual person's awareness that he or she is a member of a class and therefore shares a certain predicament with others similarly situated in the relations of the social economy<sup>7</sup>. The workers in the central building of the D Chaebol group start at 8:30 in the morning with the patriotic anthem and the company song in order to ideologically come together. When

music pipes through the inner speakers of the room, the whole body of workers, as sacred beings, stand up in front of the national flag, and bring their left hand toward the heart until the songs finish. Sometimes an important part of the chairperson's speech is repeated through the speakers. At noon, soft songs flow throughout the inner speakers, and the ceremony again starts the close of office hours.

The semi-conductor industry of the A group is organized somewhat like a military establishment. Employees are required to have their hair cut (the hair can be slightly longer), and wear the same company uniform including clothes, shoes, and even underwear. The cafeterias are shared by factory workers and executives. In some of the B Chaebel companies, all the workers usually do physical exercises, jog together, and sometimes, in a unified manner, repeat at a word of command at a given time every morning the managerial principle of that company in order to be physically together:

The company seemed like a military establishment. The policy of organizational rather than individual accomplishment created the possibility of destroying individual motivation.

( with K, a former worker in the C electronic company).

Korean workers usually have weak senses of responsibility, unlike those of western countries. They do not like to work if the bosses do not yell in factories.

( K in the D electronic company).

When this rite works well, there is not much emphasis on regulations and rules because each worker observes and checks the other's activity, which reduces the deviance springing from ignorance and carelessness. Each is ready to sacrifice

for the others under the communal principle of liberty. According to research done by Korean and American electronic industries, in Korean electronic companies there was no introduction for new workers to the rules and regulations, unlike in American company<sup>8</sup>. Nobody talked about laws, and it was not clear whether rules and regulations actually existed. The community, under value rationality, does not require administrative penalties such as a reduction of social security and benefits as exist in the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries because of absenteeism and unfunctionality<sup>9</sup>. In addition, if a Korean company is purely controlled by value rationality and communal activity, the workers perhaps solve the problem of unclear communication which often occurs in an American company; an American employee whose boss does not communicate clearly might say: "When you give me work assignments I often feel confused and frustrated", and then he may ask the boss for help; the answer of the boss is, "I did not exactly know what I'm saying" (The New York Times December, 1986). According to a management consulting firm in Boston, more than half of those polled in a recent national survey also showed that they improve their productivity by 20 percent if working conditions are better.

As the division of labor increases in complexity in a large-scale organization or bureaucracy, individual roles seem to lack organic connection with the overall structure

of roles, and the result is that employees lack understanding of the co-ordinated activity. Such an environment necessarily leads to the workers feeling isolated, lacking a sense of belonging, and unable to identify the goals of the companies. In contrast to the West, the Buddhist sense of the division of labor reduces the boundaries in the laboring activity through both the Buddhist sense of empty mind and the Confucian sense of benevolence based on the idea of harmony. Before using religious ideology, the D Chaebel group also uses, from the beginning of employment in every sphere of company life, strict unwritten rules, norms and values in a sacred and orderly manner. In this way the individual's identity with and integration into the company is never neglected.

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#### 4.2 The Community Based On Confucian Personalism.

In the previous chapter, this thesis considered the Buddhist idea of empty mind and the Confucian ideas of benevolence and of restraining one's passion nature. These ideas are ethically linked to one another. In a context different from that of the previous chapter, the Buddhist's will continuously provides joyful lives for the all living creatures, by diminishing burdens and by providing a sympathetic mind(Karuma), so that a Buddhist enjoys a joyful life while others enjoy pleasant lives. In the Confucian sense, the will, even in the circumstance of difficult challenges, continuously maintains social harmony or makes possible natural order and the 'good' nature of people(benevolence) which brings people together. This chapter, in order to describe how a community based on Confucian personalism works, will outline the character of the passion natures which make communal ties possible, of which will and spiritual strength are usually practiced in biological or blood lineal families, Kin-groups, or other personal communities which have kept a sacred tradition in front of specific gods. Sometimes, the group spirit in a community takes place through human passions or passion natures that start within an individual's blood circulation. Seymour Martin Lipset introduced the importance of both impersonal relationships and voluntary organizations in the modern bureaucratic system in Political Man:

The poorer the country, the greater the emphasis on nepotism-support of kin and friends. And this in turn reduces the opportunity to develop the efficient bureaucracy which a modern democratic state requires. ---Since the more well-to-do and better educated a man is the more likely he is to belong to voluntary organizations, the propensity to form such groups seems to be a function of the level of income and opportunities for leisure within given nations 1.

My point will not be similar to Lipset's because the spirit of primary groups and Confucian personalism form the basis of institutions in the Chaebel group in Korea.

Charles Cooley( 1930) defined primary groups as being characterized by intimate face-to-face associations and fusions of personalities into a larger whole. In his view, primary and fundamental groups attempt to develop human nature, to foster such sentiments as sympathy, love, resentment, ambition, vanity, hero worship and a sense of social right. This concept of primary groups is similar to the Confucian sense of personal community, and exists even in the principles underlying the modern bureaucratic system. Western bureaucracy is traditionally an organization created by the voluntary motivation of individuals, while in Eastern society, bureaucracy is usually considered as being created by means of the natural order of society and controlled by imperative norms and values. In other words, when we are reminded of the reason why the Korean business institution was set up, the traditional explanation of bureaucracy will be clear. As discussed, the motivation for this bureaucracy is the security of the nation. In Confucian ideas, society is built by intra and inter family relations called the extended

(pseudo) family, and the principle was mainly started and practiced within kinships groups, among relatives, and among friends. A 'good' son makes a 'good' person in society, and a good son originates from a good family tradition. In other words, the spirit of serving and being devoted to the members of primary groups are well applied by the members of primary groups through time.

A study on "The Classification of Village Groups and Development Planning", by Moonshik Kim(1971), showed that the village people who were socialized in the sacred tradition of each place thought that the associations created for a given circumstance, like the Kye which was set up for mutual help among village members, were fixed organizations. The villagers upheld the traditions under the harsh Japanese rule, and even under more difficult times. According to the same research, right after the liberation from Japan, some politicians wanted to utilize the Kye associations, but the peasants refused to accept their ideas. The associations were set up for mutual help and co-responsibility. In addition, the new Korean immigrants bring this small group activity even into America. The immigrants organize Kye associations with the help of friends and relatives, usually a homogeneous group with limited members( approximately 5-30). The new comer learns how to live in this land, and how to build a small business. For example, when the immigrants meet once or twice a month, old immigrants

describe the foods good for a salad bar. Some of the immigrants have closer relations with friends than with their brothers and sisters(Joongang Daily News August, 1987). The latter relationships are imitated in kin- networks, brotherhood or fraternal traditions. The members also provide financial support to build small shops without regarding the credit of the new comers who can not easily borrow money through public institutions like banks which require five year credit for borrowing money. But after five- years, Korean immigrants deposit money in the banks.

When this spirit of personal community is brought into a modern institution, cooperation encourages communication among the members, and the finding of mutually satisfying solutions to problems:

Through the meeting of the small group( Punimcho), the members usually solve a problem together. When we do not solve a certain problem, instead of a direct solution, we often play mini- soccer, ping- pong, and soccer together, and sometimes go to a covered, movable drinking bars or bars together.

[Samsungbandoch'etongsin Vol. 62(2), P.16].

The company insists that we form small groups to enhance the quality and quantity of products. We also keep a diary of every week. But 10- 20 % of these contents are not true. The only contribution of the meeting is to enhance communal ties among the members.

( with P in the C electronic company).

The research and development departments support the other members' ideas and do not reject or argue the weak point of the ideas. The members try to reinforce, strengthen, and support the weak point.

[Samsungbandoch'etongsin 1988(2), P.25.].

The tools of the workers are used or shared together whenever they want, except for delicate or rare tools. The workers do not share these because they regard these tools as the symbol of 'taboo' or superstition,

and not because the tools are considered 'mine'.  
( with K in the former D semi- conductor industry).

Cooperation in small groups fosters unity between people and groups are known as 'us' rather than 'he' , 'she', 'they'. For the same reason, baseball and football require a high degree of 'team work', coordination and cooperation, in which the individual must subordinate himself to the team in order for the team to win the game .<sup>2</sup> Gouldner's 'indulgence pattern'- can often be applied when someone in a high position, such as a foreman or supervisor of a factory, does not take the first opportunity that presents itself to inflict a punishment on the workers in order to warn them. During the Yi-dynasty, as has been seen, there were many kinds of factions that certain Confucian personal communities fought against. As conflicts developed, many Confucian scholars usually argued against the members of other groups because they were in a certain personal group. The scholar who, in order to save the tradition, did not support his own group's arguments by means of logical judgment, was regarded as an apostate partly because the groups was sacred, and partly because an individual, including slaves who belonged to certain groups, had the responsibility of joining the group through sacrifice. The concept of personal community is brought into modern institutions, even along with the negative aspects of personal communities:

The company is operated by team players. The workers eat, talk, and work together. But outside members cannot easily join the group. Once a team developed a program, but the team did not want to share it with other

members. One worker of another team who had a personal relation with this team knew the innovation. Eventually, other teams got the program through the bureaucratic organization of the company.

The workers of the company cannot easily go to the managerial and personnel sections because the arrangement of the desks scares other workers. (with H, the former worker in the D semi-conductor industry).

Executive officers in the Chaebel companies usually cannot rely only on the capacity of the individual. Such outside personal relations as government, banks, blood, regional, school, etc., are extensive and important for promotions<sup>3</sup>.

According to writer's document research, the B Chaebel company (1987), in the electronic, semi-conductor, and communication fields, has 14 out of 19 executive officers who all graduated from one school. This is similar to the few Yangban status groups which monopolized the literati exam in the later Yi-dynasty.

The white collar male workers who finish 'examination hell' and military service go into the work places with 1) the help of college professors, 2) relatives and friends, or by 3) taking an examination. Admission into a company with the help of college teachers, relatives and friends is regarded as a personal acceptance in a culture built on the entrance examination. This reliance on personal recommendation occurs very often in Korean society, and is a main frame of Confucian personalism. Admission with the help of college professors is usually done for students from famous universities in Seoul, and they constitute the executives of the Chaebel companies. In addition, this kind of admission keeps the formal structure and old tradition of the Chaebel companies. The members of each school also provide informal channels of communication in the Chaebel companies. The way

of selecting the students who are recommended is also very much based on the communal principle. The graduate goes on interviews. In the case of the D Chaebel group(The Korea Times October, 1986), the company first considers three interviewees, as one unit, discusses one topic, and the second time eight examinees, as one unit, discuss one topic. The main point in this examination is creativity, positive thinking, and aggressiveness. But the examinees who like to work together acquire good marks in cooperation and harmony. Above all, the C Chaebel group places harmony as the most important factor because of the Confucian ideology that "good timing for attaining a goal is not as important as harmony among the members"; "harmony is more crucial than good timing under Confucian ideas". However, competition among the famous universities is a common phenomenon in Korean society because employees in Eastern territory still fight for power, prestige, and honor rather than for money, even in business organizations. A few leading universities carry prestige, and everybody recognizes the honor of graduating from them, even though many people from these universities create a bad image by using this prestige for their own benefits. Second, admission with the help of relatives and friends can be crucial in Confucian personalism. Traditionally, this kind of admission was one of the most important ways of preserving the patriarchal system. Above all, Confucian ideology was practiced in this

primary group. This kind of admission is very often used in hiring the lower level of production workers and in hiring female assembly- line workers.

The workers in a production line in the semi-conductor industries learn about the want-ads through mass media. In the case of the C group, only a minority of the workers are informed by mass media, and the rest of the workers are hired through relatives or friends who are working in the factory, and who show the want-ads from the cafeteria, and the factory gates. Those who see want-ads from the mass media are selected by the head office's personnel department . The workers in the production line usually have no experience, and the company wants the person with 'inexperience', unlike in American semi-conductor companies. In the Korean case, female workers in line- operations in the factories are usually single, young(18-26 years old) and have finished vocational or regular high school. Almost all of their parents make a living through farming. Those women who are introduced by relatives and friends have to have their identity and financial soundness confirmed. Recommenders usually have to agree to compensate the company for any damages to property the new employee might cause.

The company gives educational subsidies to whole and section levels. The semi-conductor company of the D Chaebel group provides housing subsidies and under the communal principle, does not segregate white - collar workers from blue-collar workers in the company cafeterias. For female

workers, the company provides a high quality dormitory( above the average Korean dormitory), medical care, some entertainment, and even some kinds of light lectures for those having hobbies. For male workers, the D semi- conductor company equips tennis courts, basketball courts, soccer grounds, and ping- pong tables. Some companies even provide discotheques. Much of the worker's world is structured around the company.

In the dormitory, the workers create a small primary group. They have the opportunity to talk about all kinds of things, about the food the company provides, their supervisors, the production manager, working conditions, strikes in neighboring plants and about their families in the countryside. On holidays they also join many small group activities for entertainment such as mountaineering, bicycling, fishing, and badug( Oriental chess) clubs. For the members of the personal groups, there is no clear distinction between public and private matters. This is similar to what Marx called the social animal rather than Aristotle's political animal.

The character of the semi- conductor industry requires a high degree of communal ties among workers to enhance and maintain a high quality of production. The industry struggles with dust in the cleanroom where the major production process takes place. Namely, the office usually has 1 million- particles of dust each cubic foot in the morning and 5

million in the evening. But the cleanroom maintains 7- 8 particles of dust for 256 KD Ram each cubic foot, and the 0.5 micron size of particle of dust for 1 MD Ram each 35 cubic feet. Those who go to the cleanroom wear special dress, a hat, and mask and must have clean finger nails, and short hair. Noise, jumping, and emotional disturbances( excitement, absentmindedness, gloominess) will reduce the number of usable chips. Therefore, communal activity and special attention in the room are regarded as a first step for this industry.

The workers who do not enjoy participating with the members of groups frequently want to remain close with their old friends, school mates, and relatives, all of which know their sacred tradition, and work in other places. The workers who talk with them compare the other organizations with their own company. When conditions are not good enough, they want to change jobs and go to the place where friends and relatives work;

The young workers are not concerned about changing work places. One day, they start on the assembly line of the semi- conductor industry, and the next day, they go to the toy and garment industries.

( with R in the A electronic industry).

There is an appropriate proverb for this circumstance; "I am going to Kang Name in order to follow my friend." The place is far from where the person lives. It is a hardship to follow their friends because of the distance and remoteness from home and yet there exists a feeling of readiness to sacrifice for friends.

Because of the personal community, the rate of quitting especially in small companies, is very high. According to an agent of the state( 1987), 41.3 percent of the workers who are in manufacturing leave factories each year. The rate is due to dissatisfaction with the factory. The quitting rate is particularly high when the owner does not change the mood of distrust. According to a study, "The Mobility of Korean Workers" in 1979, by Hankuk(Korea) Development Committee, the workers who stay in a place more than 20 years are 0.2 percent among the whole body of workers (in Japan 12% stay, and in America 2%), and for 10 to 20 years there are 31.4 percent who stay (Japan 56 %, America 34%). The young trained under Western education easily quit their jobs instead of sitting at the negotiating table for benefits. The rate of quitting causes great inefficiency because another job requires additional training. The workers, like birds migrating, move from one place to another, looking for their friends and relatives who know their family or school tradition, or the sacred tradition of the hometown. The future of Korean industry is threatened by this mobility because there is neither the traditional ethic nor a new ethic of urban culture. The skills of the workers are based on an egalitarian principle partly because they share their skills with others, and partly because the productivity of individuals is not much related to wage level:

Among the lower level workers there is not much wage difference between old and young. Sometimes, I and other

workers see that the new workers take more money than the old. But we do not like that the company divides the workers into A, B, C, and D according to each capacity. We can not imagine why the worker should be divided such a way.

( with H in the C electronic company).

The workers usually cannot use their skills in other companies because they do not easily find the same jobs under Korea's simple or narrow market and economic system. In addition, the law-code does not permit scouting for workers who train in another company. The law code used to permit scouting and it was a popular hiring method of the Chaebel group in the earlier part of industrialization.

Under this egalitarian principle, group spirit is the most important factor in increasing productivity. For example, the quantity of products is unimaginably high on a certain day, but sometimes the amount of products, is extraordinarily low due to no particular reason. The general level of skills moves up at a high speed when the economy takes off because of group activity and the spirit of camaraderie. The managers of a company can train workers in each part of the organization through group activity. The management of production depends on the level of training and the self-discipline of the workers under apprenticeship. The person who is trained through group activity with the help of the co-workers very often becomes proud of his company. The boss of each company might do well to remember that feudal European armies of medieval society were made up of small units of elite fighters who had enough skills. While Asian

armies, which usually consisted of peasants, raised much support by means of the patriarchal government, but sometimes were not strong enough due to the lack of well trained men. Without having a determinant value or discipline in society, there is imperfect and impossible social justice.

The degree of the workers' training under this apprenticeship decides the strength of the organization, and the workers need emotional compatibility as much as higher wages. Those who want to separate from the company sometimes stay because of their friends, and the main reason for conflicts lies not in wage differences, but in the relationship between low and high positions<sup>4</sup>. The company is also permitted to fire those who are low in productivity within only three months of employment on account of the illegality of the company's firing employees without special reasons. But the company needs to consider the spirit of the group, and should be reminded that the company and the state together create jobs because this is a planning economy rather than a market oriented economy.

The personal relationship between the head of a department and the workers in a bureaucratic system, as part of the spirit of the Confucian personalism, continues in public and private at bars after work:

5

According to research, the chance to make friends with co-workers is gained through lunch and at bars (45%), and on the job work (32%). Most workers (90%) participate in the department and section meetings in restaurants and bars, except for special business.

In addition, each worker roughly knows his co-workers' business( 73%), and exactly knows the others' business( 12%). 90% of the workers want to know outside personal affairs.

[ Daewoochuenchasosik 1987(8), P.75.].

The boss has to put in long evenings of entertainment with his section members, sometimes at his own expense, partly because he has to be not only competent in his own job, but also reasonably popular with his co-workers and subordinates. The latent function of the bar is to release tension and enhance group solidarity through communal consumption.

Many kinds of bar activities are held in the name of 'forgetting-the year meetings', the New Year's party, and the welcoming party for new comers. There are also unnamed parties, and the workers of the Chaebel companies are expected to go out several nights each week with co-workers or clients. On the festive days of the New Year and the Harvest Moon Festival, the workers together visit the boss' house with some presents. In other words, the people learn to serve and devote themselves to others through entertainment so that they enjoy the foods after the sacrificial rites.

There is no clear distinction made between public and private meetings. Those who miss a party at night may notice that the next day's schedules are quite changed because the program was converted during the discussion in a bar on the previous night. Sometimes in bars, all the workers work out a solution for an unclear assignment during that day. Then understanding between the boss and workers, through their passion natures, is naturally and smoothly

achieved. Personal relationships provide an easy solution to certain problems. As has been discussed, even in Mahayana Buddhist sects, because the personal community places great importance on the early time of training, the members keep the sacred tradition. Those who are brought up under this communal activity sometimes have a deep rooted trust in the members of the personal community; for example, a Japanese who worked in a Japanese company in Seoul once said that Koreans have trusting minds, not like the Japanese who want to stop their relationships when there is fighting. The Korean sometimes wants to overcome tension with co-workers at bars. The old Korean workers who know this culture say that company work are sometimes less important than the personal relationships among the members. For those who fail in joining the activity, there is a higher chance of leaving the workplace. The importance of communal activity is sometimes proved in reality. For example, when the Samsung Semi-Conductor Company built the VLSI in September of 1983, the company decided that the time of construction should be within 6 months, one-third of the usual time, in order to reduce the lag of technology. The whole body of workers( approximately 1,200) started work by forgoing holidays, especially the Korean traditional New Year's party, in the bitterly cold winter. The workers forgot their individual lives, and as a result, the construction took a little over 6 months( Ikonomisuet'ue, April, 1987, P.42.). Perhaps the

strength of the individual worker is very small, but the union of very small forces produces a collective force which is greater than the sum of all the partial forces, so that merely by being joined together, these forces can reduce the time required and can extend the field of action.

This obsessive communal activity, more or less, is different from American activity in which the boss and workers usually enjoy drinking at lunch, and the boss literally sleeps on the job in the afternoon. Instead, Korean workers who enjoy their drinks circulate from one bar to another till mid-night, and literally sleep the next working day. The whole country is called a 'heaven for drunks'. The workers, each in turn paying for the others, eat lunch the next day with the co-workers in order to share the feeling of the day before. The relationship between a boss and the workers is built on emotion which is publicly and privately mixed together. But in traditional Korean culture, the pure Yangban brought up morally good children under both the patriarchal family and the culture of apprenticeship through self-discipline.

The character of the apprentice culture was little changed when the mass introduction of Christian culture was adapted. As has been mentioned, the urbanization of Korean people started with the lower class in the social structure under Japanese control, and the accumulation of capital mainly begins with the help of low wage workers. A great many of that social class, who migrated from the rural areas,

embraced the Christian religion under the principle of the Holy Spirit. Those of the second generation who finish high school or college courses take time to understand the meaning of empty mind, benevolence, and apprenticeship. However, they are perhaps not familiar with the essence of Western culture because they do not practice the culture even though the young know Western culture and theory. Their early experience of Western culture contributes to the decision to come to America or other Western countries. These unique traditions of Korean history differ from those of China and Japan with regard to the critical point of the adaptation of capitalism. Especially in Japan, the upper class having capital, even though the total amount was small, moved into the cities with the lower class. The upper class did not want to bring many changes even under the intensive exposure to the Western culture after World War II. The people perhaps did not experience liberty and equality in the Western sense, but did experience the liberty of the mind in the Buddhist sense. In addition, they accepted Christianity under the control of intellectuals who made religion rational, 'cool' in character( not like the Holy Spirit).

In contrast, Koreans experienced not only the Western sense of freedom and equality more than the Japanese did, but also the passionate feeling of the Holy Sprit through passion nature under the Christian principle. Religious activity under Confucian personalism has a different character from

Protestantism. In America, some 40 percent of the population attend religious services at least once a week (much greater numbers than can be found in Western Europe or even Canada), and religious membership is around 60 percent of the total population<sup>6</sup>. The spirit of going to church creates communal action, the feeling of togetherness among the members of a group under the Holy God. But for a Protestant, religious beliefs need to be proved without regard to church authority; for example, a 1978 Gallup Poll found that 80 percent of Americans agree that an individual should arrive at his or her own religious beliefs independent of any church or synagogue<sup>7</sup>. To Americans, the emphasis on individual beliefs necessarily depends on self-discipline and responsibility. The sense of individual responsibility for one's faith derives from the Protestant emphasis on each individual reading and interpreting the bible for himself or herself, not depending on an external authority (the church). This mentality of individualism finds expression in the reliance on written documents.

This reliance on written documents with regard to formal contracts between people and as repositories of bureaucratic rules and practices constitutes a rational legal form of authority in Weber's terms. Written documents clearly defining an individual's responsibility for certain work represents an important method of impersonal management in bureaucratic systems. Responsibility is made accountable in routinely organized ways by means of such documents. As a

result, documents obtain great power of authority.

The impersonalism in a bureaucratic system places an importance on documents in order to show the individual's responsibilities. Eventually, the system's rationalized rules are detached from the everyday activities of the rank and file. People cannot explain their complex minds in documents, and there is no room for including a worker's vague mind under the authority of various documents. While people experience unique feelings through passion nature at each moment of time, these strong and weak feelings sometimes create a combination different from the idea of the original documents. Innovation is connected to creative motivation, and the advanced development of software in America, which is highly related to motivation and to creative ideas, is far from the fixity of documents. In other words, the success of the computer industry may not be undermined by a reliance on the the authority of formal documents.

Also in the mechanical and logical cybernetics system, perfect self-control implies perfect self-frustration. Culture under the authority of documents is not easily transferred to Eastern society which is controlled by the power of personal authority and Confucian personalism. There is no clear need for Eastern culture to adapt the authority of documents.

Weber has a clear concept of bureaucracy; (1) as a technical device which guarantees speed, precision,

uniformity, low unit costs, specialization, and freedom from arbitrary behavior; (2) As a separation of administrators from full time paid officials who work in a life time career; (3) as personal honesty and willingness to limit one's anger, passion, and humanity. The rational way under these principles of impersonalism, documents, and experts necessarily leads to automatic assembly operation in the computer business, which cuts down on labor by employing robots, and involves precision maintained by specific technicians who only depend on machines for production.

The reification of the social relations of production through objectified and abstract labor, and not living labor, is a reproduction of thing-hood relations. In addition, the technicized, segmented and degrading instrument of the division of labor accelerates the machine age. The machine technology of automation pursues profits with little labor and pain. Ironically, research shows that the 'Flexible Manufacturing System' in the United States was astonishing in its lack of flexibility in computer control<sup>8</sup>. According to this research, U.S. project teams in computer control use the principle of bureaucracy through large groups of specialists, even more than the Japanese do, and each individual in the company has a clear and precise responsibility.

But large groups of specialists or engineers together having multifunctions and responsibilities take up too much time, and the delays create enormous pressure. They cannot

easily change their projects because of time factors. In addition, the hidden social costs to the computer revolution range from the atrophy of human creativity to the disappearance of the customary forms of social interaction. Such materials as computers and other equipment, as well as end - users could be valuable sources of technological innovation in the computer industries. Under both the authority of technology and the absolute power of individual skills, 'hidden costs'<sup>9</sup> are a common problem in late capitalist society.

In the market economy system, the ego- building competitive attitude of individuals creates barriers among the workers, and the competition among workers tends to encourage more competition. Competitiveness puts strong pressure on the workers, and eventually the partnership disappears. The boss and workers do not want to talk out their problems with each other under this circumstance, and the community and the sacred tradition of human beings are lost. In short, competitive individualism and formal bureaucratic organization tend to undermine flexibility, creativity and productivity within the computer industry.

As a solution to the lack of flexibility in the computer industry, International Business Machine uses communal activity among workers(The New York Times January, 1987). The manufacturing people literally share the same coffee machine as the design people. The manufacturers urge the designers

to design parts that can be handled by robots, and the designers consult with the manufacturers about how to finally shape plastic parts. In the early period of industrialization, the Japanese used life time employment based on Confucian principles instead of competitive market economy. They opted for the social status of age -graded 'nenko' system that a) paid workers according to their age and family obligations, b) guaranteed life-time employment, and c) continuously trained them to acquire new skills.

Under Confucian principles, only those who serve and are devoted to people believe in god. Those who do not trust human beings will not believe in the existence of god. In other words, the power of authority depends on human beings, and the community based on the spirit of Confucian personalism offers an alternative mode of authority to that of the Western bureaucratic authority. This alternative may be a solution for the computer industry in the future. However, Korean managerial groups, like the D Chaebel group, like to adapt the principle of bureaucratic systems and their competitive manner. For example, the workers are divided according to accomplishment, into the grades, A, B, and C. Those who are graded A receive a higher rate of bonus, and the worker gets in trouble when he receives a C too many times. A chairperson of a group once explained the way to be a big winner; "there is sometimes a need to fire workers, and the manager who gains small profits should take responsibility for the results". This statement

summarizes two important points; (1) quantitative value, (2) loss of group spirit through the passion natures of the workers. One of the most significant forces hastening the birth of modern business organization is the increasing emphasis on quantitative values and precision. The chairperson, in some senses, regards workers as a machine for creating pecuniary wealth, and regards their activities solely in terms of number. According to this idea, the machine will be better than the workers. To the workers, the results or money will be more important than the meaning of work. Namely, the concept, that the product of labor, as the result of empty mind, self-denial, or self-abnegation through suffering during work is the will which provides the spiritual strength of the individual may disappear. The workers who do not enjoy life through work are likely to choose the meaning of life through consumption. They are called 'cheerful robots'. Second, the chairperson shows that he does not care very much about the firing of managers or of workers, even though the owners receive a lot of help from the state which provides this help ostensibly to produce jobs and reduce unemployment. A small company, which had group spirit provides a lesson to the Chaebel groups:

In 1976, the company experienced an unexpected fire. 90% of the existing equipment and factory burned down. The experts of the field at that time said that it would take 6 months to reconstruct the factory, but the constructors and workers together took tremendous pain to build it up in only 53 days. The company was almost ready to layoff the workers, but decided that one-third of the workers should continue their jobs, and two-

thirds of them stayed home without being dismissed and at 60% of their usual payment. The workers started to feel a group spirit that the company did not anticipate. The workers, during the construction, totally devoted their bodies and minds to the company's work; the lower level workers looked for materials that were still useful, and the technicians fixed the equipment and machines. The owner still remembers the power of Korean workers, including the female workers<sup>10</sup>.

This form of labor through group activity is called 'co-operation' in which many workers work together whether in the same process, or in different but connected processes in accordance with a plan. The motivation for such extraordinary cooperation comes from the group spirit that is created and fostered in personal communities. The tradition of personal communities in Korean society contributes to the uniqueness of Korean capitalism in general and the Semiconductor industry in particular.

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6. Robert N. Bellah, Habits of the Heart(Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), P.219.

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8. The research by Ramchan Dran Jaikuman in 1986 conducted a focused study of 35 Flexible Manufacturing Systems (FMSs) in the United States and 60 in Japan under precise computer control. The systems included were metal cutting, monitoring tool wear, moving parts from one machine to another, or from one inspector to another, tool adjustment, material handling, scheduling, and dispatching(Harvard Business Review, November- December 1986, P.26).
9. There are multi- stage processes in making useful chips which produce the hidden costs; for example, within the design sphere, drawing, copying, and tracing, and within the manufacturing sphere, handling, forming, assembling, controlling, storage, and distribution, and within coordination, the information must be gathered, processed, stored, and transmitted. More specifically, the process of production for the useful chips begins with the engineer who designs circuit patterns for each device. These circuit patterns are reduced to microscopic size, and treated chemically to produce an electrical circuit pattern, and cut into wafers which are small, thin discs. The tiny wafers, a couple of inches large, are sliced into separate chips. These chips are handled by the female line workers who bond each chip with gold wires, the size of a stand of hair. The chips are then put in 1,000 degree ovens. The female workers next test the chips by dipping them in chemical tanks. After the chips are tested , they are assembled into simple products.
10. Joongangilbosa, "Oekolskimchaesoebuei Pianoinsaeng 30nyoen" Sumuengoebuduel( Seoul: Joongangilbosa, 1987), PP.129- 130.

#### 4.3 Authority In The Work Places.

The reification of social positions creates a unique phenomenon and social norm in Eastern society. A king of the patriarchal society was always king. A woman of a patriarchal family was always a woman, etc. There was no equality between sovereign and minister, and men and women because these ranks were a given within this traditional community.

This culture of the reification of social positions can be described through the means of a story about a monkey with selfish wiles. The monkey's owner who always had 7 monkey foods for each day once asked the monkey, "How about 3 foods in the morning and 4 foods in the evening?" There was no answer. This owner asked the monkey one more time, "How about 4 foods in the morning and 3 foods in the evening?". This monkey was happy, although the total foods were the same as previously. Similarly, the Japanese keeping a Japanese bank in Seoul, knowing that Koreans still wish to acquire high social positions over money and economic wealth because of the principle, 'positions speak', created many high positions instead of paying high wages( The Korean-American Daily News, March, 1987).

A woman in a small company sarcastically observed that those who got promotions as managers or as the heads of sections became immediately prosperous and seemed to take charge of the whole company on the next day after these

promotions<sup>1</sup>. This phenomenon of prospering by using authority according to positions is usually seen in small authoritarian companies, and also even in the leaders of the state.

In Korean culture, position and authority have special meanings: authority is not divorced from position, but position is also not divorced from obligation and the privilege of performing certain religious rites. The sovereign secular authority of the state derived its authority from the authority of the state God. The leader of the state or the head of the family performed rites defined as the rules of conduct prescribing how a man should conduct himself in the presence of sacred things. With the help of these rites and ceremonies, the leaders experienced the aura, image, and spirit of the authority of sacred objects, and kept the courage of the state God. The prestige of these leaders was established through these rites. However, the real source of authority was kingship and not the king, and fatherhood, not the father. In addition, these leaders, through social positions enjoyed the aura of authority in traditional society. The people of the society hoped that these leaders would follow the principles of benevolence and 'empty mind'; "If being a good son makes a good subject, being a good father will make a good ruler"; "Love for people outside one's family is looked upon as an extension of the love of members of one's own family."

The beauty of authority to a leader, like the realm

of the soul, is an inner beauty and reaches the external world from within. The aura of authority, based on the conduct of trust and faith for the pursuit of given goals, takes place when the motives of the followers are satisfied and the genius of leadership mobilizes human energy. Traditionally, the aura of authority was usually expressed through rites and ceremonies within groups. These rituals may fulfill the latent function of reinforcing the group identity. In other words, for example, the sovereign of the state enjoyed not only spiritual enlightenment in front of the state God and followers, but also solidarity with a given community. In some senses, the participants of the ceremonies also experienced spiritual strength and courage along with the lessening of tension, all which provided solidarity even in times of uncertainty. Eventually, the goodness of authority bound everyone within the community.

The aura of authority is not applied only to the leadership within a given community. The labor activity of cultivating mysterious nature and of performing skills for a given goal is also a way to experience the aura of authority. To Buddhists, the mundane occupations, involving self-denial or self-abnegation, and the keeping of Buddha's courage of spiritual enlightenment are the ways to resemble the Buddha nature. Labor is for self-accomplishment and the way to be a Buddha. The pleasures and spiritual enlightenment that the individual receives through work is similar to the

gratification derived from the consumption of wealth. The activity also provides the substances for the daily life of the individual. In the long run, this laboring activity leads to compensation for the previous incarnation, and is a preparation for the coming world in Buddhist communities.

In this thesis, there is a need to further elaborate the meaning of authority and its practice within a given community. As has been discussed, the best way to show authority in traditional Eastern society lay in many kinds of ceremonies. The rites provided and practiced an acceptance of a given social status, and made the people devoted to the authority. In these rituals and ceremonies, the chief prayer/person or a higher officer within a typical community was treated in most cases as a respectable or honorable person. To a great extent the useful knowledge of the people, acquired under the priestly teachers of the primitive community, was a knowledge of ritual and ceremony. This kind of priesthood holds society together through 'holy rites'. In some senses, togetherness was created by the old customs, and the people reinforced them through these rites. For example, the cult of ancestor worship was an example of the orientation toward the world of predecessors. To say that an action of mine was oriented toward the action of my predecessors meant that my activity was influenced by the predecessors, and I only accepted their activity passively. In other words, one had to be ready to accept the authority of one's community and the activity of ancestors.

More so than any where else, people in Eastern societies place a high priority on norms and values through rites and rituals rather than on the belief system of the individual. The philosophy of Eastern countries such as Confucianism and Mahayana Buddhism highly depend on human nature and relations in the order of nature rather than on the relationship between God and individuals. For example, the people emphasized the importance of authority in order to save a traditional community. Mencius introduced the idea of Kao<sup>2</sup>; Man's nature is like water whirling round in a corner. Open a passage for it to the east, and it will flow to the east; Open a passage for it to the west, and it will flow to the west. Man's nature is indifferent to good and evil, just as the water is indifferent to the east and west. An important question that this thesis poses is, Who will open the passage for 'good' human nature? A monarch was the person responsible for the people in the state, whether he was sanctified by Heaven or whether he took power by naked force. The monarch, like the one who opens the passage of water, should deal with the uneducated mass of the people, who are full of desires, as if they were children in a traditional family. His primary duties were to care for the kingdom materially and spiritually by maintaining good and respectful relations with the people<sup>3</sup>. The monarch sometimes used naked power for the socialization of the people. The justification of authority (or legitimation) was very often

based on propaganda for his own purpose. Here, there was perhaps no clear difference between naked power(Macht) and authority or domination(Herrschaft). As has been discussed, Weber(1968) defined domination as the structural relations between superiors and subordinates in which compliance is based on a wide variety of motives. But these motives of 'voluntary obedience' might be manipulated or the mass population might have no alternative because of the power of the monarch. Similarly, in the mass democracy of late capitalist society a leader is sometimes chosen because of mass media and the power of wealth. In Confucian ideas, the priority of given communities and human relationships created the belief that a leader in an institution was to be regarded as pious and respectable.

In traditional Korean families where people practiced sacredness, benevolence and 'empty mind' the father more or less, had an authoritarian or patriarchal character, even if he did not really have a deep sense of commitment; For example, a young sensitive son felt that the father ruled the family as through a dictator. The young son experienced the power of an authoritarian father, and sometimes challenged through an indirect manner the authority of the father with full hate. The son went outside whenever he knew that the father would be at home. The boy perhaps felt that the father was using naked power instead of authority. In fact, the father and son perhaps had a different concept of liberty; the former pursued the unchangeable mind of the inner

liberation and the ethical order of nature, which was a typical activity of traditional Confucian scholars, and the latter wished to keep a voluntary mind for action rather than Confucian ethics. The conflict between the two could not be easily solved by the means of communication and compromise under Confucian rule and socialization. The communication under this circumstance moved from the top toward the bottom on account of the father's higher position. The opinion of the son necessarily follows the father's through the mother and grandmother. But interestingly enough, a boy's behavior changes through time because when he marries, his new son goes outside when he is home. In other words, the young son regards the father as a despotic authoritarian, but when he has grown up, the authority of being a father is seen as legitimate. The way of practicing authority has always existed in every patriarchal family since the old generations when people practiced sacredness, benevolence and 'empty mind'. To the Westerner, the father's domination will be regarded as barbarian. However, in some senses, truth itself depends upon the relativity of individuals; For example, the concept of God is differently interpreted by Protestants and Marxists. To a Protestant the Lutheran principle of the predestination is a legitimate way, and is regarded as purely true because God acquires being itself. While Marx tells quite a different story about the same subject of God:

Man makes religion, religion does not make man. In other words, religion is the self-consciousness and self feeling of man who has either not yet found himself or has already lost himself again. But man is no abstract being squatting outside the world. Man is the world of man, the state, society--- [religion] is the fantastic realization of the human essence because the human essence has no true reality 4.

In other words, to Marx, the Christian God does not have legitimacy; those who use the authority of God to claim their legitimacy are only desirous of using naked power. While, for a Protestant, Marx's idea is Satanic, and cannot be acceptable in the kingdom of God. Given the relativity of truth, there is no clear concept of the difference between naked power and authority except for the psychological mind. The Buddhist principle does not clearly explain God and Satan because good and evil, as a Buddhist understands them, are not a separation, but a whole in people's minds. In the same way, whether in the changeable mind or in the unknowable idea, the 'idea of the dictatorial boss' which I mentioned earlier does not totally depend upon the mind of the boss, but also on his employees'. A community or authority built on the ever changing mind and joined in a voluntary manner or through voluntary obedience as, in the West, might be like a castle on sand. In other words, whether the community is voluntary or given is not important, but what is important is the degree of the unchangeability of people's minds in the Buddhist community.

The structure of the Korean economic system on a macro-level still has the traditional style of domination. As

mentioned before, the state authorities, as the highest power source of Confucian ideas directly provided, through bank loans, the monetary help for the Chaebel business companies. The electronic and Semi-conductor companies are not exempt from debts because they borrowed from banks usually controlled by the state authorities. According to the state policy, based on Confucian ethics, managers of companies are chosen because of the workers' social status rather than for their experience in training, skill, productivity, and work<sup>5</sup>. This activity of the state, as seen before, is intended to enhance employment which provides the security of the state. In keeping with traditional spiritual values, the state recommended the idea behind the Kongchang Saemaoul Movement (a new village movement in factories since 1975)<sup>6</sup>. This movement encourages ethics and etiquette by defining the enterprise as a family system according to the principle that the people form intra and inter family relationships in society; employers should be like responsible parents towards their employees, and workers should be loyal and not be overly concerned with monetary rewards. The companies under this communal principle provide such indirect rewards as housing benefits, living expenses, lunch, scholarships for children, etc. In a specific case, the D Semi-conductor industry provides a dormitory, medical care, some entertainment, and even some kinds of light lectures for female assembly line workers. However, the employees' life is structured around the company because the company prohibits

many personal activities; when a woman wants to go outside or home, she has to tell her superiors or co-workers. In this sense, the worker seems to be joining the army, and the company is like a patriarchal authority which imitating the patriarchal family structure. Another traditional way of life is still preserved in the wage system and social prestige. First, Korean managers or administrators who monopolize the literati exams, like the authorities in traditional society, still receive the highest payment among technological, clerical and service jobs( TABLE 7). For example, managerial jobs were paid 700, 523 Won for 1986, those in technical job received 479,025 Won and those in productional jobs 232,953 Won. In addition, high schools in Korea prepare students for colleges which educate the managerial and administrative groups of social institutions. Those graduating from technical high schools, usually do not attend college. Second, women receive lower wages than men( TABLE 8); for example, the men who finished college in 1985 received 592.092 Won while the women got 419.793 Won. As an example of traditional male preference, in Korea almost all guards are male. It is believed that women do not need jobs outside of the household because young children running wild would be uneconomic in the eyes of the Buddhist<sup>7</sup>. Basically, female workers will usually not be permitted to again take up their jobs after they marry, and the social norms follow that direction:

The company did not permit any married woman in the assembly line of the semi-conductor industry in the near past, but now the circumstance has been changed because everyone can continue her work after marriage. The problem then is that the worker does not like being the first married woman in the work place.

( A interview with K in the A electronic company).

Third, those who finished college receive much higher wages than those who have a high school diploma; for example, the college graduate in 1985 received 303.4 % of total wages when the high school graduate earned 133.9 % (TABLE 9: Korea 2.27 in 1985, Japan 2.1 in 1980, and America 1.4 in 1973).

Traditional socialization of the community is easily found in the Korean chaebol group. The white collar workers in that group sacrifice for company affairs by actively joining the institution, denying their emotion, and even working till mid- night:

The company asked me to work hard; for example, I did my job until 12 am, sometimes including Saturdays and Sundays. But basically, I enjoyed creating new work, although the boss did not tell me to do extra work.

( With C in the D electronic company).

I usually come here between 7:30 to 8:00 am and leave 9 pm. Previously I had worked until after 9 pm. But I hope to finish by 9 pm because of my health and family.

( with C in the C electronic company).

Especially in the head-quarters of the B chaebol group, the lights are not shut off until late at night, and older people call the workers the 'Threatening youth' who like to continuously and aggressively face new challenges. Workers in the machine age do not want to sacrifice for the company and for others, unlike those who received traditional

TABLE 7

The Wage System according to Occupational Classification.  
(unit:Won;%).

year job clas.	1975	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986
total job	42,585 (131.0)	92,661 (128.7)	150,747 (127.6)	209,553 (127.8)	252,302 (126.2)	293,638 (126.0)
technical	83,439 (256.6)	179,245 (249.1)	265,969 (225.1)	363,1614 (221.5)	23,286 (211.8)	479,025 (205.6)
managerial	146,742 (451.2)	291,498 (405.0)	437,669 (370.4)	533,936 (325.7)	631,692 (316.1)	700,523 (300.7)
clerical	65,284 (200.7)	121,892 (169.6)	177,162 (149.9)	239,998 (146.4)	278,620 (139.4)	319,326 (137.1)
selling	38,732 (119.1)	86,896 (120.7)	108,662 (92.0)	192,553 (117.0)	242,059 (121.1)	281,164 (120.7)
service	32,975 (101.4)	69,193 (96.1)	115,342 (97.6)	161,086 (98.3)	193,218 (96.7)	215,879 (92.1)
production	32,523 (100.0)	71,967 (100.0)	118,153 (100.0)	163,943 (100.0)	199,848 (100.0)	232,953 (100.0)

\*Data:The Labor Department(1986, monthly basis).  
 \*[The Wage Conditions according to Job Classification].  
 \* Keumsu Kim, Sin dong-a vol 331, PP.470- 472.  
 \* When the productional job reaches 100%, the other jobs will be calculated.

**TABLE 8**

The Wage Difference according to both the Level of School and Sex(1985).

<Table 2>.

(Unit;Won,%)

school sex	Total	UnderJuniorH.	Senior High	Community C.	College
total	293,633 (130.3)	225,363 (100.0)	274,122 (100.0)	351,330 (155.9)	574,745 (255.0)
male	355,046 (125.7)	282,406 (100.0)	321,043 (113.7)	370,942 (131.4)	592,092 (209.7)
female	176,040 (115.7)	152,147 (100.0)	179,714 (118.1)	277,238 (182.2)	419,793 (275.9)

\*The Same Unit With Table 1.

TABLE 9

The Wage Gap according to Education.

(Unit;%)

Year	School Total	UnderJunior	H. High School	CommunityC.	College
1975	145.7	100.0	174.8	238.1	374.8
1977	143.6	100.0	165.0	243.3	380.3
1979	140.8	100.0	151.7	223.9	349.9
1980	139.1	100.0	145.4	212.8	332.2
1982	140.5	100.0	143.0	187.0	317.0
1985	138.9	100.0	133.9	173.9	303.4

\*The Same With Table 2.

ethical education. The young, who train under contemporary Western education which provides skills and knowledge for markets rather than for ethical requirements, voluntarily join the labor 'market'<sup>8</sup>. The young who obtain college diplomas enjoy the opportunity of entering the labor markets in the machine age:

The company will not be the only job in my life time. Rather, I and other young workers have never minded changing company if there is career opportunity.  
( with H in the C electric company).

Everyone says that the company is the most prominent company in Korea. Their talk is true, but my concerns are my vision rather than those of the company. The vision of the company will not be help my life.  
( with C, the former worker of the A electronic company).

Engineers usually think that they do not matter to the company. They are ready to leave this company when another company provides better payment and working conditions because their skills and technology will be applicable to the same kind of business.  
( with C in the C electronic company).

The young directly enjoy the advantage of labor markets because of their skills and knowledge. The white collar workers firmly believe that their artificial skills, careers, and education are the source of power, leading to an aura of authority over the less educated which do not honor the merit of these privileges. In other words, the young worker thinks of education and skills as the best source of social position rather than of traditional norms and value systems. They will perhaps think that everyone is valuable according to the degree of skills and the level of school.

Basically, the commodities in the markets require demands and compatibility. In order to satisfy the

requirement, the products have to be good enough because people do not want to buy cheap or middle quality products with a high price, which are eventually sold at half the price of a high quality product. The owner of a company will pay the worker according to the utility of the labor power in labor markets. The useless workers are fired by the owner like the old salesman, in Miller's Death of a Salesman, in which Willy Loman, was useless to the new efficient sales effort. In this way of looking at capitalism, the empty mind of the worker is just for the purpose of the owner's exploitation, allowing to the latter to give little payment to the worker, as if the worker were a commodity in a department store. In this market economy, the worker regards skill, technology, and knowledge as idols because without skills, he does not acquire any utility or authority. In this circumstance, the communal sense of empty mind and benevolence with co-workers will be not be regarded as important because in the struggle for existence there is no security without skills. The degree of education and skills directly creates social classes, and the various kinds of changing skills also bring about an inequality between those who have and do not have skills. A barrier is created between the workers having skills and those not having any. Simultaneously, the spirit of voluntarily joining in the markets creates idols and superstitions. When the company requires more skills with

cheap labor, the owner use machine technology, and as a result, human labor moves deeper and deeper into mechanical slavery.

After machines replace the worker, the machine operators and skilled technicians in factories perform their jobs without the spiritual enlightenment of work while receiving relatively high wages. But in some senses, the wage brings a reduction of liberty because the mind becomes obsessed with income, although this monetary wealth usually goes toward consumption in late capitalist society. In addition, workers in factories gain authority from work and labor markets, but this is a false authority or reification, for social positions are always changeable because of new technology.

The state bureaucracy's principle that "position speaks" was very natural in old Korean society because only learned men obtained a higher position, and through the learning activity of Confucian ideas, people believed that these men had acquired the idea of benevolence. Thus position was an indicator not just of prosperity but of moral worth and spiritual development, in other words, that of human goodness. Low level officers in the state bureaucracy experienced a hard time when they were newcomers, even though there was the high possibility of future authority through apprenticeship to the high officers in personal communities.

The literati were salaried officers receiving official

land which did not immediately provide monetary wealth. They were not functionaries with hereditary sources of income. The high officers, brought up under this socialization of apprenticeship, were themselves the source of law in traditional society. This system of law resembles the Western traditional law of Khadi justice in the patriarchal society which took into account only personal and concrete situations. The officials in traditional Korea did not employ universalist, impersonal, and objective mechanisms which constitute the major principle of modern bureaucracy in the machine age. The officers enjoyed the symbolic aura of authority. Even today, some companies train and socialize the workers under the principle of the company as a personal community:

The managerial style of the workers in the Hyundai company mainly depends upon the life style of the owner; for example, the workers of that company adopt a 'masculine' style to cope with the construction jobs.

When the young come to company, the bosses socialize the way of their behavior according to the principle of each department. The boss always make sure that the young socialize with co-workers and are shown what to do, but they are not allowed to make friends with people outside the company; for example, in my case, in a month I usually go to bars 6 times with my co-workers after works, but 4 times with outside friends.

( with L in the B Semi-conductor company).

I understand the lazy young workers because I was a lazy young and did not follow the learning activity from older co-workers. Therefore, I was always on the side of the young. But now I am tired of being their friends when I meet 'stupid' young ones in order to teach skills. Now I know the way to teach them because I always ask their problems before. Knowing this is useful the best for training.

( with L in the C electronic company).

Training in the company acquires special meaning under the following ideas. First, training usually takes place through personal contacts within personal communities, even within the huge bureaucracy of modern society. Second, the skills of workers are not a prior fact in determining the wage scale; for example, research on Hyundai automobile company showed that an individual's productivity was not the probable basis of supervisory evaluations<sup>9</sup>. In other words, the company minimized both the class divisions between workers and the social change due to technical changes in order to eventually have equality and solidarity of workers. The Semi-conductor industry which always uses changing technology, creates inequality among workers due to their skills. Moreover, the change of technology brings about a loss of authority, and eventually leads to the loss of the solidarity and existence of personal communities usually formed through 'empty mind', benevolence, and sacrifice.

In some senses, in the traditional patriarchal family, the people created the contents of norms and values along with ancestor worship in order to enhance solidarity and communal ties among the members. Therefore, the reification of social positions depended upon the fixed, narrow mind of the authority. In contrast, in the Semi-conductor industry of the machine age, the reification of social positions or authority is fixed on changing technology, which inevitably leads to a loss of the common ground among the members of

society( Here the common ground presupposes sharing in common).

The next question that this thesis will pose is; who are the people who will socialize the lower level workers and where does the authority of the company come from? The newcomer starts socialization with their section chiefs or the head of each department. As has been discussed, the bosses socialize new workers emphasizing the norms of each department through personal relationships. For example, the C electronic company gets rid of the attendance record, and the head of each department takes charge of the attendance. As a result, the head of the department knows the extensive personal character and affairs of the lower level worker, which make it easy to mobilize and socialize workers, and to control the department. Unfortunately, the Semi-conductor and electronic companies in Korea do not give total authority to the head of each department to mobilize the low level workers.

In other words, the owners of the Chaebel group totally control the whole system. For example, in the trade union movement in 1987, the Chaebel groups had weaker negotiating power than small companies in handling wildcat strikes because the groups which have central offices in Seoul did not give authority even to the president or executive officers, and as a result, the executive officers could not deal with the strike on the bargaining table( The Korea Times August, 1987).

In general, maintaining control in traditional society was not much of a problem because the society did not experience much rapid social change or contact with outside countries. The old, narrow minded authoritarians applied their own ideas under the principle of fixed Confucian norms, values, and ethics. But, in late capitalist society, new technology and information under the world system are always challenging the Chaebel group. The traditional norms and values of narrow mindedness are sometimes not applicable to the rapidly changing reality with which the institutions do not easily cope. As an alternative, the group should bring in other members or machines by means of wealth, which have the capacity to handle the circumstance. In some senses, company authorities do not have any other choice because the all-dominant issue in business is the question of gain and loss. Gain and loss are a question of accounting and the accounts are kept in terms of money. Monetary wealth is also gained from leasing land, low wages, profits from stocks or hereditary benefits in which earning money is far away from the human heartedness of Confucian ethics. In other words, the company's authority is based upon monetary wealth, not upon the true form of authority as in the traditional communities.

The top decision makers break the norms and values of the group, but the lower level workers have no chance to share in breaking the norms. The mentality of the narrow

minded authoritarians involves only technological rationality ( action geared to the attainment of the actor's own rationally pursued and calculated ends) rather than value rationality. The mentality influences the whole society, and eventually the society deteriorates into a jungle where only those people having naked power and wealth are survivors. Ironically the boss who enjoys power, prestige and wealth does not train another boss until he retires, and uses every means to save his position.

To save morality under the rapid social and technological changes, leadership should change, without losing the communal principle, in accordance with the changing situation because it brings society together and integrates all people, including low level workers, into the society. Without the communal principle, authority becomes the exercise of naked power for instrumental purposes without any value rationality.

The conservative bosses themselves cannot cope with the changing environment and complex bureaucratic organizations. The persons who can handle all the company's business should have the power, for example, section chiefs or the heads of each department. The community led by these people constitutes a personal community or a small institution. There are many personal communities or small institutions within a complex bureaucratic system. An effective way to control the whole system will be the regulation of institutions through institutions rather than the personal

control of the top authorities of each company. For example, the Samsung Chaebel group of secretariat members, as a small institution, control the company. Nevertheless, it was the department of security and of quality control management in 1984 that contributed to the rise in the rate of usable 64 KD Ram chips( from 65% to 80%) in the short period of half a year<sup>10</sup>. To a leader, the policy from top down is sometimes useful for the whole community, but the ideas of aggressive workers are also of great importance to business, especially to the semi-conductor industry.

In Eastern culture, the good boss will always consider new ideas to save the old tradition to which he is devoted. Namely, wild roses, if cultivated, can be better than any other beautiful roses in the home. The young worker should be understood in the context of the cultivated wild rose. Just as traditional Korea sometimes enjoyed the aura of authority through socializing the young, so the company authorities will experience the aura of authority and the spiritual strength of authority through socializing the workers and creating personal communities.

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2. James Legge, The Works of Mencius( New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1970), P. 395.
3. Max Weber, The Religion of China(New York: The Free Press,

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4. Meredith B. Mcguire, Religion: The Social Context( California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1981), P.9.
5. Kyubae Han, " Payment strategy in South Korea's Advanced Economic Sector", American Sociological Review, Vol. 51(1) ( 1986), P.125.
6. The 'New Village Movement'( Saemaetulundong) began in 1970, as a great rapid- process movement which was proposed by the president, Choenghuei Park. This president intended for the movement to improve the environment, increase wealth and maintain traditional morality through the idea of diligence, self- reliance, cooperation within villages and nation. This movement extended to the factories in 1975, with the name of the Kongchang saemaetul movement under the principle, " treat the workers like family members, and factory work like family work" which creates ideological togetherness, and which provides the enhancement of productivity and the welfare of the workers and the nation. This principle forms the basis of the Korean style of management[ Korean government, Nanuen Hankukuel Taepyoha- goissdu( Seoul: Chayugongronsa, 1981), PP.67-71 ].
7. E.F. Schumacher, Small is Beautiful( New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1973), P.57.
8. In Korea, the concept of markets is not regarded as a pure form, although the worker joins the markets in a voluntary manner, partly because the state still controls the markets through the activity of planning, and partly because each company trains its workers.
9. Kyubae Han, P.
10. Soontae Chung, "Samsungbiseosil" Chunggyung Munhwa, Vol. 240( February 1985), P. 145.

#### 4.4 The Trade Union Movement In Personal Communities.

On August 9-10, in 1979, all the Korean newspapers dealt with the issue of YH textile trade company which had started with a wig factory; a wildcat strike by the company's workers was one of the crucial events in destroying the 18 year old military regime.

The young female workers chose the fourth-floor of the New Democratic Party building for their strikes because YH company closed the doors of the work place, stopping water and electric facilities of its dormitory. The authority of that company said that the deficit from foreign trade was so great that the owner could no longer remain in business. The voices of the workers were not the same as those of the company authority; "The chairperson Chang Yongho illegally brought money into America to build a factory and a department store", and "The owner borrowed from the banks double the amount of the remaining company property." During the strike, the workers took up the catch-phrases, 'Do regularly open the company', 'Do show the future for the company', and 'Do give us food'. The two hundred female workers of the company organized 20 small groups, and gathered on the fourth-floor building of the New Democratic party. At the most dramatic moment when the police threatened the female workers, ten of them, as vanguard fighters, organized to jump down from the roof of that building in order to commit suicide. Unfortunately, the wildcat strike of YH company brought about the death (perhaps from jumping

down) of one of the leading female workers, Kim Kyungsuk. Until now the authorities and doctors of the hospital, who dealt with Miss Kim did not explain the reason why she was dead, but the event will cover at least one page of modern Korean history.

Another wildcat strike with serious consequences occurred in July 1982: The fifteen-year old manufacturing facility of the Control Data Korean Company in electronic fields was permanently closed and withdrew when line workers at the facility staged a work slow-down and sit-in strikes to protest the firing of six union members<sup>1</sup>.

Although YH trade company and Control Data Korea Company both are regarded as experiencing extreme wildcat strikes, traditionally there were a lot of mild cases of challenging authority. The king of the Yi-dynasty, having absolute power, controlled the country, but the king did not use his sovereignty for morally unacceptable issues, especially in human relationships because, according to Confucian rules and norms, "the king towards his ministers and people provided propriety and righteousness, and the ministers and the people served the king served loyally". The King's violation of these Confucian rules according to the law code of the Yi-dynasty directly received various appeals from Soeng KyunKwan college students, local Confucian scholars, and even from official dancing girls.

Those who liked to submit appeals to kings started with

the purification of their bodies and souls, and usually wrote letters to kings, at risk to their lives. These appeals to kings were very cautious because there were the possibility of the king's destroying three generations in an extreme case. The appellars usually used examples and citations from classical events, extracting emotional ideas, and adding an alternative policy for a right way. The king, who received the letters, mostly accepted the contents of the appeals, and shared them with his ministers. However, Koreans are basically not familiar with the idea of directly challenging a given authority if the leader is not morally bad according to the ruling principle. Namely, those who submitted the appeals were cautious, and the kings who were very often attacked by the appeals were traditionally considered not only unwise, but also as not- sacred, especially since the king was considered to have been given by Heaven.

Under this tradition of not easily challenging a given authority, the trade union movement, in the new nation state building , modernizational and industrizational processes did not frequently bring up inner critical issues such as wages and working conditions within factories in its early history. Rather, the political and ideological issues( against foreign countries, and government leaders, etc.,) were used in work places. In addition, the state authority, who knew this tradition, and who was traditionally an actor of sacrificial rites, also did not provide a 'good' ground for the trade union movement through politics and the labor

law code.

Traditionally, the strikers, who were usually employed on a part time basis under the Japanese rule asked for more wages, better working conditions, and eliminating discrimination against Korean workers by the Japanese. The Japanese basically monopolized the higher positions and technical jobs. The character of the labor strikes therefore depended mainly upon an attempt to achieve political and economical liberation from Japanese rule, rather than an improvement of payment and working conditions.

After the liberation from Japan, the trade union movement was also caught in a political and ideological struggle. The new Korean government, after the liberation, built trade unions because these organizations were regarded as useful for building democratic countries<sup>2</sup>. In the West, trade union workers are naturally and autonomically organized for their rights and social justice in civil society ; namely the workers demand their rights from the state authority or sovereignty. The Korean trade union law was based on the laws of developed countries, but interestingly enough, the law was directly or indirectly executed at the advice of the administrator of the state. For example, the head quarters of the union organized themselves in industrial, regional, and shop branches with the help of the government's financial support. The organization was used for the mobilization of politics. In 1949, President Rhee ordered all youth groups

combined into the Taehan Youth Corps, and all unions into the Korean Federation of Trade Unions( KFTU). The members became directly involved in party politics in 1951 when both organizations were used as a foundation for the liberal party. Afterwards, the Korean Federation of Trade Unions was succeeded by the South Korea Labor Party( SKLP). The SKLP was born at a time when the ideological struggle between the West and East focused on the Far East countries. South Korea adopted the West, and the North adopted the East. In North Korea, political activity was dominated by the North Korea Workers' Party( NKWP) which was founded through Kim Ilsung's efforts in July 1946. Some members of SKLP joined NKWP, and then they created the Korean Workers' Party( KWP) in June 1949. Those who did not notice that Korea was the scape-goat of world politics voluntarily acted in the game between the East and West. The struggle within the SKLP in each shop, whether small or big, was with politics itself. In sum, the phenomenon of the trade union movement under Japanese rule, under the period of new nation building, and under the Rhee regime was far removed from the issues of wages, and working conditions. Rather, these movements were involved in the political and ideological orientation within world politics.

The issue of trade unions, when the military regime took power in 1961, was again used and mobilized for the purpose of politics. That regime in 1963 started the five-year economic planning policy for the industrialization and

modernization of the state, and included the new labor law called "The Arrangement And Mediation Of Labor Disputes". It is, in some senses, natural that given the traditional character of the absolute state which had usually controlled the economy, the leader manipulated the labor issues to accomplish economic development. The coception of the state started with the character of patriarchal families. Fathers took the position of moral authority, and of prestige and honor in the families, and mothers controlled the household economy. The state, as a moral authority or power container, started the economic policy of providing special financial privileges for some corporations. As has been discussed, the state leader in some ways would be most effective in maintaining the security of the nation through the corporations during a period of mass unemployment.

The activity of the trade unions under the new law was limited within each company as in Japan, and the state did not provide three of the major workers' rights for labor disputes, such as solidarity among workers, collective bargaining rights, and collective action. Except for elite groups, workers did not know the meaning of the three major rights because labor laws adapted a foreign system. When labor strikes took place, two organizations such as the Central Committee of Trade Unions including their regional branches, and the Minister of Health and social Affairs in the state authorities and its regional branches functioned as

mediators. These organizations were also directly or indirectly operated by the financial support of the state and big corporations. Therefore, the institutions were far removed from the totally democratic principle of the Western way, for the workers, of the workers, and by the workers. There were additional anti-strike laws since 1963, named by the Special Measure Law Pertaining to National Security, and the Provisional Exception and Law Concerning Labor Unions and Settlement of Labor Disputes in foreign own-invested firms in Korea (which were abolished 1986).

The state also started the New Community Movement in Factories( Kongchang Sae Mael Untong) in 1975, and, even now, the organization of trade unions in many Chaebel groups depends on the principle of that movement. According to this principle, the leaders of trade unions are indirectly chosen by workers(usually by the high hierarchical officers in companies) and by the owners and managers these chosen members create labor-management councils( Nosa Hyoebihoe), which usually deal with the labor issues in companies. According to the labor law code of the New Community movement, labor strikes are permitted only after a submission of petitions to regional city governments and the branches of the Central Committee of Trade Unions. The workers, during a cooling time of 20 to 30 days, await the judgment of the authorities( The workers' wild cat strikes violate this rule which therefore is sometimes meaningless). According to this labor law, the state indirectly likes

workers not to challenge given authorities. Instead, the government hopes to get a harmonious solution for the labor strikes in the same way that Confucian families do. The state totally controlled the processes of labor strikes; for example, 70 % of labor strikes were handled by state authorities from 1963 to 1971<sup>3</sup>. Ironically, the companies themselves, especially big corporations, do not take labor strikes seriously because the state is almost always on their side regarding the labor strikes<sup>4</sup>. Sometimes when presidential elections took place, the owners of companies might say to the workers, "Let's wait until after the presidential election", in some ways because the labor law is usually changed by the state leader, especially since the traditional norms imply that leaders themselves are regarded as more important than the political system and laws. A question often asked is; Were politics in Korea always conducted in a dictatorial way? This could not happen, because the vague law and moral authority of the state do not totally handle the details of the workers' daily lives, especially within the rapidly changing society. If the state leader tries to gain much power, he is perhaps a 'stupid' person. In other words, the system of the companies has certain principles autonomously operating without the total help of state law, including the 'seniority system' for positions and wages, and 'life time employment' in order to keep the system's harmonious operation. Job security is

important to workers, whether through the seniority system or life time employment since without security, workers directly see that owners exploit workers .<sup>5</sup>

The state authorities, following the Confucian concept of benevolence, installed seniority and life time employment in government bureaucracy and public companies such as steel mills, electric, and military facilities, which are the main frame of Korean industry, and the Labor Law also prohibits the firing of workers without reasons. In some senses, the seniority system and life time employment, in keeping with the leading roles of industry through the state bureaucratic organizations, are very similar to the bureaucratic principle of socialist countries .<sup>6</sup> In addition, Labor law 38 states that although a company temporarily closes for any reason, the owner of that shop might have to pay 60% of wages on a regular basis( according to the company's financial soundness) . Those who retire from that shop have the right to receive one month's worth of the total income based on salary and bonus. According to Labor Law 27, retiring workers who have worked 30 years in one place receive 30 months' worth. Perhaps that law will cause trouble in the near future when the Korean wage level will rapidly increase.

The 'smart' capitalists, such as chaebel groups, adopt the Western wage system which pays according to individual capacity since the seniority system did not provide motivation and encourage creativity among the workers. The

system creates a potential problem, which perhaps will be taken seriously in the future. For example, the young, whose abilities are based on the new technology, are easily promoted, but the old, the workers who are outside of owner's minds, and those who lack capability and technological skills must quit the business early. Also the old may feel that they are better off leaving the company because of the Confucian ideology of respecting the old. As a result of that phenomenon, the average age of the workers will be young. If the old do not retire early, the young will do not easily control the old workers because that the young managing the old is not easily under Confucian culture, and during the struggle, life time employment, the seniority system, and job security are no longer applicable. Then workers ask themselves; Who are the owners? The latter are the persons who receive directly and indirectly special financial support from the state during economic development, and are the second generation taking over these privileges. Nobody believes they are the most capable men in a group. As long as the workers bring up this issue, the wildcat strikes will continue endlessly.

Under the seniority system and company unions, the workers do not easily argue against company authority:

Why do we challenge the given authority? The boss is older, more experienced, and in a higher position than me.

(An interview with L in the D Semi-conductor company).

This argument against the boss means the best way to

give up the factory. However, I will challenge the boss, but indirectly; Let's say, when the boss more or less forgets a given critical issue, or when my emotions calm down.

( with K in the C electronic company).

One day, my boss dealt with me 'badly', and I felt hurt from the treatment. I was unhappy. I indirectly expressed that I was emotionally hurt in front of him. But this boss was not much concerned about me. I could not swallow my emotion. After a few days, I had a chance to directly explain my point.

( with S in the D electronic company).

To the old who do not like negotiation, the young workers who sit at a bargaining table with an authority are regarded as criminals:

The company does not permit its trade union to have directly elected members because the owner always thinks that the union is one way to challenge the company authorities. One day, some of workers organized the company union, and submitted the permission form to the city government. The government rejected the trade union with the reason that they did not furnish enough documents for a petition, and told the story to the company. A company authority who knew the fact received a resignational form from all the workers. Some of them argued against the company authorities because they thought nothing was wrong. They started sit-in strikes, but soon they gave up when they knew the activity was wasting time.

( K in the D Semi-conductor company).

The leaders of trade unions cannot be separated from the company organization. Those in higher positions of trade unions are usually in higher positions of company organization. Under this principle, the authoritarian owners, especially in small shops, control these companies by using their own logic and their own organizational principle, while accumulating capital and land without sharing the profits.

In many Korean companies, whether large or small, the

lower level of the young workers are usually accepted and admitted from Confucian personal communities. Those in higher positions hire relatives, school acquaintances and others from their region:

The lower technicians or assembly line female workers are usually employed through the help of relatives. My sister-in-law introduced me here. Perhaps she saw the ads. in the cafeteria of our company.

( with Ch in the C electronic company).

A high school teacher of mine introduced me to this company. Many of my classmates came together. A few of them work next to my department. When I desperately need help, I always go to them rather than my co-workers.

( with P in the D Semi-conductor company).

Unfortunately, the workers in high positions and managers are usually conservative and on the owners' side. The young person who is employed by these relations cannot easily argue against the given authority of company because the boss introducing him to the company, is on the owners' side, and he must socialize according to the company. When the bosses says; " You do well when I am well.", there are no other ways to express different ideas on issues critical to young workers. If aggressive workers argue against a given authority, they run the risk of losing jobs during labor strikes because people do not accept them in the business world.

The owners who know the 'empty mind' of workers, and who do not know the meaning of benevolence, frequently fire young aggressive workers and change their department and factory if they think that the workers challenge the given

authority. They say:

" Why do you constantly nag ? , I employ you, giving enough money for your work. The workers are my family and to feed them is my right and duty. If they argue against me, I cannot support them( Joongang Daily News , September, 1987).

In the companies which socialize workers such manner of thought is regarded as a part of the hierarchical system similar to a military organization which places people under total submission. In addition, in the case of the Chaebel companies, sometimes they lobby to protect their benefits through the labor law<sup>7</sup>. Workers in Korean companies have long hours. According to Joongang Daily News( January in 1986) Korean workers do their jobs 52.4 hours in a week( Japan 41.11, America 40.1, France 38.9, and Singapore 48.9). Owners are also not much concerned about workmen's accidents. A report of the Labor Department in 1985, shows that the rates of workmens' accidents per million hours reached 12.44 compared with Japan's 3.03, Taiwan's 7.02, and Singapore's 4.6. The rate is so high and delicate that many managers in the safety management department voluntarily leave their companies rather than keeping that job. Companies also do not treat workers' accidents well; for example, in the K industry, the company fired a worker disabled from an accident occurring at work, giving 2 million Won( approximately \$ 13,000)(The Korean American Daily News, 1987 March).

Human history does not always support the capitalist's intentions. One of the aggressive workers says:"

I love my company. My basic loyalty lies with the company. But we want equal treatment. We do not want the master-servant relationship that has been traditional in Korean companies 8.

The workers want to share loyalty with the company, but the owners of the company want loyalty for their own sakes because they think the company is their private property. All these circumstances of the work place make aggressive workers feel unhappy:

The labor strikes usually take places in a tiny business between the company authorities and workers. The authorities do not easily change their attitudes, even when they do something wrong. Some bosses who support worker's side do not get credit from the owner of the company. But every boss, only after labor strikes, is concerned about the workers' side.

( with L in the B electronic company).

An interesting phenomenon in the Korean business world is that of camouflage workers. Camouflage workers are those who join the job market not mainly for wages, but for mobilizing wildcat strikes. They enter as young workers into factories. These workers were religious leaders for democratic labor union movements in the 70s, and include students in the 80s. By the government report of 1986, there were 60 labor strikes due to camouflage workers among 265 cases in 1985 and 38 labor strike due to camouflage workers among 276 cases in 1986. This activity of the students, who usually leave schools because of demonstration, is called the 'students' factory life'. These aggressive students, by indicating their level of education, can usually easily choose non- competitive manual jobs although many companies

use black lists for finding these students.

Those students who participate in the factory life for labor strikes usually think that there is something wrong in society. They are aware of social problems; they are aware that lower class people, the homeless, peddlers, and beggars, etc., do not easily get food under the absolutely poor circumstances of their daily lives. Rich people enjoy a high quality of conspicuous consumption through the help of services from the lower level people, and from special privileges from the government, and live as luxuriously as the students have thought even though all the people more or less started with the same living standard after the Korean War in 1950. In addition, under this hierarchical rule, there is the possibility that the poor and the rich will remain so through generations.

Students choose big companies such as Chaebel groups to mobilize wild cat strikes. Let's briefly examine the example which took place in the B Chaebel group and the other labor strikes. The organizers/ students observed the company that they would choose as targets within the first week of factory life. And during their first week in the chosen company they got accustomed to speaking the short, tough, vulgar language of the workers. They hid student behavior and life style under the activity of manual workers. For the next few weeks, the students, by means of personal relationships, approached comrades and co-workers, sharing their ideas. The student meeting former fellow students and

friends having the same idea got a good opportunity to form a labor strike. They organized small personal groups, including the 20 small groups of YH textile workers, ten female workers willing to commit suicide for the cause, and six union members of the Control Data Korean Company. The small groups extended to approximately 30 members having the policy; " Do become conscious and join the activity for our goal." Some of the student activities were successful: others were not. The students, who did not ideologically well prepare the workers did not succeed when the owners and the workers on the owners side contacted the strikers individually through persuasion, and threatened their family members. As a result, the labor strikes ended, leaving few core-members.

In successful cases, like the B Chaebel group, the catch phrases of labor strikes usually were:

"Do pay higher wages, Do provide better working conditions, Do treat workers honorably. Do raise the life quality of workers, Do reemploy the fired workers who lost their jobs because of wildcat strikes, Do not unilaterally change the department for workers, Do not discriminate against mechanical jobs( The Korea Central Daily News, August, 1987).

In addition, the company authorities usually increase wage a little, and improve living conditions, which are issues in the labor strikes. These constant disputes between companies and workers are highly related to material wealth in the sense of increasing commodification. In 1987, these strikes, taking place under the circumstance of a revolutionary

moment, indirectly challenged the state authorities.

Let's compare the policy of these strikes with those of the Donghak movement(1894). To Donghak revolutionists, the main issues were the abolishment of discrimination by social class, equality, and the 'wrong' direction of the state bureaucracy<sup>9</sup>. But there was not much space for personal benefits and comfort. The basic ideas of the revolution started with Mencius' four characteristics of man's nature; (1) benevolence, (2) the principles of righteousness, (3) the principle of propriety, and (4) the principle of knowledge which are the basic principle of human relations. The totality of the truth was based on human heartedness:

Respect people sincerely. Believe the existing God who is unlimited Tao because no God is rootless. Become sincere in your heart inwardly and respect people outwardly. Serving people is the same as serving God because people also have the same capacity as God. Treat a visitor as if God comes, Do not beat children because people do not beat God 10.

Under these principles, the revolutionary ideas could not include issues of individual living conditions as do contemporary strikes. The Korean electronic companies are often subjected to wildcat strikes. The three electronic companies such as Samsung, Daewoo, and Gold Star, according to the Korea Times of August, 1987, are functioning with the help of 1520 part products shops, and all together have approximately 360,000 workers, mainly located in industrial zones. During strikes, the aggressive worker, using traditional Korean percussion instruments (Soe; KKaeng Ka-ri) which make an extremely strong sound, play them around the

industry zones. Under this circumstance the workers in other companies affected by the demonstration, immediately join the wildcat strike as if infected with influenza:

We should help other companies when the workers do a right thing, so that we support male workers when the workers argue against the problem of our company.  
( with K in the A electronic company).

The Korean companies do not always experience labor strikes. Many Chaebel groups are still controlled by labor-management councils under the principle of the New Community Movement of 1975, and under the old laws. In other words, many of them still do not have the trade union staffs from directly elected workers, while some of Chaebel groups adopt trade unions controlled by directly elected staffs from workers. In this transitional moment of changing the old laws and keeping the old tradition, the workers and owners of companies might seriously reconsider trade union organization and its principles.

Traditionally the Koreans did not easily challenge a given authority to save a community as long as "the King toward ministers and people observed propriety and righteousness", and as long as "the ministers and people served the king loyally", that is if the two sides did not frequently violate the Confucian rules. The ministers and people did not take the issues seriously and risk their lives. Following issues under ascetic culture: For such demands as "Pay higher wage", "Provide better working conditions", and "Treat workers honorably", were not main

Issues. In addition, the principle of trade unions including labor laws, came from the Western tradition, mainly in 1945, and nobody thought that the workers would strike because of the labor laws( in other words, the labor law is far removed from reality). Many Korean workers in factories, except for a few elite, do not know these laws under their culture in which the traditional norms and values regulate the people's mode of life.

When industrialization in Korea was started by the state in 1962, the issues of foreign trade and the trade union movement took place. Because of the lack of markets in Korea, especially, for the electronic industry, the state opened foreign markets, and voluntarily or involuntarily accepted the multi-national corporations and merchants who looked for 'fresh labor' and 'mild labor' who did not organize trade unions. Namely, The state wanted to provide jobs for new migrants in cities, and to keep the nation secure. Perhaps the imperialists made use of the Korean circumstance for their own purpose of seeking fresh labor. In this way, the merchants from foreign traders accomplished their goals in Korea. When they were busy, Korean workers performed their jobs, sometimes until mid- night, but if the price of commodities was not reasonable, some of the traders changed from place to place, from Korea to other countries of third world. The state authorities, who continuously plan economic policy and who continuously help the traders, made

the labor laws. The foreign traders indirectly brought not only electronic technology, but also trade union movements and the 'disenchantment' of Korean workers. Chaebol groups sometimes worked together with the state and the foreign traders, and did not avoid the trade union movements. In this interpretation of the trade union movement, the state introduced the labor laws, and as a result showed the way to have labor strikes to the workers. The state also did not provide a solution the enormous difference between the workers' and the owners' wages. This problem is taken up by the workers during the wildcat strikes. The rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer because of unequal sharing.

The state did not provide a full employment system. The world of the individual's life, under Buddhist principle, is predestined in former worlds. Whether your social status is high or low, whether you are rich or poor, whether you live a long time or a short one- all these human affairs are predestined in accordance with the deeds practiced in your own vocation in this mundane world in order to redeem the sins committed in your former life. Then by this law, if a man has no chance of obtaining work he is in a desperate position because nothing can replace the coming life.

Although the problem of labor strikes was serious, these strikes, in certain companies, sometimes found an easy solution by using the principle of personal communities. Namely, the strikes started with the activity of personal

communities, and the solution also might be in the personal community. Those companies which solved wildcat strikes often did so by having the owners and leaders of the companies make personal relationships with the workers. The company easily found a solution when the owners opened and explained the company's financial details to the workers( The Korea Times, August, 1987). Section chiefs and heads of departments who easily have personal contact with the workers could be useful persons to handle strikes in the future.

In a tight market, non-union companies sometimes could be more competitive than union firms when bidding on or completings projects <sup>11</sup>. They could, for example, pay less than the union scale, and be more flexible in work practices because they are not governed by union work rules or staffing requirements. The trade union movement is one way to directly challenge a given authority which, in some ways, made genuine community possible in the traditional Korean community as does the father's authority in a patriarchal family, and the God's authority among the Christian believers. In other words, the trade union movement indirectly breaks the authority of society. Second, the trade union movement usually ends with a slight increase in wages, which makes workers follow the bourgeois ideology, and eventually leads them to commodification which prevented Marx's socialist revolution in the monopolized economic sectors. Third, the system of life time employment will

minimize many trade union movements, but the members still keep consciousness among the workers through long personal contacts with co-workers. If workers need trade unions and that movement, the direction of the movement would rather accomplish life time employment rather than a high wage, which easily creates group consciousness in personal communities, and in a long run which is not necessary to have trade union movement.

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Improve the living conditions for the man of low origins,  
(7) Permit the right to marry widows, (8) Abolish the  
regional discrimination of the literati exam, (9)  
Punish the persons who make contact with the Japanese,  
(10) Abolish public and private loans, (11) Distribute  
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#### 4.5 Private Property in the Personal Communities.

In this last, theoretical and empirical chapter I will discuss the manifest and latent phenomena which take place because of private property, and the relation between those phenomena and the traditional religions, and will hopefully provide a suggestion for future Korean capitalism in the context of private property.

A top executive officer of a Chaebel group in Korea, who had worked there over 20 years, told the following story about his life and the owner of the company<sup>1</sup>. In the last 5 years, the executive officer devoted himself to the company, completely identifying himself with the company which he regarded as a place worth saving through self-sacrifice, suffering, and pain. But one day the authorities of the Chaebel group recommended that he submit a written resignation which immediately made him an unemployed person, and end the company life that involved his whole life, including his sorrows and joys, and whose heavy burden prevented his taking regular meals and leaving the office later. Many of his working days ended at midnight, and in the first year of the company, he came to the office to learn the company's work even on week-ends. The irregularity of his daily life and the heavy burden of work damaged his health. Meanwhile, the president of the company sometimes arbitrarily put the profits of the company into private accounts to accumulate personal wealth. The owner did not

differentiate between personal business and company affairs; even his wife interfered in the business of the company. The following story about a small company<sup>2</sup>, is similar to the first although a confusing between public and private, and the dictatorship of owners were practiced in a different context. The owner's young son, in his mid twenties, who had worked in the head office in Seoul and had just finished military service, was sent to the factory with the title, Chuim( a low level manager). In front of him, the section chief of the company acted like a low level soldier in training with a military officer. Nobody in the company argued against the manager who always emphasized " my words have the same power or prestige as the president's."

A son's power is based on hereditary wealth. Becoming president or vice-president at the age of nearly 40 is typical in Korean companies. This process is similar to the noble born sons of the Yangban being already respected by other social classes, even at a young age. The Yangban always connected political power with their landed property, and the state bureaucracy under their monopoly was the only way to practice their ideas. Similarly the state provides capital to Chaebol groups to keep the security of the state by means of increasing jobs.

Most owners of a company act like those of the companies mentioned above the owner keeps ownership, personnel, and managerial rights under the circumstance that there is no

separation between management and ownership in Korea. Capitalism has perhaps already forgotten such traditional values as life time employment and seniority under the name of inefficiency, yet without forgetting the patriarchal principle of domination characteristic of the Yi- dynasty. In some senses, this feature is seen in every capitalist country, although there are different degrees of capitalist power based on ownership.

The Chaebel groups expand, as do conglomerates, into many prospective fields, even into sushi bars on express ways. They do so in a barbarous or aggressive manner as did the traditional leisure class. The Chaebel groups looking for 'third persons', expand into local areas with equipment, capital, and technology which forces out of business small local businesses. However, the simplification of market circulation, which reduces the social cost and which draws people out from service sectors in order to drive them into production sectors, latently creates many macro- level benefits for society. Yet, big business intends to accumulate capital from third persons. In the case of human resources, some Chaebel groups, instead of training their workers, scout for workers to enlarge and strengthen their company, taking advantage of small business which sometimes pour money into training. Scouting brings about the firing of existing workers, which sometimes creates wild cat strikes. Scouting and firing are often the workers' main grievances when striking. These businesses acquire their

TABLE 10

The Rate of Equity Capital and Debts

Unit: %

Company	Gold Star EL.		Gold Star SE.		Daewoo EL.		Samsung SE.		Samsung EL.		Hyundai EL.	
	85	86	85	86	85	86	85	86	85	86	85	86
Equity Capital	19.4%	18.5	21.7	18.3	8	13.5	12.7	11.6	21.3	20.9	33.7	31.2
Debts	415.8%	439.8	361.8	446.4	1150.8	637.3	686.5	763.7	368.5	378.4	162.7	219.6

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\*Ssangyong Stockbrokerage Firm(1988)\*

EL. (Electronics): SE. (Semi-Conductor)

'mysterious' money by using every means to accomplish their goals. The money is not equally shared with the public, nor are the means which are kept secret. For example, each company employs workers who like faithful dogs, follow and serve the owner's will, without minding the moral contents of his intentions. In addition, money is sometimes invested in other companies which are called 'Chaebel alliances'. The owners of each company also form marriage connections with the children of owners of other Chaebel groups, and the marriages extend to such existing power elites as politicians (whether ruling or opposition-party members), high-ranking military personnel, government bureaucrats, or influential journalists, including the owners of media companies. In addition, the state directly or indirectly helps big business. Namely, the state has directly provided much money to the electronic and semi-conductor industries, and indirectly was a grantor to help businesses borrow money from foreign banks. In the case of loss, the state seemed to provide this capital. According to Ssangyong stockbrokerage firm (1988), the rate of equity capital, at mostly below 30 %, is relatively low in each electronic and semi-conductor company (TABLE 10). Whatever the reason for the aggressiveness is, the business elite have enough power to also be a powerful social status group. The group, known as the 'leisure class', are in great measure sheltered from the stress of economic exigencies. The elite create and recreate tensions for economic reasons, in a given social

order in society, because they usually do not accept sudden revolution or reversal of popular habits. However, the voice of the leisure class in Korea is more or less accepted even under the conditions of economic instability and overpopulation.

Traditionally, the elite imitate barbarous aristocrats who boasted of unusual personal qualities, and who liked sports and warfare in which the bellicose eliminated the lower class. The elite's pursuit of home comforts and indulgence in leisure are, in great part, classified as 'conspicuous consumption'. These quasi-aristocrats consume the lives of their staffs who are usually looked upon as providing subsistence and physical efficiency, and having qualitatively specialized skills for the elite's money making ideas or services.

This status group, needless to say, arose from the ownership of hereditary lands, possession of money and its own labor power. Property is supposed to be mainly acquired by production, through an active relation to objective conditions. Another source of property is connected to culture which provides restrictive or supportive influences in the development of the economy. A third source of private property includes the service sector economy which is popular in modern capitalist society.

Whatever the source of property is, the importance of property is the conscious relation between the individual and

his property through a productional relationship. In some senses, the mode and culture of life, including the consciousness of individuals, can easily be traced through the relationship with property in society. The uniqueness of a social structure and its changes are connected to property relations.

The Korean state faces the emergence of powerful capitalists, which has already been experienced in the western countries. As the equity capital in the four major electronic and semi-conductor companies was seen, this capital was 17.1 % in 30 Chaebel groups( America, 47.6 %) ( The Korean Times September, 1986), but the rate will continuously increase. When the capitalists will have over 50 %, they will probably not listen to the voice of the state, which will cause a change in Korean history, as has happened in the advanced countries. The politicians will borrow a lot of money from the capitalists in order to win elections, which is sometimes called 'moneycracy' rather than democracy, and the capitalists will provide the stability of the state through high taxes. In order to balance the state budget, the state cannot follow the idea of the Chaebel groups, in which money is earned because of the lust of the capitalist. In other words, the state is based on Ki which always changes according to circumstance. The people in the state will not be comfortable if they feel as if they are living in a castle built on sand. However, the capitalist system under the capitalists also has merit because it

allows for the possibility of spiritual strength through the passion natures of individuals. The Korean people have not yet experience this capitalist kingdom partly because elite politics were basically pursued through Ri in the Yi-dynasty, and partly because a state planned economy was the ruling principle in the military governments. The merit system has already caused a lot of social problems by closing the owners minds and making marriage relations important for business. Under this circumstance, many poor families still cannot support their large families. The business class disrupts the national community in which intimacy cannot exist without equality( here equality includes not only equality in members, but also the equality of spirit). They will always insist on their interests under the name of state security and wealth. Similarly, noble born sons in the Yi- dynasty did not open their privileges to young Confucian scholars and other people. The contemporary situation of Korean capitalism can be compared to the period of the later Yi- dynasty during which the world was rapidly changing outside the territory, but the people within the territory were mostly engaged in 'privatization'<sup>3</sup> of power, prestige, and wealth. For example, within approximately 300 years( 1592- 1858), 65.5 % ( as opposed to 18 % in the early part of the dynasty) of the people regarded themselves as Yangban.

Traditionally, property was mostly based on land, which

was the place to practice, through labor, religious ideas. The 'natural community' of blood, language, customs, rituals was not external to this production. Also a meaningful life for the members of the community was taken from working the land. At the state level, land was mostly the source of the state budget through land taxes. The next question that this thesis poses is, "How was the land shared?" Dividing the land was one of the most important functions of the state, and state politics began with this sharing of land in the Yi- dynasty. During the Yi- dynasty, as discussed, the rights to the land were basically kept by the earth god through the sacrificial rites, and the king( Here the king means the Yi- kin group) got the right of cultivation and shared this right with his minister and the people. However, in reality, sharing the land was not ideal because the arrogant king of the Yi- dynasty who obtained power through military force put forth the ideology of the 'king's land'( Wangto Sasang). In other words, the Yi- kin group started with privatization for themselves, and shared the rest of the land with its ministers and people. The problem here was that the Yi- group could not prohibit the members of other kin- groups from privatizing land, power and prestige. The military elite, in the early Yi- dynasty, did not have enough power to control the other upper class clan called Hochok, which kept military armaments. The beginning of the Yi- clan created a struggle with other local land owners

till the clan was strengthened through the centralization of power. Other clans could not wait until the time that the Yi- clan had weak membership and was not strong. The politics that characterized the weak period of Yi- power is called the decentralization of power. The kingdom was particularly stable when the local land owners acquired power under the still 'strong' Yi- clan. Similarly, a player's playing 'strength' varies in relation to that of his opponents. However, in the later Yi- dynasty, when the Yi- kin group was extremely weak, such status groups as traders, artisans, Achoen( middle status group), peasants, and slaves started the privatization against the monopoly and oligarchy of the upper clans for the limited land of the territory. The local land owners did not have the power to prevent the uprising of the low groups because they, along with the Yi- clan, were already exhausted in their power game, when western culture moved into the territory in the very late Yi- dynasty. The traders and artisans, who usually were under the upper clans, brought another way to accumulate wealth, outside of landed property. The ruling elite had no idea of how to control the rapidly uprising privatization of the traders, especially those connected to foreign traders. The traders easily and rapidly accumulated capital through interest and wages more than did land owners who kept rents.

Along with the outside struggle for acquiring property,

the individual's lust for property is another topic of this thesis. As discussed, the ancestor of each family had the most important place in each house; when people built a house, the people first of all decided where the souls of the ancestors were. They kept sacred boxes( Shin-ju) for keeping the ancestors' souls in Sa- dang. The house was a totally sacred place because of the existence of their ancestors' souls. The members of the family practiced their own purity and spiritual strength in front of these ancestors who did not have body being. In some senses, the upper clans continuously practiced the imitation of the souls of the ancestors, although their members enjoyed their passion natures including production, consumption, and biological reproduction. But the noble born upper clan used every Machiavellian method to keep their vested interests or property rights. Such methods did not follow the example of the ancestors' souls because the ancestors lacked passion natures. In other words, the upper clans did not have any need for imitating the souls of their ancestors. Rather, they practiced ancestor worship for their own security and necessities, like daily needs and booty, not for seeking purity and spiritual strength. In the same way, according to Confucius' idea, the state bureaucracy was the place for straightening and correcting the morality of the people in front of the state god. But the noble born aristocrats regarded the state bureaucracy as the place to obtain power, prestige, and wealth, which is far from the idea that the

state is a 'pure' land. In this sense, the religion practiced within families and the state was looked upon as a religion of fortune in which the major purpose of its beliefs lay in mundane booty, security, and power.

This religious activity is very similar to the capitalist system whose major source of wealth depends on the capital( interests), land( rents), and labor( wages). Frequently, the first two are not directly attained from labor. Labor, which mainly supports capitalism, can provide a meaningful life for the Buddhist. Those who had artistic skills and were willing to accumulate capital usually joined the markets to gain; (1) the internal satisfaction of one's mind, (2), the external necessities for one's body, and (3) the enjoyment of such positions and wealth acquired by one's own industry and good fortune. But when labor is not seen as the internal satisfaction of one's mind which provides the value of labor, it is no different from the religion of fortune.

In Buddhism, in order to improve a previous incarnation, people accept Dharma as duty, which essentially includes the traditional obligations to vocation and labor. However, one should never enjoy desires and profits single mindedly because, for example, farming is nothing but the doings of a Buddha. Similarly, running a business is way of becoming Buddha when understood in the context of the businessman's having an idea for the business as accepting on a personal

level, the Dharma of the Buddhist and in the context of "enjoying oneself when the workers enjoy themselves in an ethical manner". Ideally, on the macro-level or the state level, the businessman will directly or indirectly increase the amount of jobs for the people, and provide for the security of the state through investment and reinvestment of capital in Taoistic growing. Suppose the company does not reinvest the capital but instead uses it to further the owner's own interests. Then running a business is not different from the religion of fortune. As a result, the business will not grow, and the role of the business will end. Then, there is no need for the business to exist. However, there is the possibility that the owner's capital can be invested in somebody else's business through banks, private loans, and other venture capitals, etc. Suppose the money of drug dealers is invested into businesses, there will still be a direct impact in society because of an increase of jobs, but in the long run, the investment from these drug dealers' money will create social problems.

The interests and rents through capital and land lie not only in the result of one's labor, but also in hereditary property. The society controlled by interests and rents is the place where labor exists without the meaning of work. It is an economic system without spirit, a community without group spirit, a religion without spiritual strength. Without the meaning of work, especially in the machine age, labor becomes an instrument for individual consumption rather than

a creative activity in itself.

The next question that this thesis poses is, what is the best way to develop spiritual strength through labor in the machine age? This thesis will introduce Mencius' idea that the state is first, the people are second, and the king is third. In this context, the state has a responsibility to deal with the misuse of capital (interests) and land (rents), which causes social problems and to provide the meaning of labor to people.

The state, in the Yi-dynasty, (this thesis regards the Yi-dynasty as the only legitimate state because South and North Korea in contemporary society do not have legitimacy) was controlled by the Yangban status group, including the Yi-clan. Under elite politics, as a 'rational' way, cultural goals and institutionalized norms operated jointly in prevailing practices. That is to say, both of them rationally bore interdependent relations to one another, because the elite did not accept the characteristics of Ki in the ruling principle. In other words, the capitalism which pursues lust was not accepted by the society in which only the rational mind of the elites had the right to manage the state. Socialist countries still maintain this principle.

However, the capitalist system in Korea rapidly adapted western capitalism when the policy of the state started market economy instead of the planning economy of contemporary society. The speed of development and social change toward

western capitalism has -quickly accelerated because of lust( including the nature of Ki) for the idea of privatization. Some people already belong to the world business elite. Within half a century, the old and uneducated people who did not follow the changing circumstance will increase. The high numbers of these alienated people already create the phenomenon of social tensions. However, as discussed, rich people continuously and aggressively attack the alienated, and reshape these people according to the principle of survival of the fittest.

Even the fittest people, under the rapidly changing circumstances, do not catch up to the changing mood and hardly indulge in their meaning of life. As an indirect example, the places where the electronic companies were built are full of urban culture or consumptional towns. The workers who live in these towns had to pay high prices for commodities, while thousands of young workers were moving around the small town. Many Koreans already perceive that society is not the same way that they want. For example, according to the following research 'The Reality of Korean Middle Class( 1987)'( The Korea Times June, 1987), the people preferred that the rich do not transfer their inheritance of property(60%), and most of the people (88%) wanted to return the property of the rich into society. In other words, the rich should not have the right to keep the property, and people do not like a monopoly of the rich acquired through the noble born lineage, 'Chaebel alliance' or.

blood relations. The people living in this century of turmoil saw and learned what the ruling elite through the monopolized privatization of the social prestiges in the Yi-dynasty did, and partly because the privatization brought an ideological split. A solution for the social problems can be found in Confucian ideas( especially Mencius'); the basis of economy is labor, and the value is wealth. In other words, the state, as the most important social unit for Mencius, provided jobs for the people because labor is the starting point in building a sound economy. For the individual, the meaning of life through labor will come from a kind of religious life in this context, as it did for the traditional Korean people in the Yi- dynasty, in which the 'natural community' of blood, language, customs, communal activities was not external to production and religion. The next question will be; how is the policy of providing jobs and a meaningful life possible through state power? This thesis next explores how such Confucian ideas can be applied on the state level. The answer will follow the ideas of traditional religion, according to which the right of landed property returns to the state for the income of the state budget, along with giving the cultivation rights to the people, as did the traditional society, and as did the new state after the World War II.

In some senses, returning the right of land property to the earth god will be easy in contemporary society partly

because there are no kings who violate the privatization, and partly because to most people in the cities, land is a direct means for labor unlike in the traditional society where some landowners lived as aristocrats without doing any labor. In addition, the sources of interest on capital should be minimized under the Buddhist principle that 'no working is no eating'. Wages would be the main source of income.

Complicated skills which require a lot of capital are better taught by the help of the state. This thesis says that the main role of the state is to continuously provide equal opportunities for jobs in order that the people gain the meaning of labor, and to educate them to be fit for careers, and to provide security for them to safely perform their jobs by means of a state budget from interests and rents from both capital and property right of land. The other roles of the state should be minimized in order for the state to provide an opportunity for the people to be another revolutionary agent. This thesis perfectly accepts the idea of teacher Lee that Ri( reason) and Ki( emotion) oppose, and also complement each other in a dialectical manner, unlike in the Yi- dynasty when the elite principally accepted only the idea of Ri as the ruling principle.

Practically, the state played a great role in industrialization, but many state policies were controlled by small numbers of economic technocrats who did not understand the reality of each sector of the economy and made mistakes<sup>3</sup>. The most important result of industrialization

was the spirit of semi- autonomy for business companies under the planning economy. In other words, low level workers and technicians in each company, who were well trained in their own discipline, had semi- autonomy to perform the main role with group spirit. The partnership between the state and companies was important in the industrializational process.

However, in the process of industrialization the state and the companies alienated the workers. The Chaebel group had the power to control the workers for their own purposes and lust, without providing security for the workers. The low level technicians and workers who were brought up in personal communities, and who usually maintained communal ties and group spirit sacrificed themselves through hard work and low wages. The power of foreign countries did not totally break the communal ties of the people who were born and brought up in kin- groups or villages which had existed for a few thousand years. But now the personal communities are breaking up, and Korean capitalism requires the sacrifice of personal communities and communal ties. In this way, the Korean people are creating a new history with industrialization(1962) as its starting point. Although the spirit of personal communities more or less broke down, the short history of Korean industrialization made it possible to trace the spirit of personal communities within modern bureaucratic capitalism and also to make clear the problems of modern bureaucratic capitalism in Korea. With the

privatization of the business elites, along with marriage relations or with 'Chaebel alliance', the leaders failed to use empty mind and benevolence. They also failed to provide security for the workers. However, without a partnership of small businesses it will not easily be possible to create or utilize new forms of personal communities in the cities. The Chaebel groups always remains weak, as long as small businesses continuously stay weak, even though the state continuously helps them, and eventually they alienate themselves in society just as the Yangban status group had done in the Yi- dynasty. The owners of the Chaebel groups tend to use extensive power, without showing human heartedness toward workers, and yell at the workers. Under the frame of Korean capitalism, they also make use of hereditary power. They also fire workers in order to purify the bureaucratic organization, but exempt themselves as sacred persons.

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2. Yoechoeng, Ko, "Nyoe kongkwahamkkesan Chikchang sibnyoen" Sindong- A Vol.329( February 1987), P.585.
3. The idea of privitization for one's own interests such as power, prestige, and wealth is opposite to that of empty mind. In this thesis I accept the idea of lust in Confucian ideas, but lust and its usage limits the ethical communities.
4. My basic orientation in this context will be the idea of Mao Tse- tung; Go to the practical people, and learn from them: Then synthesize their experience into principles and

theories and then return to the practical people and call upon them to put these principles and methods into practice so as to solve their problems and achieve freedom and happiness( Selected works by Mao Tse-tung Vol.III).

**\* CONCLUSION**

## VI. CONCLUSION.

History always changes so that there is no stagnation in human society, but a sociologist is not only concerned with social change, and the agents of change, but also with tracing social structures which do not easily change through time. In this thesis, I historically and theoretically traced the activity and spirit of personal communities. Some of the characteristics of personal communities have changed through industrialization, but the main structure and body have not changed much because personal communities have a long history, existing more than two or three thousand years, and each individual always socializes in this way.

In personal communities, the relationship among the members is reciprocal because each member knows the other's role and activities. When people in personal communities know each other's problems, they are expected to and do help one another. In addition, the custom of observing one another and the principle of benevolence make people sacrifice for each other. An individual in these communities, wishing to cultivate his mind rectifies his heart, and in wishing to rectify his heart, seeks to be sincere in thought. The emphasis on inner qualities, under Confucian ideas, is one way of bringing about spiritual enlightenment through the investigation of the natural order. To be a Buddhist, an individual tries to get empty mind through inner conflicts,

which brings the inner liberation of the mind. In the early time of Buddhism, the spirit of serving Buddha easily turned into the will to obey and serve leaders and the community. A leader equally uses authority and benevolence to guide the people in pure, personal communities. How do people socialize or practice the activity of empty mind and of benevolence along with minimizing their passion natures? With the help of husband and wife, parents, brothers, and sisters, old persons, and school teachers, who are all parts of such personal communities, they practice these religious ideas. The members also practiced the ideas of benevolence and spiritual strength in front of ancestors, state gods, house keeping gods, and imitated the souls of the sacred gods. Interestingly enough, benevolence among the members of personal communities was mainly practiced in the kin- group which social unit has the characteristics of biological groups. In the family, through consumption, people enjoyed human passions in which emotional sharing very often provides courage or psychophysical energy, and shared emotions that are sometimes remote from the rational or the calculating mind. Moreover, the social unit is the basic place for production. In peasant society, people realized their essence, through the communal activity of irrigation, planting, and harvesting.

The members of personal communities share 'intersubjectivity', 'being- in the- world', and even the

delicate mind of spiritual strength. In the family and communities people usually learn how to exercise and submit to authority. Extensive kinship groups support the social order by determining the values which keep social justice. The society might lose social values without the help of the checking activity of personal communities. In other words, Kantian constraint and attraction exist simultaneously in personal communities, and when the rites, ritual, and ceremonies are well performed, there is not much emphasis on regulation and rules because each person observes and checks the other's activities within tight personal communities. People in personal communities reinforce communal ties through a secular manner and spiritual strength through a sacred manner, by means of rites and rituals which prescribe how man should be at ease in the presence of these sacred objects. Latently, these rituals, ceremonies, and sacrificial rites might fulfill the role of reinforcing the group's identity, releasing tension, and enhancing group solidarity by providing a periodic occasion, and by forming the Kye-association. In these rituals, old people are credited with knowing better than the young the social norms and value systems in the mysterious order of nature.

Close supervision in personal communities provides a dangerous solution to the problem of unmotivated workers. In the patriarchal state, the existing authority of personal communities sometimes maintains power, wealth, and prestige through authority and naked power rather than through

benevolence. The regulative social power was mostly based on ritual, norms, values, moral ideas, in which the older generations were socialized. By contrast, the modern educational system emphasizes information. In other words, ritual actions which served to establish a collective identity have lost their adaptive function in the world system which is rapidly changing. Workers and the given authorities face a lot of changes in people's minds, technology, science, social norms, and the value system.

Under this changing world, which does not easily cope with universal laws and objectified documents, most people believe that only those who have a delicate mind and feelings along with flexible ideas are to be the fittest. Here people have a dilemma between being a moral, selfless individual or an immoral selfish one. The former searches for the application of certain criteria of ultimate ends for the universal communities, and the latter looks for immediate benefits through quantitative calculation or accounting in rapidly changing circumstances. Both always experience conflicts of the inner mind. But the lust of people's minds, disregarding the moral validity which ultimately makes communities possible, moves toward the pursuit of the most efficient method. Capitalists especially have minds full of technological rationality, and exploit workers in the valorization of labor price, and through 'absolute' surplus value which consists in the prolongation of the working day.

The capitalists, having minds full of technological rationality, lose their freedom of thought, and are not the pure leaders required for sacrificial rites. Not following traditional norms, the capitalists accumulate capital for their own interests, use the capital for large monopolistic combinations, and create powerful alliances through marriages. Capitalists replace workers with highly efficient machines which cannot perform wild cat strikes. The workers, under machine power, have become a technicized, segmented and degraded instrument, losing capacity for critical thought. In other words, the activity of workers is totally controlled by machine or technological rationality. The capital and technology of the capitalists also go to the non-capitalist sphere for both markets and fresh-labor, because capitalism is impossible without the markets and labor forces of the non-capitalist. In addition, state policy helped the institutionalization norms of the capitalists. However, the capitalists who use the low skills of the third markets, do not take seriously the principle that science cannot be explained without the importance of low level skills which are a part of technology.

The workers, especially in monopolized capitalist companies, usually the revolutionary agents in the machine age, lost labor power. They usually practice their power through trade union movements, but obtain a high wage rather than better working conditions, a seniority system which continuously provides work opportunities for enjoying the

meaning of their jobs, and education for enjoying a high quality life. In traditional society, the independent artisans were able to keep labor, labor power, and 'living labor' on a daily basis. Nowadays, the workers mostly follow the capitalist ideas of technological rationality, technology, and science. Because of their alienation from the work places, the worker's labor becomes an instrument for individual consumption rather than a creative activity in itself. The fetishized workers do not want to share their ideas with co-workers because the meaning of labor is no longer communal as was irrigation, planting, and harvesting. In this capitalist culture, traditional personal communities, especially families, become a consumptional unit rather than productional units. In other words, families depend on the Ki which always changes. This creates a new society that Koreans did not experience through more than 2000 years.

This thesis asks; Will the western modernization principle, bourgeois culture, or 'pluralistic society' be a 'dominant assumption' in future Korean industry, like the western tradition in which the people had easily forgotten old culture, values, and norms, apprenticeships, communal ties of guild and artisan organizations and replaced these with the technological rationality of bourgeois culture? and if not, as a solution that keeps a unique culture, How then does society minimize social change

and uphold the traditional social forms which makes communities possible?

For the first answer, one can say 'yes' in the long run (who knows?). But as mentioned earlier, the two Koreas do not have legitimacy, and have a lot of ideological differences; for example, the South Korean people imitate capitalist culture, and the people of the North support the socialist principle, after World War II, and the Korean War. A problem will happen when the Korean people look for a legitimate state while having ideological differences. Nobody wants to have such a big disaster in the same country. In addition, the activity of imitation itself will not be easy for the Korean people as in the early time of Buddhist monks. According to this 'forecast', there is a possibility that people of both Korean states will emphasize the traditional culture which will create ideological togetherness (although in reality there will be a praxis between traditional culture, and Southern and Northern contemporary culture).

Unification through traditional religious ideas provides the answer of the second question? One answer is to minimize the accumulation of capital by certain persons, and to lessen the importance of high level skills, as well as the power of money (decommodifications), etc. The author of this thesis does not believe that the capitalist system should totally be abolished. In some ways, the author recommends the patriarchal system and its authority; for

example, in the patriarchal family, there was no equality between the father and children, but the father, under the principle of benevolence and of empty mind, took care of all expenses and also his childrens' spiritual development. He left them the rest of his property when finishing the life of this world. Similarly, an owner could leave his property to the workers. In this context, this thesis supported that trade unions may not be necessary because the cause of conflicts should always be solved on a daily basis through the close 'checking' activities of the members in personal communities. In this sense, this thesis basically does not agree with the idea of huge bureaucracy, partly because the system does not allow for easily checking an other's activities, and partly because one leader's labor activity, which brings meaning to life, is beyond reach of the others. If bureaucracy is necessary, it should be a decentralized bureaucracy in which a section chief and the head of a department can easily make contact with the workers, and knowing the tradition of each company, take authority over and responsibility for a worker's daily life. For example, the D Chaebel group transfers the power of deciding 'tiny company business' from the owner to department heads. Basically, the head of a department, who has usually worked for more than 10 years, generally knows, through the activity of checking, all the activities that take place in each company including the details of finance. In addition, the

strength of each company also depends on the ability of the head of each department. The members of each department, numbering more or less 40, as a small institution, and as a personal community, have enough manpower to control any huge system.

As discussed, the individual develops the power of Ri through training in Confucian ideas. Eventually he acquires benevolence, and empty mind through suffering according to Buddhist ideas, while totally keeping his human nature. Meanwhile, the individual gets spiritual strength through human passions( Ki) in personal communities( sometimes there exists a dialectic between Ri and Ki), in which power is gained from communal consumption and from creating rituals and rites. In this utilization of the spirit of personal communities, the workers always create a common ground with the help of communal ties among the members; for example, managers and workers exchange ideas freely on the plant floor and in the lunchroom. In traditional society, the people of personal communities enjoyed a good deal of autonomy through the help of communal ties that sometimes prevent the coercive state power. The workers who want to enhance these ties argue against the owner of the company for indirect rewards such as housing benefits, living expenses, lunch, scholarships for children, life time employment, etc., so that the workers are like the members of a family.

The concept of beauty is very different in the West and East. The difference between western and eastern paintings

provides some ideas of the merit system of the east, even in the machine age. In western painting, the painters usually move brushes slowly, and finish the paintings within a year, or two. Sometimes they leave the unfinished products. The color of the painting is usually mixed, and the brushes are cleaned when they want to change color. While, the eastern painter uses brutal brush strokes (later 19th century form). More specifically, the painters move brushes quickly, using one color, and making clean pictures. The painters do not use the brushes more than once on the same line. In this way, the painters should have the full idea of the picture which they want to draw from the beginning. When they finish the paintings, the characteristics of the painters are clearly seen in the paintings, and the beauty of the paintings will lie in the maturity of the painters. The immature young do not easily cope with the difficulty of the paintings. Although the painters use a quick hand, in which, in other words, the spiritual life of the painters sometimes will cause them to be a slave to their own enjoyment and to lack structure, the mature painters have a form learned during the socialization of the young. The painters' activities, therefore, were totally submitted to society's norms, values, rituals, and rites in personal communities. Yet, the social value of the paintings depends on the painter's own life under the frame of socialization. As the mature painter receives recognition for his painting, so the law for social

justice supported patriarchal law which takes into account only the person and the concrete situation, in which the decision was basically based on norms, values, rituals.

The communities accept or guarantee the additional ideas of the individual, although the subject matter of discussion cannot be generalized and formulated as a rule. In other words, communities provide for the joyful life of the individual and for heart-felt emotional sharing. Individuals in personal communities are able to get a chance of experiencing the true forms of art, magic, will, esoteric or mystical strength. In this sense, personal communities will not be a place for power, prestige, and wealth. Rather, personal communities provide security and spiritual strength for individuals. In work places, the worker experiences the aura of authority from performing mysterious jobs along with cultivating himself by the help of personal communities. On a macro-level, the labor activity is the starting point for building a sound economy, and value through labor, is the wealth of the nation.

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