

**ROLE OF GOVERNMENTS IN SUPPORT  
OF THE SAEMAUL UNDONG (MOVEMENT)  
THE CASE OF KOREA**

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**I. INTRODUCTION**

The purpose of the paper is to examine the Saemaul Undong with special reference to the role of central and local governments, in executing the national program to materialize a Korean miracle in the field of economic, social and political modernization. In this paper, the close relationship among national program of the Saemaul Undong, political leadership commitment, administrative structure, and governmental support to the program will be discussed in detail.

Since the Saemaul Undong devised and introduced by the late President Park Chung-Hee came into operation in 1971, it has become a nationwide movement training rural and, more recently, urban people in the benefits of diligence, self-help and cooperation, encouraging the balanced growth of industry and agriculture, and promoting national integrity. In a word, the Saemaul Undong is a national movement designed to enable the Korean people to banish the dark legacy of the nation's past and to bring about national modernization and development through integrated endeavors encouraged not by theories and ideals but by action and practice.

The Saemaul Undong has proved unique in terms of its impact on the modernization of a developing country. No program of other developing countries has mobilized so much social, administrative and popular support, or brought about such a dramatic impact on rural development and national integrity as the Saemaul Undong of Korea. Here is the reason why the Saemaul Undong is drawing increasing attention from the international community concerned with rural enlightenment in developing countries.

The Saemaul Undong is characterized by two basic features which may be strange to foreigners. First, unlike integrated rural development pro-

grams about which many theories have been propounded and many pilot schemes have been adopted, the Saemaul Undong started without a well-defined formal or theoretical framework. Only recently effort to theorize the Saemaul Undong started after much progress had been made. Second, the Saemaul Undong is a pure Korean concept, so the slogans and terminology used are based upon the Korean way of thinking.

One of the most crucial inputs into the Saemaul Undong is the package of government supports. Under the present circumstances of rural villages in most Asian countries, in fact, rural development can hardly take place without the financial and technical support of their government (Chee and Khong 1977).<sup>(1)</sup> In this respect, Korea is no exception. Government support for the Saemaul Undong covers various kinds of services and assistance intended to introduce system change in rural villages. Among these, there are as follows: the development of community-based leadership, restructuring of community organizations for greater people's participation, spiritual revolution for self-help movement, people's motivation and commitment, facilitation of developmental roles of financial and other rural institutions, and nationwide mobilization of resources and support.

The government deliberately prepares a plan for the sequential arrangement of various types of support and assistance over a certain period of time. This contributes to building up a certain momentum which ultimately enables the rural people to achieve self-reliant development. Indeed, government support for the Saemaul Undong has been consistent with respect to both the various activities and goals it has sought to implement over time from the beginning of its support until the stage of strategic withdrawal. Constant evaluation of the capacity of particular rural village (or community) for self-reliant development has been built into the process of government officials, especially at the local level, in terms of collecting and analyzing information which occur in a particular rural community.

It is clear that an effective system of government support at the local level is an essential requirement for the successful implementation of the Saemaul Undong, because local governments in Korea have a certain amount of authority when it comes to applying local criteria to policy guidelines of the central government in order to fit them into the village situation. Historically, local governments in Korea have been instruments of the central government in charge of controlling local resources, and oriented to law and order. Support of rural development for meeting developmental needs of rural communities seemed to be a new concept to them. The functions of the local government at the district level, however, have become reoriented toward rural development. Local governments tend to be easily accessible to the community people. They would encourage community leaders to extensively participate in the process of governmental policy making. They are able to identify com-

munity needs and efficiently deliver government services to rural villages. The organization of local governments have also been restructured so as to introduce a functional transformation from control and regulation to development support administration.

With regard to the delivery system of rural development support local governments pay great attention to the coordination and integration of various kinds of development projects with respect to required development inputs. These include financial and technical, human and materials, public and private, organizational and individual resources at the level of the rural village. Although coordination and integration at this level is a function of community leadership, the package of government supports is one which is coordinated between agencies which provide different types of rural development assistance and services. The package is also integrated into the total scheme of village development activities. In other words, various kinds of government support are coordinated within the government to avoid confusion, unnecessary duplication and conflict in the implementation process at village level. Also the package of services and assistance from government agencies fits into the total scheme of the Saemaul Undong within a specific time framework in order to provide the proper supplementary and complementary services. These services naturally include the total mobilization of government sponsored field workers in the rural villages, such as extension workers, family planning workers, community development workers, voluntary organization personnel, owners and managers of private agro-industries, and so on. In case of the Saemaul Undong, these functions have been performed by county-level administrators in collaboration with township officials.

The smooth performance of the change-promoting and change-protecting functions of local government for the Saemaul Undong is based on an improved relationship between government officials and community people. Historically, the attitude of government officials toward community people was bureaucratic and regulatory and, therefore, community people were accustomed to perceiving them as exploiters. This mutual discord created a source of distrust between the two sides. The perceptual gap between government officials and community people regarding their respective roles and mutual relationship has created a lack of government credibility which incidentally became a serious obstacle to the introduction of government-mediated innovation in rural villages in Korea during the 1950's. Perceptual change toward interdependence as well as attitudinal change toward cooperation and collaboration between the two sides is now one of the critical indicators of improvement in the local support system of the Saemaul Undong.

In this connection, it is noted that the evaluation of officials' performance in terms of increase in rural production or improvement in the

rural life of the communities to which government services have been delivered, has almost been institutionalized. This is especially meaningful because the administrative input and supportive services for the Saemaul Undong are predominantly under the control of local government officials.

The utmost importance of local government support to rural communities is related to the managerial capability of local governments for the delivery of required services and assistance to the right clients in the right way at the right time. The managerial competence of top level administrators in the local government is a function of their knowledge and management skills, which are related to information analysis, decision-making, planning and design of delivery systems, inter-agency communication and coordination, mobilization of resources and support from political leadership as well as from the central government, leadership capability and ability of monitoring the performance of rural development support programs.

The managerial competence of local officials in Korea during the 1970's has improved mainly through the extensive management training throughout the 1960's and 70's. The competence of officials at the field worker's level is a function of both certain skills and the capability to build a fresh image of 'service men or women' who are able to efficiently deliver required services, easily contact and communicate with community people, project a homophilous feeling with rural people, and simulate, motivate and encourage community people. This ability of course is complemented by their competence in technical subject matters. Those field workers who frequently contact community leaders are able to understand the tasks of community leaders and their needs for assistance in their respective areas. The managerial and technical competence of the local government system tends to bring about a synergistic effect because government officials at the district office become highly motivated to the achievement of certain results in specific rural transformation.

## II. POLITICAL LEADERSHIP COMMITMENT TO THE MOVEMENT

It has been often mentioned that the Saemaul Undong of Korea is to date one of the most successful cases of integrated rural development. The Saemaul Undong has made an enormous impact upon villages in Korea, at three level: changes in values and perceptions of rural farmers toward development values; modes of village organization and development of community-based leadership; and improvements in rural infrastructures and village economies. How did the Korean government make the Saemaul projects achieve satisfactory results in terms of rural development? So far this question has been little discussed. In this respect, it should be born in mind that rural development cannot take

place simply by planning or the formal announcement of rural development programs and policies without continued support and real commitment from the government in the country (Adelman and Morris 1967, pp. 78–81).<sup>(2)</sup> It is almost a truism to point out that the extent of commitment of the political leadership and government of a country to rural development is a significant determinant of its success in raising the standard of rural living.

What indicators define the extent of government commitment to rural development in the Korean context? Government commitment means the public promise of government to undertake to make certain types of commitments to rural development. It includes the manifested interest of government in rural development which leads to specific action programs for the realization and completion of their explicitly or implicitly announced promise, policies or programs. In Korea, the Saemaul Undong itself demonstrates the great concern of government as well as its commitment to rural development.

Therefore, in this chapter the extent of government commitment to rural development in Korea will be analyzed in terms of two major elements: (a) political leadership commitment made on the basis of state authority; and (b) finance-backed government support and assistance such as financial, material, technical and institutional assistance.

Traditionally, the presidency of the government has been the major source of political power in the context of Korean politics during the 1970's. So, the commitment of the top political leadership to rural development will be analyzed in terms of the personal commitment to rural development by the late President Park who was incumbent during the period 1962–79.

#### A. Rural Background of the Personality

The late President Park was born and grew up in the rural sector. The ruling party led by him was based on the popular vote of rural farmers, while the opposition party was based on the support of the urban sector. His personal as well as political background might motivate him to make a strong commitment to rural development. The rural poverty in Korea had been one of his major concerns during his presidency, as the poverty in rural villages had been little improved until his initiation of the Saemaul Undong. It was especially so during the 1970's when the popular support for the presidency tended to be challenged and skeptical, partly because as a consequence of rigorous implementation of the First and Second Five-Year Plans rapid industrialization preceeded rural development. The deteriorating rural situation widened the gap between industry and farm, and became a major cause of the rapid rural-to-urban migration. Regardless of the level of his motivation, his strong personal as well as institutional support and commitment to rural development

were reflected in his inauguration of the Saemaul song and the Saemaul flag. The song has been popular among various categories of people. During working hours the Saemaul flag has been hung together with national flag at all kinds of office buildings through the country.

#### B. Personal Interests and Concerns

Already it has been pointed out that the Saemaul Undong was personally initiated by the late President Park. The leadership commitment to rural development was also demonstrated by the contents of statements made on rural issues and by the frequency of these speeches.

The President often stressed the philosophy and importance of rural development in order to mobilize societal support and to encourage people's participation in the Saemaul Undong. He did this on various occasions, for example, at the New Year Press Conference and National Conference of the Saemaul Undong Leaders and Seoul National University Graduation Ceremony. Through his speeches he also elaborated on the standards of government support and promised specific assistance, as shown by the following statements:

"The decisive factor is how the farmers and the fishermen respond, and how actively they participate in the programs. The key factor is whether they are inspired by a desire to help themselves, whether they make a systematic effort to help themselves, and whether they are really fired by a productive spirit. Provided that they have the confidence that they can achieve better living conditions by doing their best endeavors, we can achieve rural modernization and upgrade the living standard of farmers and fishermen." (Congratulatory Message at the Second Special Competition of Farmers and Fishermen in Income-Boosting Skills, November 11, 1970) "

Without such a spontaneous determination to improve, the village will not improve in five thousand years, but continue in the vicious circle of poverty and sloth. But if there is such a fervent desire, especially on the part of village youth, and if only a little help is forthcoming from the government, then this village will make a progress in two or three years. . .

The basic lack is one of leadership at the village level. The local administrative officers at the village level should provide such leadership — should try to get the local leaders together, and try to enlighten them first. . . " (Message to the Conference of Provincial Governors on Drought Counter Measures, April 22, 1970)

"The Government . . . is going to assign top priority to those areas of regions which demonstrate the strongest spirit of self-help. cooperation, participation, solidarity and simple hard work, so that these communities will grow faster than any other communities, and serve as a model for all the rest to emulate.

You (city mayors and county chiefs) must uphold the Saemaul spirit

as the basis guideline of national development, and do your best for its universal dissemination. You must in particular seek our young and ambitious workers, and train them as potential leaders in the rural development program." (Message to Comparative Administration Conference of City Mayors and County Chiefs, September 17, 1971)

President Park also expressed his concern about rural development by personally visiting rural villages. His frequent field visits also served as a mechanism for identification of problems, and provided opportunities to make specific instructions and guidelines for program design as well as for monitoring program performance. As a matter of fact, the frequent field visits were once dramatized by the term of "administration by identification," meaning the every important decision regarding rural development would be made mostly after his personal identification and confirmation of the factual circumstances. He also participated with farmers every year in the plantation of rice and its harvest.

President Park's personal interest in and concern for rural development tended to be institutionalized in terms of the organizational setting and reporting system. The President used to personally award prizes to the two best Saemaul leaders at the monthly meeting with economic ministers of his cabinet where the Monthly Economic Situation Report was presented to the President. It is also interesting to note that the President himself personally made a speech at the Annual National Conference of the Saemaul Undong Leaders in which he encouraged, motivated and stimulated Saemaul Leaders from all the villages of the nation to make their best endeavors for rural betterment.

#### C. Personal Influence and Public Education

Using his formal authority, the late President Park also intentionally exercised his influence to get the power elite to form favorable attitudes toward, and to give moral support and commitment to, rural prosperity. As a consequence, the Saemaul Undong has also been practiced with modification in other sectors such as in urban and industrial communities, schools and military, with a view to supporting the original version of the Saemaul Undong. Due to the influence of the President, a social mood was created which was favorable to rural development, so that the ruling elite including religious leaders, business elite, journalists, and other intellectual elite were motivated to participate in the Saemaul Leaders Training Course at Suwon. They were trained together with village leaders from the countryside. The President Park stated as follows:

"The Saemaul Undong is not intended for farmers alone;... nationwide bases. University students and intellectuals should also voluntarily join in, and play the leading role in this movement." (Address at Seoul National University Graduation Ceremony, February 26, 1972)

### III. GOVERNMENT SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE TO THE MOVEMENT

In this chapter, government support and assistance to rural development will be analyzed from a general systems perspective (Perrow 1970, 50–91; Katz and Kahn 1966, 24–29): (a) structure, which includes organizational and institutional arrangement within the government systems and also particularly a local government support system in terms of functional and structural innovations; (b) resources made available for rural development, which include budgetary and financial support and manpower development for improving both village capacity and officials' capability; (c) output, which covers rural support projects, programs and policies; and (d) process or technology, which means strategies adopted by the government for development support.

In the review and evaluation of the government support system for rural development, responsiveness and creativity of the government system beyond its efficiency will be applied as criteria (Selznick 1957, 134–154). The significant and relevant indicators are selected and evaluated on the basis of such criteria.

#### A. Administrative Reform

The planning and management of activities in support of rural development require organizational and institutional reform as a manifested consequence of real commitment by the government. In the central government, the Saemaul Undong Bureau, which is responsible for development of overall strategies and policies regarding the Saemaul Undong, was newly established within the Ministry of Home Affairs. At the provincial level, the Saemaul Planning Division was newly established in the provincial government to support and guide the activities of local governments at the country level. A Deputy County Chief was newly appointed to every county office with the sole responsibility of managing specific support and assistance to the Saemaul Undong. An administrative unit was also added within each township office to assume duties for the planning and guidance of the Saemaul projects in rural villages within its jurisdictional boundary.

In addition to the line organization, the government also made special arrangements for the planning and coordination of Saemaul projects. This included (a) the Saemaul Central Consultative Council, chaired by the Minister of Home Affairs and with approximately twenty members including several vice ministers and heads of national federation of cooperatives and other agencies related to rural development; (b) the Saemaul Provincial Consultative Council, chaired by the governor, and whose members include university professors and heads of regional office of central ministries; (c) the Saemaul County Consultative Council, chaired by the



County Chief and members of relevant officers; (d) the Saemaul Township Promotion Committee, chaired by the Myeon Chief and whose members include Saemaul leaders; and finally (e) the Village Development Committee, chaired by the Saemaul leaders and 5 members selected from among the villagers. This series of councils and committees from the central level was set up with a view to facilitating coordination between ministries and agencies concerned with rural development and to providing diversified perspectives for solid planning of Saemaul projects. It is noted, in this connection, that Saemaul leaders participate as members in both county and township-level councils, to positively represent their interests and ideas.

Another interesting point is that the responsibilities for implementation of Saemaul projects are assumed by the deputy chiefs of local government for their respective levels of administration, while the chief of local government at any level is responsible for planning, resource commitment and setting guidelines. It is assumed that such an arrangement will promote efficient coordination between related agencies and functions.

#### B. Local Government System

The improvement in local government support seems to be an essential requirement of the successful implementation of Saemaul projects. Historically, the local government system in Korea was oriented to law and order and served as an action instrument of the central elite for the control over local resources. However, the reorientation of the local government system toward rural development was enforced for the Saemaul Undong and thus they became more accessible to the community people during the 1970's. Village leaders were encouraged to positively participate in the government decision-making process.

The organizational reform of local governments become more conducive to the performance of development support administration at the community level. Although the coordination and integration of resources and inputs for rural development is primarily a role of community leadership, the package of government support is one which is coordinated between different agencies of government and integrated into the total scheme of village development. The coordinating effort of local governments makes avoidable unnecessary duplication and conflicts in the village level activities and helps in providing services complementary to each other.

The efficiency of the local government system in support of the Saemaul Undong is boosted by the improvement in mutual relationship between local governments and their constituents. The existing mutual discord due to the traditionally bureaucratic attitude of local officials toward people has been gradually evaporated by the consistent drive of development support on the part of local governments. The govern-

ment's credibility indeed provided a perceptual basis for government-mediated rural innovations in the process of the Saemaul Undong. It is noteworthy in this connection, that the promotion of local officials on the basis of the evaluation of their work performance for Saemaul projects is almost institutionalized.

The managerial capability of local government is another dimension of development support administration. The managerial competence in senior officials in terms of planning of service delivery, monitoring of work performance, communication and coordination and other techniques was improved through the extensive management training throughout the 1960's and 1970's.

In this respect, the remarkable discipline of local government officials in the process of their service delivery should be noted. The timely and accurate delivery of materials and services to villages according to the planned schedules is an indicator of outstanding performance and commitment of local administrators which partly contributes to the credibility of government. The commitment of local government is also reflected in arrangements for specific assignment of local officials. Each staff member is assigned to take a responsibility for efficient implementation of Saemaul projects in a village. This arrangement is an extended version of the "administration by identification" approach. In addition to their competence of field workers also includes certain skills and the capability to build a fresh image of "service men" to efficiently deliver required services, to easily contact and communicate with community people, to project a homophilous feeling with rural people, and to stimulate, motivate, and encourage community people. The managerial and technical competence of the local government system tends to bring about a synergetic effect as the government officials at the county office are highly motivated and committed to the achievement of certain results in rural transformation.

### C. Budgetary Support

Although it is claimed that Saemaul Undong has been implemented with people's strong motivation, zeal, participation and contribution in kind, one of the significant inputs is undoubtedly a package of government support and assistance. The extent of actual commitment of government in terms of assistance and support is explicitly manifested in the allocation of budgetary resources. According to Table 1, the development expenditures out of the General Government Sector Budget has increased by 7.8 times in terms of current prices during the period of 1971-78. During the same period, budgetary expenditures of both central and local governments in support of rural Saemaul projects has increased 82 times. Thus the ratio of government expenditure in support of Saemaul projects has been increased over the period. During 1978,

government support to Saemaul Undong reached the scale of 338 billion which was equivalent to 38% of development expenditures of the General Government Sector Budget (Whang 1980a, 41–43).<sup>(3)</sup>

Table 1. Government Expenditures for the Saemaul Undong

Year	Development Expenditures of Central Government*	Unit: billion won
		Expenditures for Saemaul Projects
1971	111.7	4.1
1972	240.2	3.6
1973	176.8	17.1
1974	301.1	45.5
1975	522.3	165.3
1976	669.5	165.1
1977	729.9	246.0
1978	873.0	338.4

Source: \*Economic Planning Board, Major Economic Indicators, 1978, pp. 90–91.

Ministry of Home Affairs, Saemaul Undong, 1978.

#### D. Manpower Development

Another significant input supporting the Saemaul Undong in Korea is the consistent and extensive arrangements for training both private and government manpower resources. The government has organized a Saemaul Leaders Training Center at the central level and similar institutes in each province. According to a recent study (Whang 1980a, 118–120),<sup>(4)</sup> 54 Saemaul Leaders out of 63 leaders interviewed had been trained once or more, the nine exceptions were newly-recruited leaders who had a chance to join the training course. The majority of them (85%) considered the training course relevant to their role performance.

The Saemaul training course was designed especially for changing values and the world outlook of Saemaul leaders. For this purpose it adopted special training methods. The special arrangement of government to get social elite to voluntarily participate in the training program also presents the special consensus as well as the total commitment of government to the program, since encouraging such participation is politically risky.

In addition to the training program for Saemaul leaders, similar programs were organized for government officials. There are, for example, Saemaul training courses at the Central Officials Training Institute and the Local Administration Training Institute. The consistent conduct

of training courses during the past ten years has not only influenced the attitudinal change of administrators but has also motivated administrators to work closely with village farmers. The courses also helped them to understand the philosophy and strategy of rural development in the Korean context and to develop close perceptual ties with rural villagers. According to one study (Shin 1979, 331),<sup>(5)</sup> it is found that approximately 15 thousands middle-high level officials of central government were trained in the Saemaul course conducted by the Central Officials Training Institute alone during the period of 1972–79.

#### E. Operational Strategies

Strategies for efficient support toward self-reliant development of rural villages could be analyzed in terms of standards of operation in rural support administration, methods and criteria for the allocation of available resources, and technology related to stimulation and inducement.

At the initial stage of the Saemaul Undong, the government classified rural villages into three categories on the basis of the degree of development: underdeveloped, developing and developed villages. The classification provided a psychological basis or competition between villages in promoting their village improvement. It also provided a criterion by which government could apply different packages of support and assistance to villages depending on their level of development. In this respect it should be noted that the priority of government support is given to more developed villages rather than less developed ones. This principle of “the better village the first support” became an effective stimulator of people’s motivation to better achievement in Saemaul projects. Although the psychology of excess competition tends to be an obstacle to implementation of inter-village Saemaul projects which have recently developed as a new trust of the Saemaul Undong, the competition mood between neighboring villages substantially contributed to the success of the Saemaul Undong at the early stages.

Another point to be made is the strategic shift of priority in supporting projects. During the period of 1970–73 the priority of government commitment was given to the area of improvement in rural infrastructures, namely to environmental improvement projects such as the construction of small bridges, a village entrance, road, farm roads, electrification, sanitary, water supply, etc. However, since 1974 the priority was shifted to the incomeboosting projects of farmers including special crops, livestock, and marketing facilities (Whang 1980a, 48–62).<sup>(6)</sup> The priority of government support to improvements in rural infrastructures had a strategic implication in view of the fact that people’s participations in cooperative action for rural infrastructures would bring about tangible and visible results immediately after their contribution. This serves as a mechanism of learning by doing so as to reinforce their developmental values. Such

experimentation especially at the initial stage had enhanced a sense of participation and confidence. It also made rural people recognize the value of self-help, diligence, cooperation and participation (Whang 1980a, 200-201).<sup>(7)</sup>

Specific commitment of government is also reflected in the incentive system to make rural people participate. Since an enforcing scheme was believed to have limited value in motivating people, a variety of incentives were provided both for villages and individual leaders. The initial incentive, at the village level was to provide government support in kind, for example, cement and steel. The government donation of 335 bags of cement to each village, tended to induce a positive response from the village people in the form of their participation in decision-making with regard to what to do with the cement and also their positive cooperation to achieve the results. This is a process of induced change in rural villages in which the village people tended to face problems related to identify crisis, leadership capability, organizational and managerial competence and other issues related to dynamic changes in rural villages (Park JH).<sup>(8)</sup>

The incentive at the individual level was the award system which has been utilized frequently to encourage village leaders and outstanding farmers. This includes medals and special presidential awards (in cash) given to Saemaul leaders for demonstration of excellent Saemaul spirit.

Lastly, it is noted that the government deliberately prepared a plan for the sequential arrangement of various types of assistance and support over time to build a certain momentum which enabled the rural community to become capable self-reliant development. Indeed, government support for the Saemaul Undong has been consistent between different activities and beginning of its goals and instruments over a period of time from the beginning of its support until the stage of strategic withdrawal of the support. Constant evaluation of the capacity of a particular rural village (or community) for self-reliant development has been built into the process of government mobilization of support and assistance.

#### IV. CONCLUSIONS

Any change-introducing projects require commitment of top political leaders. As rural development implies profound changes in major aspects of rural village, top leadership commitment to the Saemaul Undong is of essential importance to its success. Actual commitment of top political leadership tends to affect resource allocation as well as the legal/administrative framework in favor of the rural sector. The support and commitment of top political leadership also influenced the ruling elite to form favorable attitudes toward rural development and to commit themselves to the Saemaul Undong. The societal support tends to reinforce the

value and ideas of rural development. The active involvement of the elite in the Saemaul Undong and their understanding of its philosophies and strategies tend to be conducive to the mobilization of adequate support from the government as well as other sectors. The strong commitment of the top political leadership to the success of the Saemaul Undong tends to remove bureaucratic inertia which could be obstacles to efficient coordination and to administrative innovations at the local level.

The Saemaul Leaders Training Course at Suwon and other places addressed to village leaders as well as ruling elites has significant implications in terms of dissemination of rural innovations and mobilization of relevant resources, instruments and new value system.

Another aspect of commitment is naturally reflected in the package of government support. Under present circumstances in most Asian countries, including Korea, rural development requires not only financial and technical assistance delivered directly to rural villages but also a series of supporting policies and programs. The Integrity of government commitment was also recognized by consistent training programs, organizational rearrangement and operational strategies.

It is found that government commitment has a synergistic effect on rural development. The deliberate, consistent and solid package of government support and commitment tends to have multiple impacts on rural innovation. An adequate level of government assistance and support to villages tends to stimulate a positive response from rural people, in view of their greater contributions and their extensive participation. Nevertheless, it should be born in mind that the universal application of government support and stimulation tends to be accompanied by undesirable consequences because of the lack of flexibility to fit into the village-specific situations.

Government commitment is essential to the success of the Saemaul Undong in view of the mobilization and allocation of all types of resources in favor of the rural sector. It is, nevertheless, felt that without the positive participation of people in the decisionmaking process and their active cooperation in the project implementation, the government support alone would not bring about effective results in rural and community development. In short, the mutual stimulation between government machinery on all level and community people is the key to the success of the Saemaul Undong.

## NOTES

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