

# **Addicted to Speed: Korea's Twentieth Century in Review**

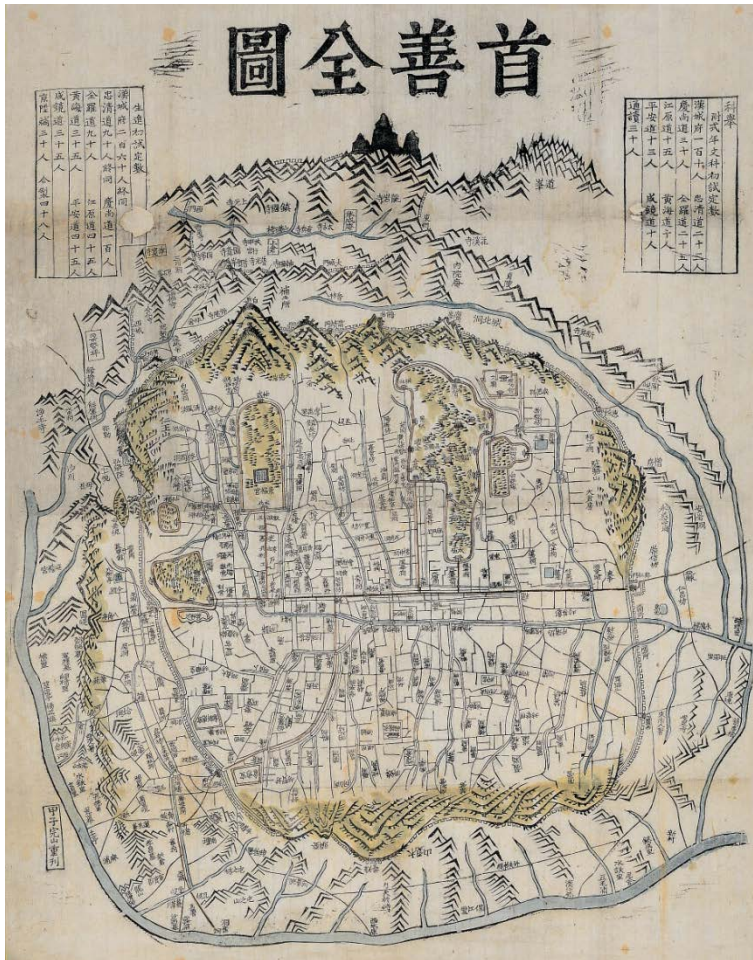
Youngju Ryu  
University of Michigan

# Lecture Outline

- Prelude: Dynastic Korea (1392-1910)
- Japanese Colonial Rule (1910-1945)
- Korean War (1950-1953)
- Developmental Dictatorship and the Cold War (1961-1987)
- Democratization (1993-2008)
- Neoliberalization (1997-Present)
- Epilogue: What does the future hold?

# The Four Gates of Chosŏn's Capital

Diagram Complete Good Head



Susŏn chŏndo (c. 1849); Yonsei University Museum

North: 홍지문 (智, wisdom; later renamed)  
 East: 흥인지문 (仁, benevolence)  
 South: 숭례문 (禮, ritual propriety)  
 West: 돈의문 (義, righteousness)  
 Center: 보신각 (信, fidelity)



▲서울의 성곽과 8대문 지도

# The Blueprint: “Rule by Benevolence”

## 1) Benevolent kingship

- “Classics Mat”
- Memorial (remonstrance) system
- Writing of history



Chŏng Tojŏn on the naming of Kŭnjŏngjŏn

“In the morning, he oversees administrative matters of the state, in the afternoon, he visits the benevolent, in the evening, he cultivates lawful decrees, and at night he rests his body.”





# The Blueprint: “Regulate by Virtue”

## 2) Conscientious officialdom

- Civil Service Exam
- *Yangban*: Officials as policy makers as well as moral exemplars
- cf. *Chungin* (middle people): technical experts

From King T'aejo's  
Founding Edict

send them to the director of the Royal Confucian Academy. The students will then be examined on their knowledge of the classics, and those who did well on the Four Books and the Five Classics as well as the *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Governance* [*Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*] will be ranked according to the degree of their mastery. Those who pass this first stage of the examination will be sent to the Ministry of Rites for the second stage, where they will be tested on their ability to compose documentary prose [*p'yo*], memorials [*chang*], and rhyme-prose [*kobu*]. They will then be examined at the final stage on problem essays [*ch'aengmun*]. Of those who are successful in all three stages of examination, thirty-three men will be selected. They will then be forwarded to the Ministry of Personnel for appointment to an office according to their abilities.

# The Blueprint: “People as the Heaven”

## 3) Stable social order among the people

- Four-fold classification of society
  - Sa 士: Scholars
  - Nong 農: Farmers
  - Kong 工: Artisans
  - Sang 商: Merchants
- “The ruler relies on the state and the state relies on the people. Therefore, the people are the foundation of the state and the heaven for the ruler.” (Chǒng Tojǒn, *The National Code of Chosǒn*)
- People as *paeksǒng* 百姓 (literally, “hundred surnames”)
- Adoption of Chu Hsi’s *Family Rites*

# Explaining Chosŏn Dynasty's Longevity

- 1392-1910
- Ends disastrously and becomes Japan's colony
  - Fails to modernize
- Check and balance system—political stability
- Cultural rule (rituality)—social stability



# Chosŏn Dynasty in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

- Domestic Scene
  - Factionalism and the dominance of Old Doctrine
  - Succession of weak kings and in-law politics
  - *Sirhak* 실학 (Practical Learning): the path not taken
    - Pak Chiwŏn 박지원
    - Pak Chega 박제가
    - Chŏng Yagyong 정약용



# Chosŏn Dynasty in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

- International Scene
  - The age of imperialism and Social Darwinism
  - China:
    - The Opium Wars (1839-42, 1856-60)
  - Japan:
    - Commodore Perry and the opening of Japan (1852-54)
    - Meiji Restoration (1862-69)

# The “Opening” of Korea

- Encounter with Catholicism
  - Culminates in *Pyŏngin yangyo* 병인양요 (Foreign Disturbance of 1866)
- General Sherman Incident (1866)
- Frederick Low Expedition (1871)
- Unyo Incident (1875)
  - Gunboat diplomacy
  - Culminates in Kanghwa Treaty, aka Treaty of Amity (1876)
- “Shufeldt Treaty” (1882)
  - “Control one barbarian people by another”
  - Followed by treaties with eight European nations

# What does “Opening” mean?

- Article 1 of Kanghwa Treaty:
  - “Chosen, being an autonomous state, possesses the same sovereign rights as Japan.”
- Robert W. Shufeldt
  - “The pacific is the ocean bride of America—China & Japan & Corea—with their innumerable islands, hanging like necklaces about them, are the bridesmaids, California is the nuptial couch, the bridal chamber, where all the wealth of Orient will be brought to celebrate the wedding. Let us Americans—see to it that the “bridegroom cometh”... let us determine while yet in our power, that no commercial rival or hostile flag can float with impunity over the long swell of the Pacific sea.”

# Food for Thought

- Fictive equality and real subordination?
- Inconsequential hierarchy and real independence?



# Aborted Attempts at Reform 1

Taewŏngun 대원군

- Old wine in old skin
- Restoration as rectification
- “immovable objects meeting an irresistible force”



# Aborted Attempts at Reform 2

## “Enlightenment Party” and the Kapsin Coup (1884)

- New wine in new skin
- Western liberalism and progressivism via Japan
- Convention of Tientsin (1885): stalemate between Japan and China



The Enlightenment Party before the Coup

# Aborted Attempts at Reform 3

Tonghak 동학 (Eastern Learning)  
Movement (1862-1894)

- New wine in old skin
- Peasant rebellion gradually turns into a “modern demand for agrarian revolution”
- Court’s inability to suppress brings back the Japanese and Chinese, culminates in the Sino-Japanese War



Chŏn Pongjun shortly before his  
execution in 1895





What's in a top-knot?

“Cut my head off, but not my hair.”

Ch'oe Ikhyŏn, 1895





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# From Kingdom to Empire

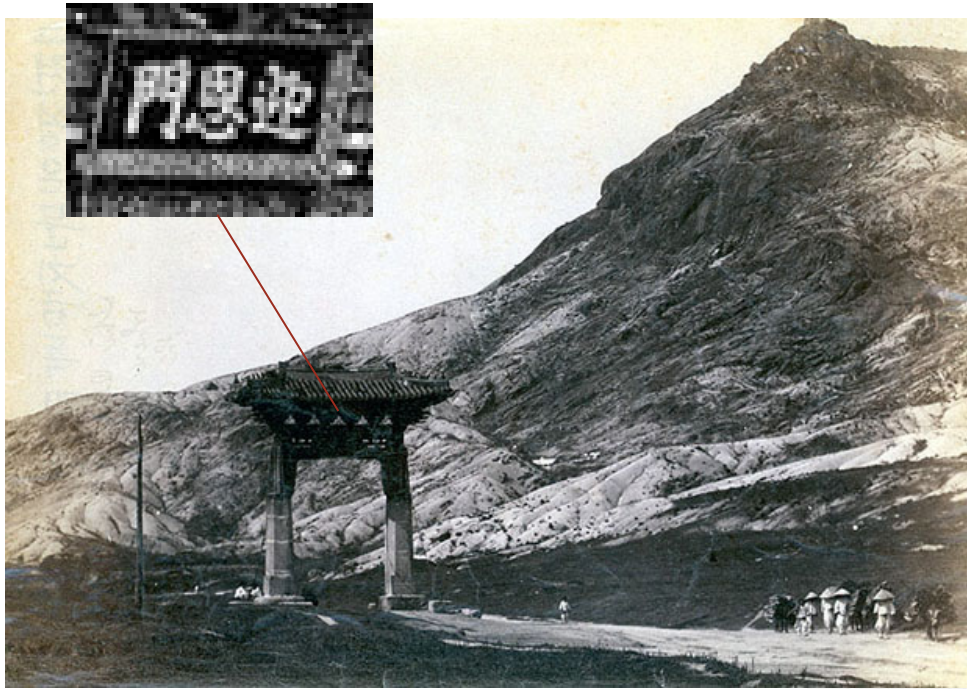


c. 1895



c. 1903





Yŏngŭnmun 영은문  
The Gate of Welcoming Munificence  
(c. 1895)



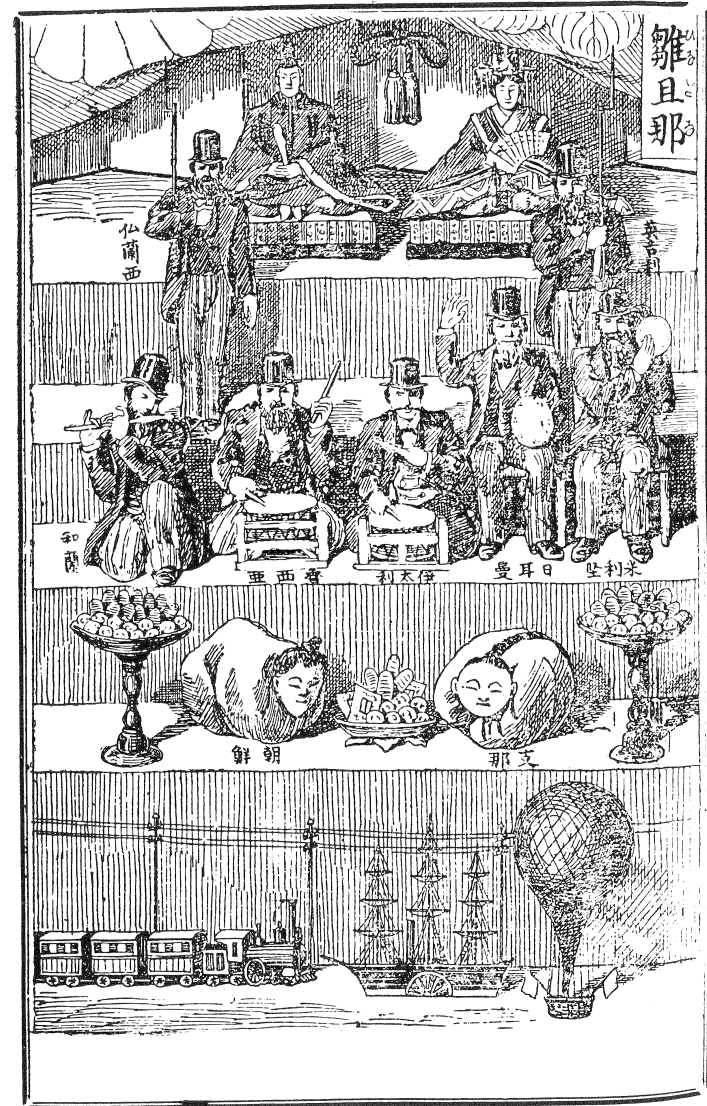
Tongnipmun 독립문  
The Gate of Independence  
(c. 1898)



# Japan's “Datsu-A” (脱亞入歐)

Leave Asia, Enter Europe

- Fukuzawa Yukichi (1885)



13. An 1878 *Marumaru chinbun* cartoon showing the countries of the world as a Doll Festival display.



# Leave Asia, Enter Europe?

“After the Fall of Weihaiwei, the Commander of the Chinese Beiyang Fleet, Admiral Ding Juchang, Surrenders”



by Mizuno Toshikata, November 1895.  
Sharf Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

# Resisting Japan, 1905-1910

- “Righteous Army” (義兵)
  - Yangban elites, e.g. Ch’oe Ikhyŏn
  - Peasants
- Special Envoy to the Hague International Peace Conference in 1907
  - Kojong forced to abdicate
- Sunjong cedes his throne and country in 1910





# Two Suicides...

Yi Chun,  
1907



Hwang Hyŏn,  
1910



## ... and Two Suicide Bombers



Yun Ponggil 윤봉길 (1908-32)



Yi Pongch'ang 이봉창 (1900-32)



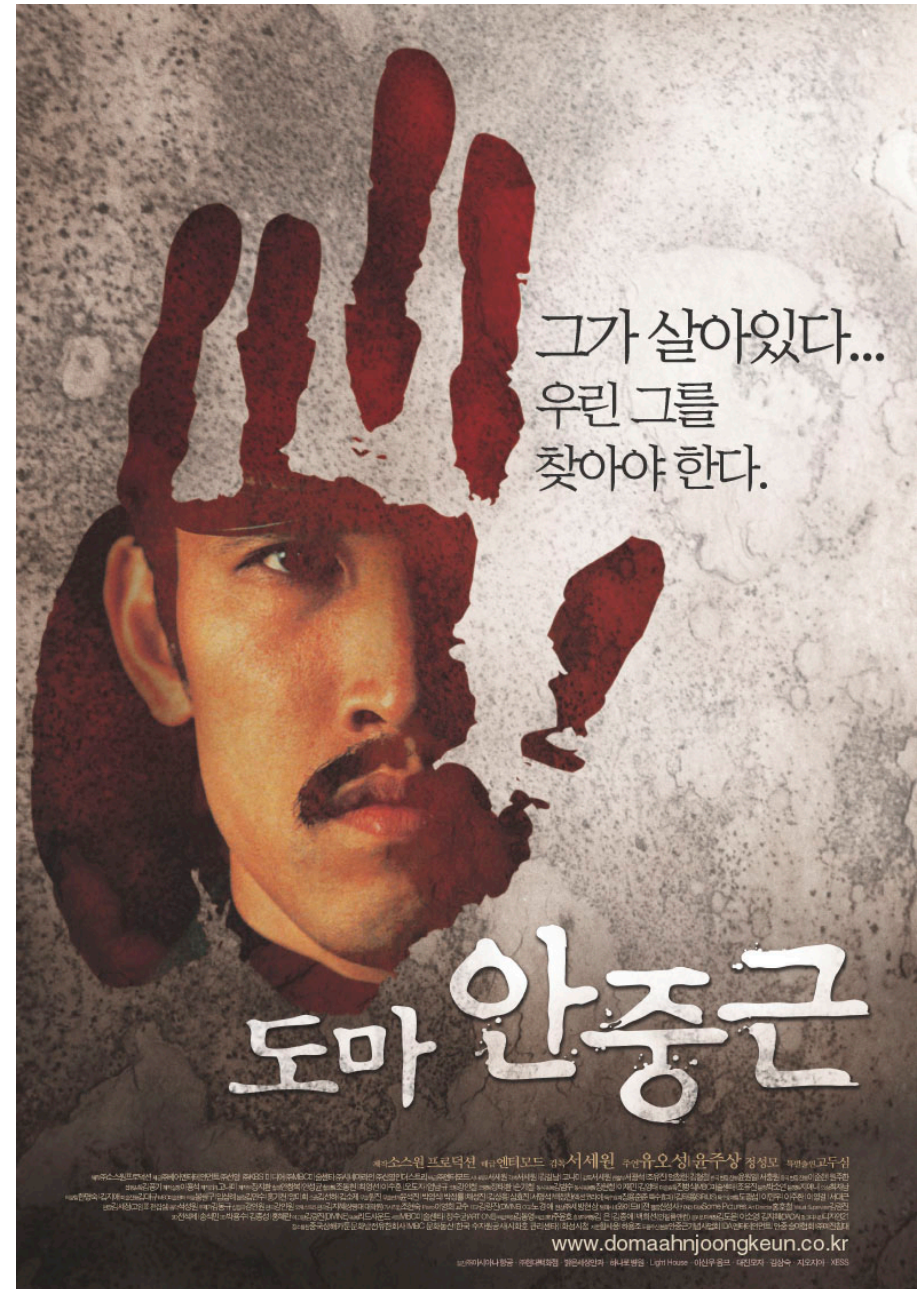
An Chunggŭn 안중근  
(1879-1910)



Ito Hirobumi arrives in Harbin (1909)



## The most famous handprint in Korean history





## ŭisa (의사 義士): “The Righteous One”





# The colonial logic:

Return to Asia as  
“agents of enlightenment”



# Phases of the Colonial Rule

- 1910-1919      Military Policy (“The Dark Period”)
  - 1912      Korean Conspiracy Trial of 1912
  - 1919      March First Movement
- 1919-1936      Cultural Policy
  - “Preparing Koreans for independence *in due course*”
  - 1931      Mukden Incident (Manchurian Incident)
- 1937-1945      Forced Assimilation and Mobilization
  - 1937      Sino-Japanese War begins
  - 1939      Imperial Decree 19 on Korean Affairs
  - 1941      Pearl Harbor



# From Differentiation to Assimilation

- Harmony Between Korea and Japan
  - (*Kan-Nichi yuwa* 한일융화 韓日融和)
- Harmony Between Japan and “Chosen”
  - (*Ni-Sen yuwa* 일선융화 日鮮融和)
- Harmony Between Metropole and “Chosen”
  - (*Nai-Sen yuwa* 내선융화 內鮮融和)
- Metropole and “Chosen” as One Body
  - (*Nai-Sen ittai* 내선일체 內鮮一體)
- Becoming Loyal Subjects of the Emperor
  - (*Kominka* 황민화 皇民化)

# Administrative Colonialism: Modernization Axis

- Rationalization of land ownership and agricultural production
  - Comprehensive Land Survey of 1910-18
  - Rice production increases by 40% (1920-35)
- Communication and transportation infrastructure
  - 53,000 km of improved roads, 6000 km of railroad tracks
- Growth of native entrepreneurs and industrialization
  - Government subsidies and bank loans to Korean capitalists
  - Average annual economic growth rate of 3.57% (1911-38)
- Urban planning and sanitation
  - Seoul becomes Keijo 경성
- Public education
  - Establishment of modern educational system
  - More than 60% enrollment in elementary schools by 1942



## Keijo: The Colonial Capital



# Administrative Colonialism: Exploitation Axis

- Rationalization of land ownership and agricultural production
  - Oriental Development Company; the “land grab”; increased tenancy
  - Dramatic decrease in per capita consumption of rice
- Communication and transportation infrastructure
  - System of total surveillance
  - Korea woven tightly into the empire
- Growth of native entrepreneurs and industrialization
  - Taint of collaboration among the native capitalists
  - Economic dependence on Japan
- Urban planning and sanitation
  - “Tears of Mokp’o”
- Public education
  - “Discipline and Punish”
  - “Separate but Equal”



**Tears of Mokp'o:  
Mt. Yudal as the  
boundary marker**



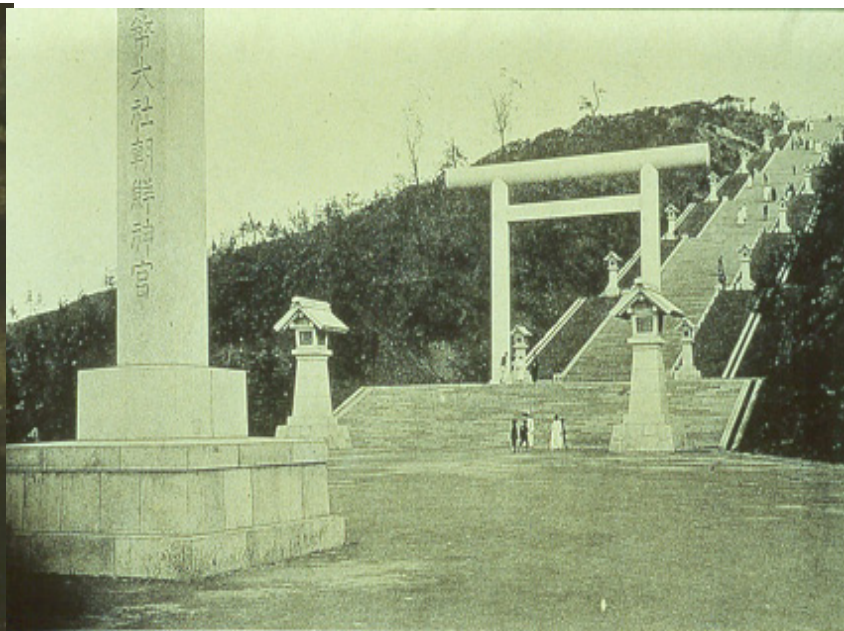


## Becoming loyal subjects of the emperor (1943)





## Forced Assimilation and Mobilization (1937-45)



# Studies in Contrast I



An Chunggŭn 안중근  
(1879-1910)



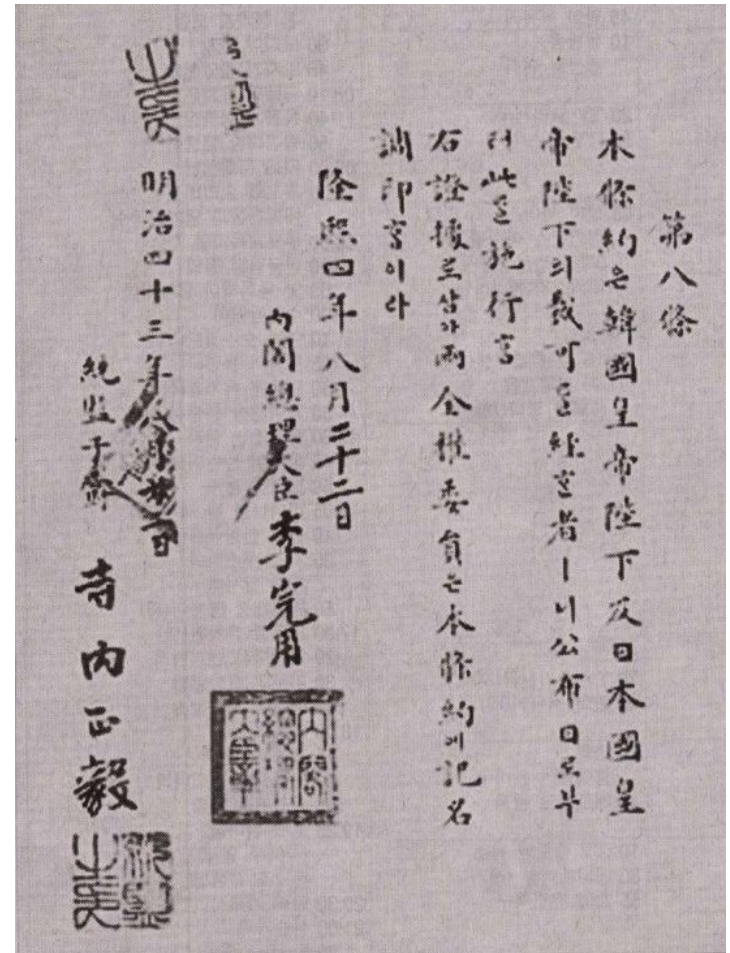
Yi Wanyong 이완용  
(1858-1926)



# Studies in Contrast II



An Chunggŭn's handprint

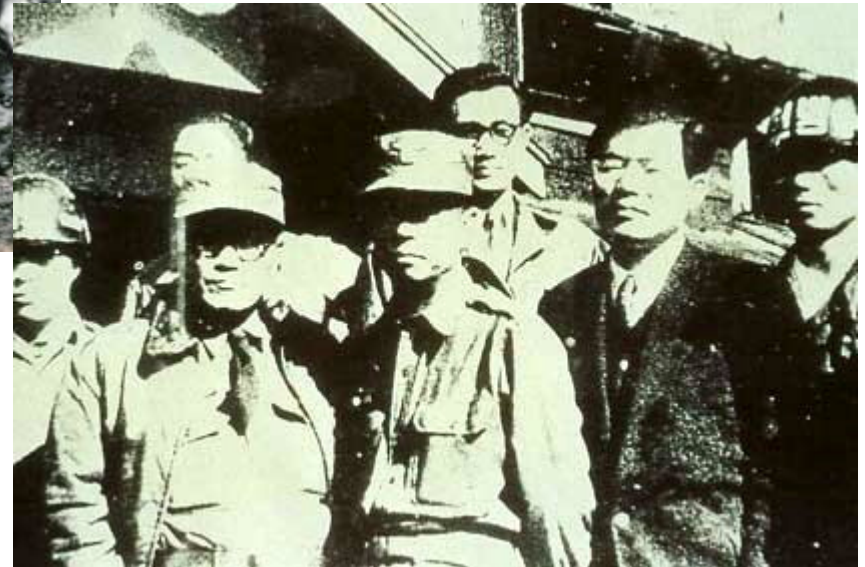


Article 8 of the "Protectorate Treaty" (1905)

# Studies in Contrast III



“Comfort Women”



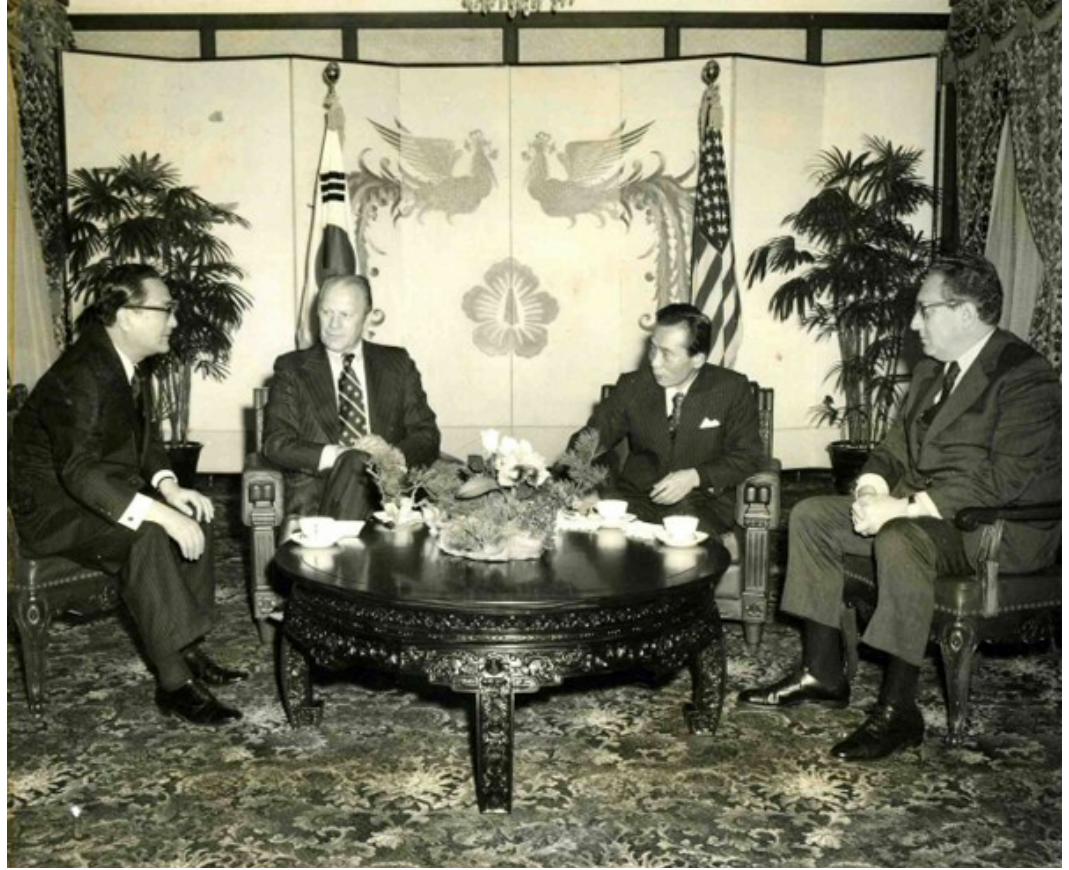
No Töksul 노덕술, “The King of Torture”



# Studies in Contrast IV



Hyobong sūnim (1888-1966)

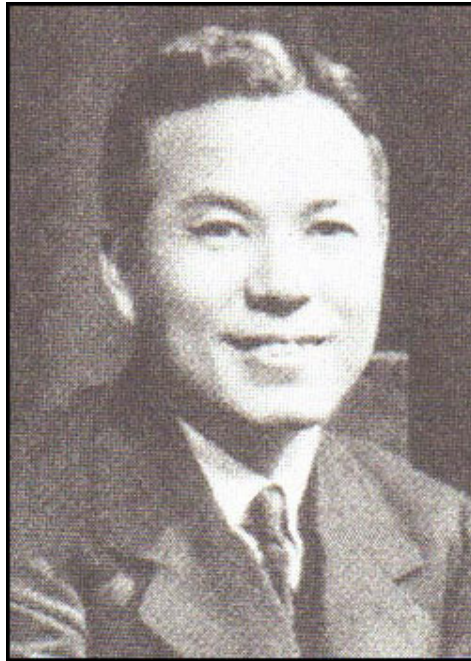


Kim Tongjo (1918-2004; 1974)

# “The Real Tragedy”



Ch'oe Rin 최린  
(1878-1958)



Kim Söngsu 김성수  
(1891-1955)



Yun Ch'iho 윤치호  
(1865-1945)



# Colonial Legacy I: Political and Ideological Terrain

- Cultural Policy: “Divide and Conquer”
  - national liberation vs. cultural nationalism
    - China: alliance with KMT vs. membership in CCP
    - Manchuria: guerrilla warfare
    - U.S.: Wilson and national self-determination
    - Soviet Union: Lenin and emancipation of the proletariat

Syngman RHEE 이승만    KIM Ku 김구



KIM Mu Chŏng 김무정



KIM Il Sung 김일성



# “Divide and Conquer”

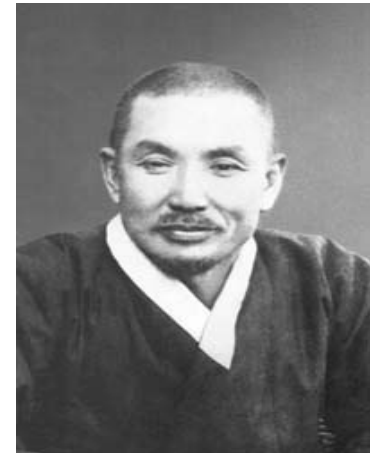
- socialism vs. liberalism
- bourgeois capitalist vs. peasantry
- Koreans against Koreans
  - prison guards, policemen, overseers



PAK Hŏnyŏng 박헌영  
조만식



Yŏ Unhyŏng 여운형



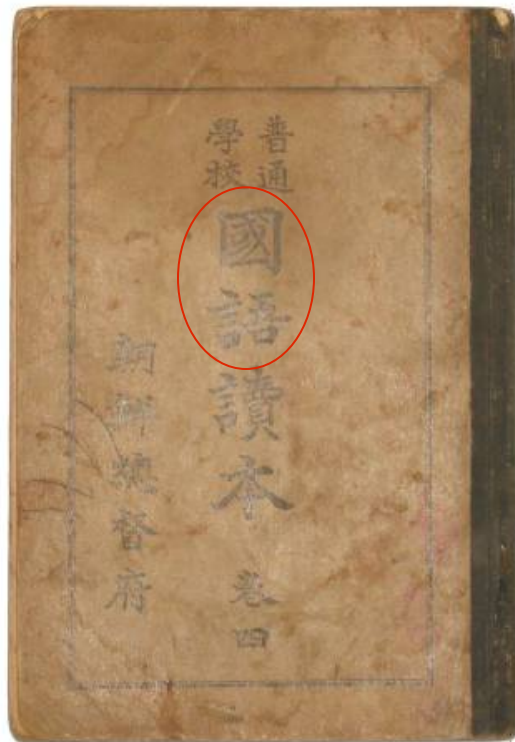
CHO Mansik

## Ideological Spectrum of Major Political Leaders (Right to Left)

- Syngman RHEE 이승만 (1875-1965)
- CHO Mansik 조만식 (1883-1950)
- KIM Ku 김구 (1876-1949)
- Yŏ Unhyŏng 여운형 (1886-1947)
- KIM Mujŏng 김무정 (1905-1952)
- KIM Il Sung 김일성 (1912-1994)
- PAK Hŏnyŏng 박헌영 (1900-1955)



## Colonial Legacy 2: Language



“In the Kominka campaign, the first step in acquiring and embodying the Japanese spirit is to acquire the Japanese language.”

# “Aegyŏng” 애경 (The Classic of Love)

- Pak T'ae-wŏn (1940)

여자는 왼손을 치켜 들어 시계를 보았다.

아홉시 오분전--, 아홉시면 겨울에는 이미 밤중이다.

“난, 꼭, 안따 우와끼가 또 하지마루 했나 그랬지.”

“쥬오단자 나이와.”

“그래두 가만이 보려니까, 긴상이 권허는대루 무한정허구 술을 먹으니..., 난, 밖에서 보면서 혼또니 하라하라시마시다요.”

“흥!”

“긴상이, 그이가 여자한테 아주 승오이거든.”

“그런데다 안따는 내가 밖에 있는걸 알면서두 모른체 허구 술만 먹지? 어찌 돌아 나는지....”

“난 들어 온줄 알았지. 누가 그렇게 청승맞게 밖에가 서 있을 줄이야....”

“헛지만 그집인 좇또 하이레나이.”

“도오시떼?”

“아니끼가 아까두 감바루허구 앓었는걸”

“어디가?”

“난로 옆에가 저편으로 앓었든 사람 있지 앓어? 아랭아 오레노 아니끼다요.”



The woman lifted her left hand high and looked at her watch. It was five to nine—nine, in winter, was already middle of the night.

“For sure, I thought that anta uwaki ga hajimaru once again.”

“Jyoudan jyanaiwa.”

“But listen, I watched what was going on really closely and saw you drink every single thing that Kim-san offered you.... Watching you from outside, I hontoni harahara shimashidayo.”

“Hmph!”

“Because Kim-san, he’s really sugoi where women are concerned.”

“And anta drinking and drinking, pretending that you didn’t know I was standing outside! I was about to go mad....”

“I thought you’d come in already. How was I to know that you’d stand outside like that, looking all so pitiful....”

“But that place was chotto hairenai.”

“Doushite?”

“Aniki was sitting there all ganbaru.”

“Where?”

“Remember the one who walked over to the far side of the stove and sat there? Arega oreno aniki dayo.”

# Colonial Legacy 3: Pro-Japanese Collaboration



Announcement of the first list of persons to be included in *The Biographical Dictionary of Pro-Japanese Collaborators* (August 29 [National Humiliation Day], 2005)

Protest against the suit by Song Pyŏngjun's descendants to reclaim confiscated property



# The Gray Zone Between Resistance and Collaboration

- “We became good friends [with our Japanese neighbors], exchanged comic books, and went to each other’s birthday parties. On rainy days we’d play marbles, and then we found out that in their own Japanese schools the kids also poked fun at the Emperor’s speeches, but they, of course, didn’t dare do it in public. They even did some things we hadn’t thought of.”

- KANG Sanguk, *b. 1935, physicist*

- “My clan had several meetings with lots of debate about whether to go along with the name change. Some were dead against it, but finally after several meetings, they gave in... Those in favor said that without a Japanese name you could not do business with the Japanese, could not get jobs, could not send your children to school—in fact, could not do much at all. They said it was only a formality, our hearts were still Kim and we would always remain Kim. So we should just go along... At least in our region, those who did not change their name to Japanese were the first targets of the draft to the factories.”

- KIM Wŏnguk, *b. 1918, Tobacco Authority officer*

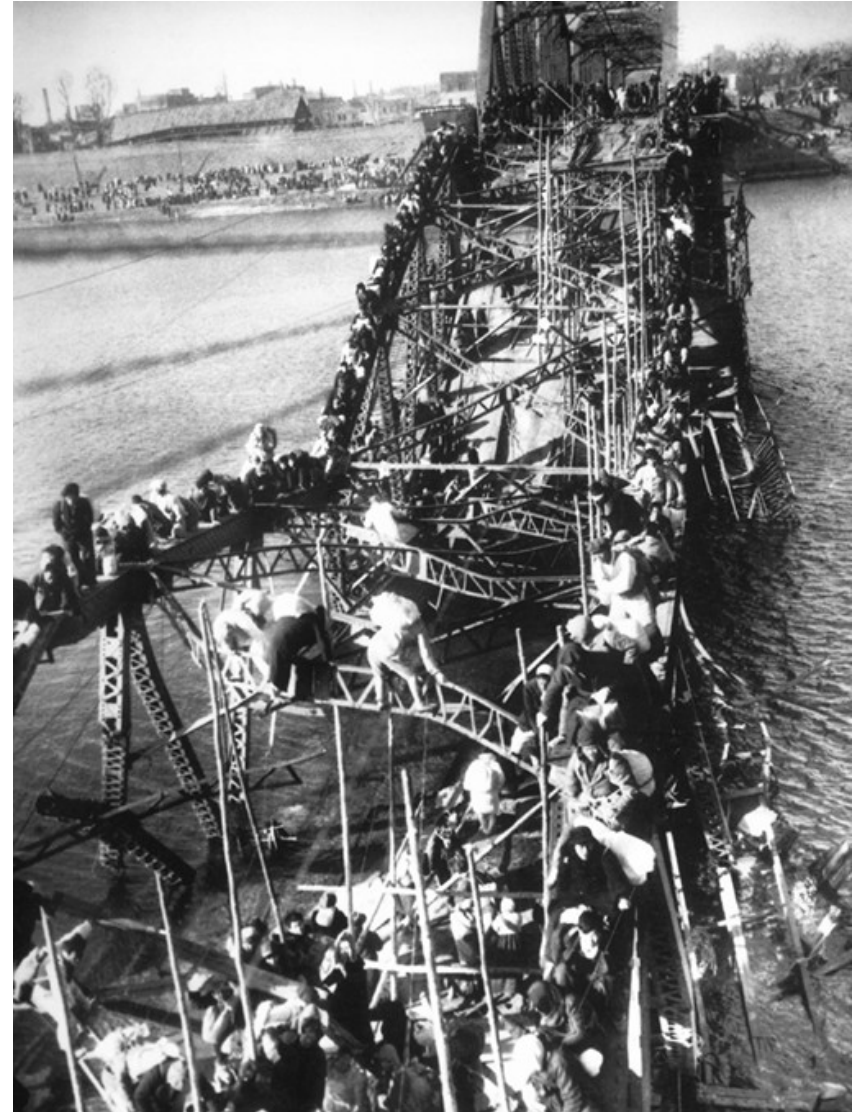
- “How many Koreans were like us under the Japanese—not resisting, just going along? Many went along, not by choice but because they had no other choice. Look how it worked. After the war, my family was branded *pro-Japanese*, but while we were *under* the Japanese my father was suspect and watched every day by a detective. How ironic.”

- YU Hyegyŏng, *b. 1924, housewife*

August 15, 1945:  
Spontaneous celebration following  
the announcement



October, 1950:  
Refugees on Wrecked P'yŏngyang Bridge  
(Max Desfor, Pulitzer Prize for Photography,  
1951)





# Allied Conferences



Cairo:  
11/22/43-  
11/26/43



Tehran:  
11/28/43-  
12/1/43



Yalta:  
2/4/45-  
2/11/45

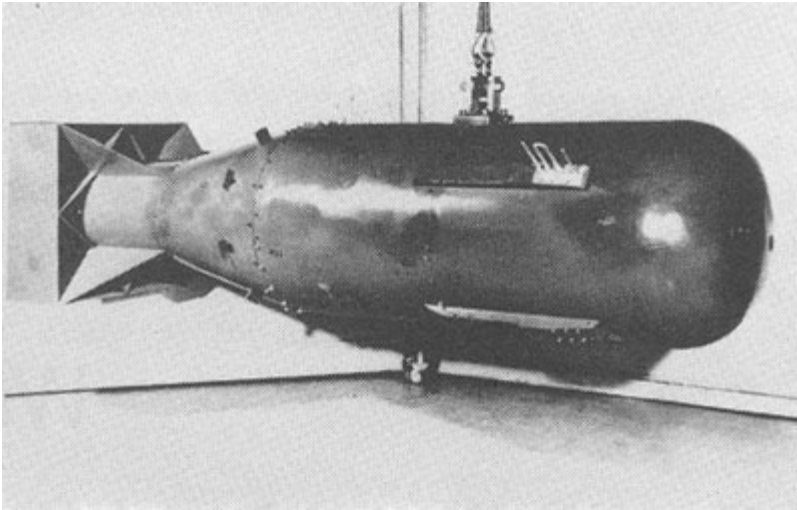


Potsdam:  
7/17/45-  
8/2/45

# The Cairo Declaration

- November 27, 1943
- “China, the U.S., and Britain, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that *in due course* Korea shall become free and independent.”
- Roosevelt and trusteeship of Korea

# Hiroshima: 8:15 AM, Aug. 6, 1945



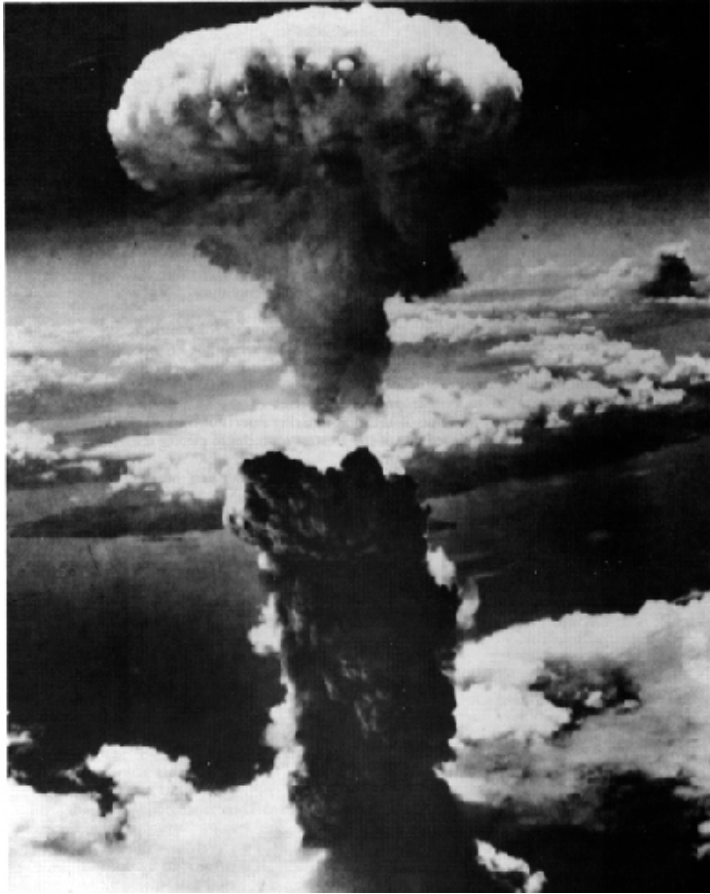
“The Little Boy”:  
the most famous bomb in history



Enola Gay: the most famous B-29 in history



# Nagasaki: 11:20 AM, Aug. 9, 1945



“The Fat Man” explodes



2 days prior



3 days after



The “fallout”



# The Post-War “Scramble”



Commander Chistiakov deplanes  
near P'yŏngyang (Aug 26, 1945)



Lt. Gen. John R. Hodge (middle)  
watches the occupation landings at  
Inch'ŏn (September 8, 1945)

# A sign of things to come?



Photo # 80-G-391464 Japanese flag comes down, Korea, 1945



Photo # 80-G-391465 U.S. flag goes up, Seoul, Korea, 1945

"The U.S. policy in postwar Korea demonstrated a lack of vision, planning, and coordination between the branches of the U.S. home government and with the U.S. personnel in Korea, as well as a paucity of consideration for the people of the land. Overall, the policy was comprised of reactive, incremental stop-gap measures."

B.C. Oh, *Korea Under American Military Government, 1945-1948* (2002)

# Redrawing the Fault Line, 1945-50

**PATRIOT vs. COLLABORATOR → LEFT vs. RIGHT**  
**(or, Communist vs. Anti-Communist)**

- **Korean People's Republic** (proclaimed Sept. 6. 1945)
  - 87 leaders selected
    - 63% had been imprisoned in colonial prisons for political crimes; only a handful had cooperated with the Japanese in questionable ways
    - 70% Communists
  - Unrecognized by USAMGIK
- North Korean Land Reform (Feb.-Mar. 1946)
- August Harvest Uprising (Oct.-Nov. 1946)
- Cheju Uprising (April 1948)
- Separate Elections (May and Aug., 1948)
- Yösu-Sunch'ön Mutiny (Oct. 1948)
- Outbreak of the Korean War (June 25, 1950)

# KPR Cabinet (Proposed)

CHO Mansik 조만식

KIM Kyusik 김규식

Yŏ Unhyŏng 여운형

Hŏ Hŏn 허헌

Pak Hŏnyŏng 박헌영



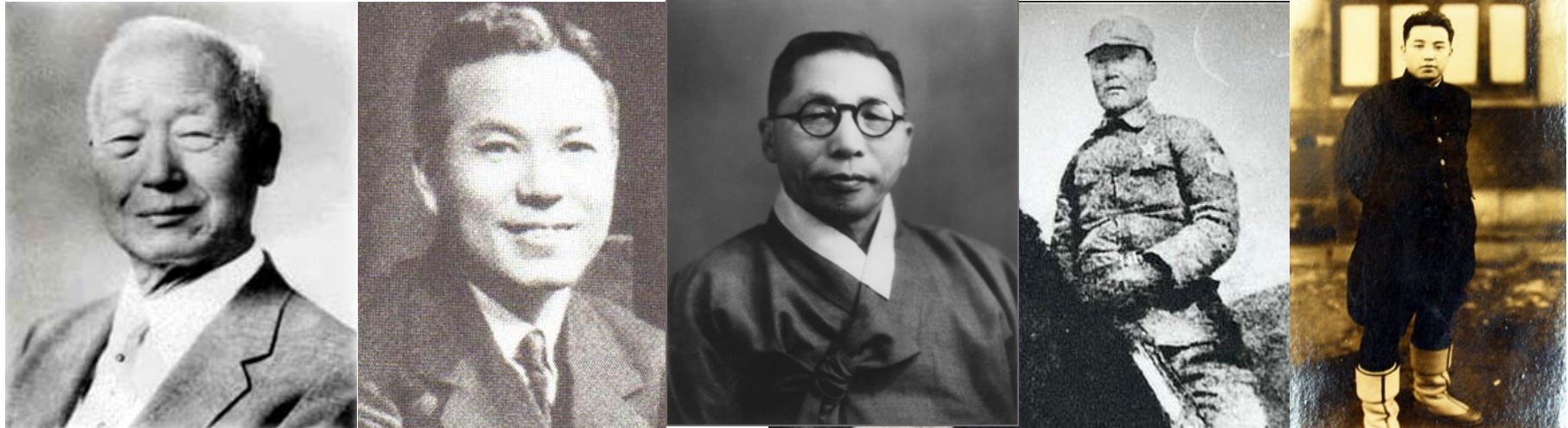
Syngman RHEE 이승만

KIM Sŏngsu 김성수

KIM Ku 김구

KIM Mujŏng 김무정

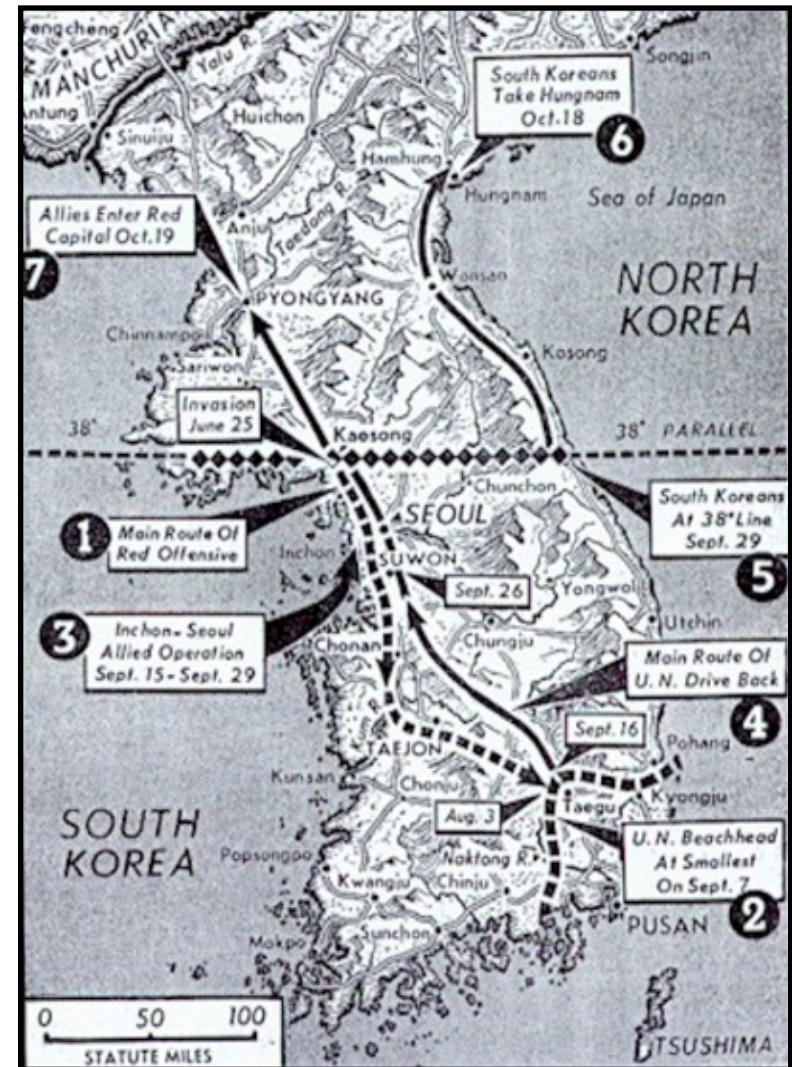
KIM Il Sung 김일성





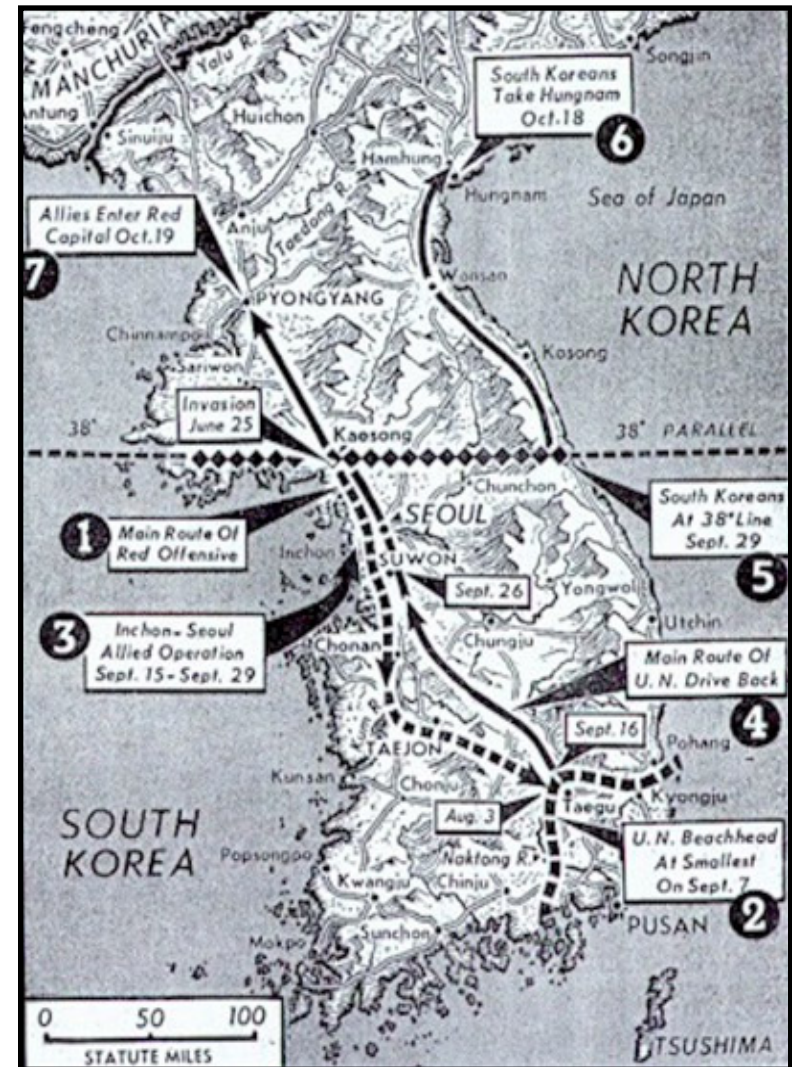
# Korean War: Timeline I

- 1950
  - June 25: Outbreak of war
  - June 27: UN vote to repel NK invasion
  - June 28: NK capture of Seoul
  - August: Formation of Pusan Perimeter
  - Sept. 15: Inch'ön landing
  - Sept 28: UN recapture of Seoul
  - October: NK repelled from SK territory
  - Oct. 19: UN capture of P'yŏngyang
  - Nov. 27: Chinese (CPV) and NK counterattack
  - Dec.: P'yŏngyang recaptured by NK-CPV



# Korean War: Timeline II

- 1951
  - Jan. 4: NK -CPV forces recapture Seoul
  - April: UN forces recapture Seoul and recross 38<sup>th</sup> parallel
  - April 11: MacArthur resigns
  - Summer: fighting stabilizes along 38<sup>th</sup> parallel
  - July 10: truce talks begin in Kaesŏng
- 1952
  - August 29: Air raids on P'yŏngyang (24-hour record for FEAF)
- 1953
  - June 8: POW issue settled
  - July 27: Armistice signed



# Korean War: Casualties

- 750,000 military; 800,000 civilian deaths
  - 300,000 NK
  - 227,000 SK
  - 200,000 (- 500,000) CPV
  - 37,000 U.S.
  - 4,000 U.N. Allies
- “More allied bombs on NK than on Germany or Japan during WWII”

# “Collateral Damage”?



Pablo Picasso, “The Massacre in Korea” (1951)



# From Conventional to Guerrilla Warfare



# Korean War: Global Legacies

- SK: ideology of anti-communism
- NK: bunker mentality
- US: defensive wall, military bases in Asia (seventh fleet)
- China: vis-à-vis Taiwan, U.S.; siege mentality
- Japan: “divine aid”; “gift of the gods”
- Cold War and the apartheid

# Reunion of Families Separated by the Postwar Division of Korea

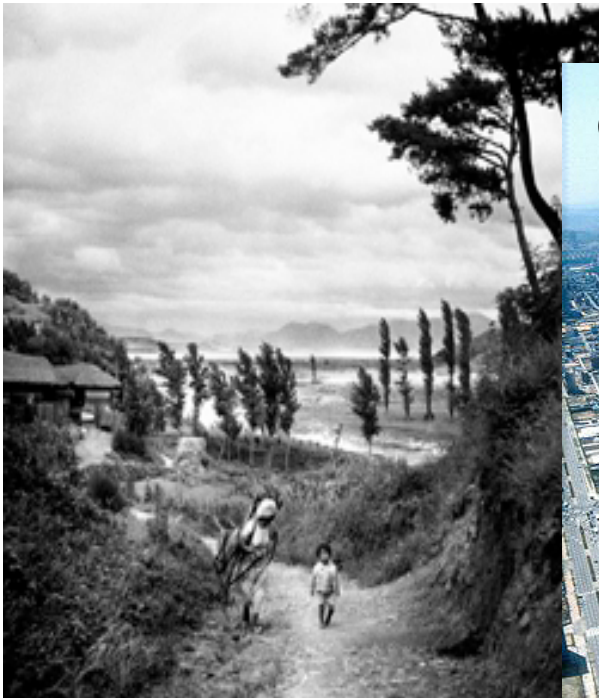
- 16 contingents from 2002-2007
- Most recently in Nov. 2010





# “Miracle” on the Han River

Samsŏng-dong, Seoul, today



The Road to Pongŭn Temple,  
1955





# South Korean Economy in the 1950s

- “Sucking the American teat for all it was worth.”
  - 1957:       \$383 million in U.S. economic aid  
              \$456 million in domestic revenue
  - Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI)
- Syngman RHEE:
  - “A madman with a method”?



# Developmental Dictatorship: Economic Axis



Gen. PARK Chung Hee  
박정희 becomes  
President PARK  
(1961-1979)



- Revolution from the top
- Export-led growth
  - Normalization with Japan (August 14, 1965)
  - Vietnam War (1965-73)
- Concatenation of finance, industry, labor, market
- Rise of *chaebŏl* 재벌
- The Big Push (1973): from light manufacturing to heavy and chemical industrialization

# Normalization of Relations with Japan

- \$300 million in direct grants
- \$200 million in loans
- \$300 million in private investments
- (Korea's total exports at the time: \$200 million)
- POSCO: the world's second largest steel maker
- Why did it occasion widespread protest in Korea?

# Korea's Vietnam (1965-73)

- Lyndon B. Johnson's "More Flags"
- 300,000 Korean soldiers
- Brown Memorandum: \$1 billion in payments (1965-70)
- Frontier for Korean enterprise
  - 94% of total steel exports
  - 52% of transportation equipment export
- Warfare and economic development in E. Asia



# Korea, Inc.

- Here's the deal: I will arrange for, say, a bank in Japan to give you \$10 million at below-market rates to make 12-inch black-and-white TVs, and guarantee the loan to the bank. I will set aside property for you in our free-export zone, build the roads to your plant, give you heat and electricity at preferential rates, and set aside American surplus cement for your buildings. I will find a foreign firm with established markets, know-how, and channels of distribution, which will sell your TVs everywhere in the United States, even in grocery stores. I will guarantee a steady supply of educated and disciplined labor at a set price (also well below market), and outlaw unions, and send in the army whenever dangerous combinations emerge at the workplace. I will decide how many competitors you will have, give you annual targets for production (with bonuses for going beyond them), and make sure there's room enough for all of you to grow. (Not to mention the fact that you are my wife's brother, etc.)

- Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun*, p. 316

# The Big Push (1973)

- Heavy and chemical industrialization
  - Steel, chemicals, automobiles, shipbuilding, machine tools, electronics
- The rise of *chaebŏl*
  - “family-owned and managed group of companies that exercises monopolistic or oligopolistic control in product lines and industries” (Meredith Woo, *Race to the Swift*, p. 149)
  - “ten families controlled 60 percent of the miracle on the Han” (George Ogle, *South Korea: Dissent Within the Economic Miracle*, p. 53)

# Hyundai 현대

Founder Chông Chuyŏng 정주영: “Hey, did you give it a try?”



Hyundai shipyard in Ulsan



Lee Myung Bak 이명박: “The Legendary Salary-man”

# Samsung 삼성



Founder Yi Pyöngch'öl with  
son Yi Kõnhũi



Samsung semiconductor plant in Austin, Texas





# LG (Lucky-Goldstar)



Founder Ku Inhoe and Goldstar phone (1967)

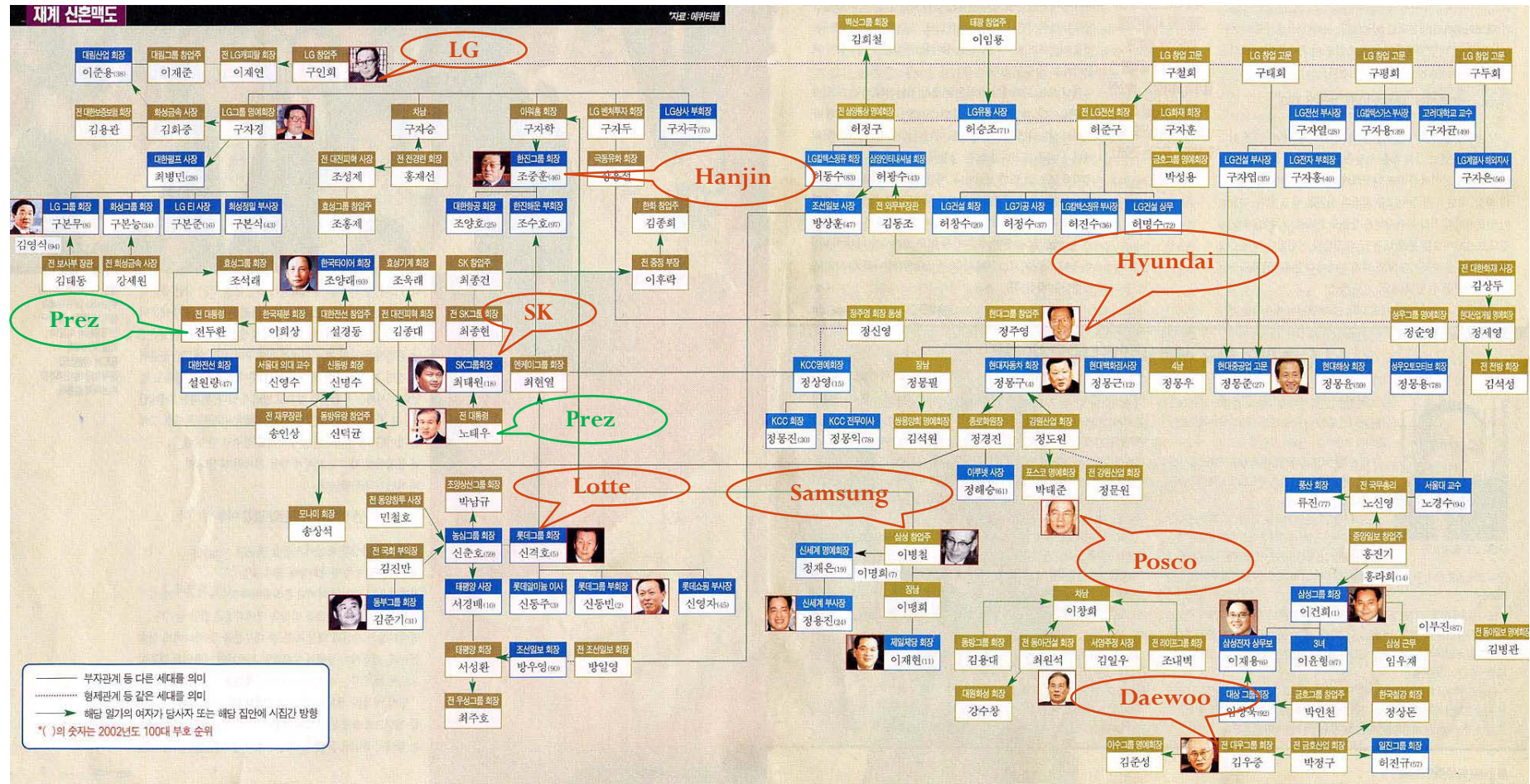


Lucky brand toothpaste



LG Cinema 3D TV

# Marriage Alliances Among the *Chaebŏl*





# Developmental Dictatorship: Economic Axis



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# Developmental Dictatorship: Political Axis



Death of  
CHŎN T'aeil  
전태일 (1970)



Ban on long hair

- Suppression of opposition, labor and student movements
  - CHŎN T'aeil's self-immolation (1970)
  - Attempted assassination of KIM Dae Jung (1973)
  - Minch'ŏng, Inhyŏktang (1974-75)
  - YH Incident (1979)
- Yushin Constitution 유신헌법 (Oct. 17, 1972)
  - Expanded executive powers
  - Presidential tenure for life
- Curtailment of civil liberties
  - Censorship
  - Discipline and orthopraxy
- Maintenance of police state
  - State of Emergency
  - National Security Law
  - Anti-communist rhetoric
- Military mobilization of society



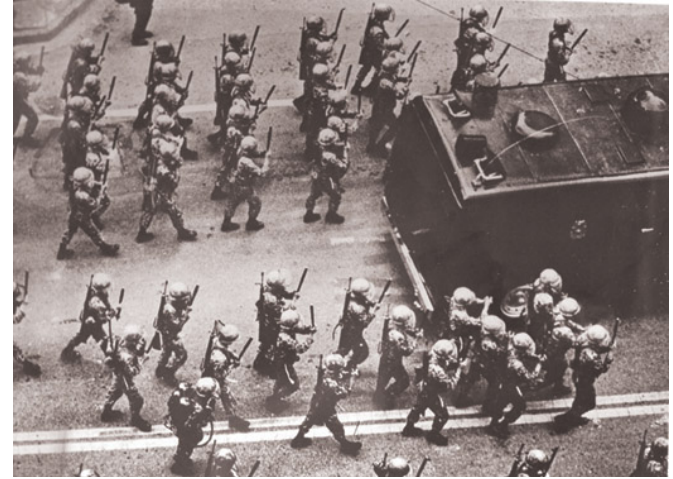
# Legacies of Dictatorship

- Subsequent dictatorships of CHUN Doo Hwan and ROH Tae Woo
- Military coup on Dec. 12, 1979



# Legacies of Dictatorship

- Kwangju, May 18-27, 1980





# Legacies of Dictatorship

- KCIA and politics of terror
  - PAK Chongch'öl tortured to death
- Rise of *undongkwŏn* 운동권
  - democratization movement led by students and workers
  - Culminates in the “June Breakthrough” (1987)



The two Kims part ways  
(October 1987)



Two old army buddies celebrate victory  
(December 1987)





**June, 2002:**  
Kwanghwamun and the City Hall Area  
during the Japan-Korea FIFA Worldcup







**November, 2002:**

Protesting the death of two junior high girls  
run over by an American military vehicle







**March, 2004:**

Protests against the proposal to impeach  
President ROH Moo Hyun







**April-August, 2008:**  
Protests against importation of  
U.S. beef and 2MB presidency







JUNE 9, 1987:  
DEATH OF LEE HAN YEOL





“BRING HAN YEOL  
BACK TO LIFE!”

(CHOE BYEONG-SU, 1987)



“BRING SEUB BACK TO LIFE!”

(JO SEUB, 2002)





“WATER TORTURE” (JO SEUB, 2005)

# Migrant Workers and the “Borderless Village”



A variety of Chinese foods are on display at a Chinese food market in Wongok.



The main street of Wongok is crowded with people from various nations. Statistics show more than 10,500 people from 64 states around the world live in the village, nicknamed “borderless village.”



A human-shaped image whose entire body is covered with 59 different national flags is a symbol of Wongok village, the largest foreign population-concentrated area of the country. The figure means the number of countries where its residents came from at the time when the village was formed.



# Transnational Marriages and Multiethnic Families: New Guardians of Old Tradition?



Jan. 2000- May 2009: 167,090 international marriages





KIM Jong-cheol, 30years old  
Photographed by LEE Jae-Kap (Feb 1993)

Hines Ward becomes Honorary Seoulite  
(Apr 2006)



# Defining “Korean-ness”

- Ethnicity
  - “Global Family”
  - “Tong-p’o” (同胞)
  - Oversees adoptees
  - Amerasians and Kosians
- Citizenship
  - Migrant workers
  - Foreign brides
- Uncoupling “family” and “nation”
- What about “culture”?



▶ <주민등록증 시리즈>- 시계 방향으로 김자니, 오영철, 박근식, 차아니 패루커, 김넌시, 이명호