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사회학박사 학위논문

Uneven Screens, Contested Identities

– USIS, Cultural Films, and the National
Imaginary in South Korea, 1945–1972 –

불균질한 스크린들, 경합하는 정체성
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- USIS, Cultural Films, and the National Imaginary in
South Korea, 1945-1972 -

by

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Abstract

Uneven Screens, Contested Identities:

USIS, Cultural Films, and the National Imaginary in South Korea, 1945-1972

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After the Second World War, government-level public information agencies in the U.S., such as the U.S. Information Service (USIS), resided in allied nations, such as South Korea, to engage in long-term propaganda activities. This study focuses on the negotiation of identity of South Korean filmmakers and audiences in making and consuming cultural films, devoting particular attention to the role of the American ‘foreign’ authorities.

The idea of *cultural film* (Kulturfilm), which had been imported by the Japanese colonial rulers and was succeeded by the U.S. and ROK public information agencies. It was a vaguely defined category of films mainly distributed by governmental-level agencies for educational and propaganda purposes. The category of cultural film included public information documentaries, occasional newsmagazine films, ethnographic films, and educational feature films. Cultural films were not only a means of publicizing governmental policies, but also a window through which to learn about the

world with an ethnographic element. Under the name of cultural film, U.S. public information agencies imported American-made documentary films which depicted the American way of life and produced 'localized films' dealing with local issues by hiring Korean filmmakers.

For Koreans who were situated in the postcolonial state formation, the new conditions fostered through the emergence of the Cold War system were crucial to their identity formation. They were citizens of a newly built state, but their nation was divided between the Cold War Power blocs which defined South Koreans as citizens of the "Free World." Cultural films created an interesting foundation for South Koreans' perception of the Self in this context. As a window to learn the world, cultural films of U.S. public information agencies made a condition for the Self/Other opposition, as conventional ethnographic films usually did.

However, in the geopolitical and historical particularity of South Korea, those cultural films created a unique type of spectatorship that mediated the perceptions of the Self and the Other in an intricate web of different ethnographic gazes. Imported documentaries showed the American life as an idealized model of civilization, but there is little probability that Koreans fully identified themselves with Americans in these films. (Re)presentations of idealized American urban life were rather a means of entertainment to see the exotic Other. At the same time, locally made cultural films depicted South Koreans who constructed their lives and rehabilitated from social and personal damages. Despite the aim to facilitate self-recognition of Korean audiences as citizens of the "Free World," such films also presented the complexity in identification since their self-recognition was organized by the foreign agencies like USIS-Korea. Thus, it is highly probable that the reception of those films was a process of intense negotiation to define the Self and the Other.

This outcome was partly an inevitable consequence of the localization

project of U.S. public information activities; however, use of local manpower was not the only cause of such an *uneven* screen. The appearance of translated and modified ‘ideal citizens’ in *P’aldogangsan* (1967), one of the representative films of NFPC also made under the profound impact of USIS, and an enthusiastic response from the Korean public to that film show how an original project on the cultural cold war could be transformed into a vernacular one in the more local context.

In the case of Korean filmmakers who were affiliated with U.S. public information agencies, the negotiation of identity appears more clearly. They were hired by the U.S. governmental agencies and served as messengers of the “Free World” screen, but, at the same time, they recognized themselves as builders of the nation. Further, they also regarded themselves as individual artists who did not merely deliver rhetoric of their hirers but also expressed their own artistic sensibility. These contested self-identities led the filmmakers to adopt certain compromising positions. As one can see in the distinction between the routes of the two symbolic documentarists, Robert Flaherty and John Grierson, government-sponsored documentary filmmaking would drive filmmakers to a crossroads between romanticism facilitating humanist impulse and enlightenment seeking social engineering. Similar inner conflict of USIS- and UNKRA-affiliated filmmakers was joined together with the geopolitical conditions of South Korea and concluded with unique auteurism in film making.

The routes of these alumni of the American film training camps indicate several different choices in the intense negotiations on identity: leaving the camp and devoting oneself to auteurism in filmmaking; leaving the camp and keeping auteurist impulse in mind, but giving it up in commercial filmmaking with deep skepticism; and remaining in the camp with auteurism in cultural film making. They also show double-sidedness of those Korean filmmakers who did receive benefits from U.S.-led agencies, as the successor and criticizer of

the Western culture. They constantly had to seek compromises between the Griersonian missions and artistic self-realization and between nation-building and “Free World” bloc building, in an all too “expert” system created by a hegemonic foreign agency.

Keywords: Cold War, USIS, USIA, UNKRA, cultural film, propaganda, public information, psychological warfare, documentary, ethnography, auteurism, expert system, representation and presentation, visualization, governmentality, nation-building, postcolonial state formation, Koreanness.

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List of Abbreviations

Source Materials:

KOFA: Korean Film Archive, Seoul, ROK

LOC: U.S. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., USA

NARA: U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD,
USA

UN ARMS: United Nations Archives and Records Management Section, New York,
NY, USA

Agencies and Titles:

AFAK: U.S. Armed Forces Assistance to Korea

CAD: U.S. Army Civil Affairs Division

CFA: Chosŏn yŏnghwa tongmaeng [Chosŏn Film Alliance]

CFP: Chosŏn yŏnghwa chusikhoesa [Chosŏn Film Production Co.]

CIE: Civil Information and Education Section, SCAP

CMPE: Central Motion Picture Exchange

CNCCH: Chosŏn yŏnghwa kŏnsŏl ponbu [Chosŏn National Cinema Construction
Headquarters]

CNFCO: Chosŏn munhwa tanch'e ch'ongyŏnmaeng [Chosŏn National Federation
of Cultural Organizations]

DPI: Department of Public Information, USAMGIK

ICA: International Cooperation Administration, U.S. Department of State

KCAC: Korea Civil Assistance Command

KNPA: Korean National Police Agency

NFPC: ROK National Film Production Center

NSL: ROK National Security Law

OCI: Office of Civil Information, USAFIK

OEC: UN Economic Adjustment Bureau

OPI: ROK Office of Public Information

OWI: U.S. Army Office of War Information

SCAP: Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers

SCNR: ROK Supreme Council for National Reconstruction

UFA: Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft, Germany

UNKRA: United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency

USAFIK: United States Army Forces in Korea

USAID: U.S. Agency for International Development

USAMGIK: United States Army Military Government in Korea

USIA: United States Information Agency

USIE: United States Information and Educational Exchange Program

USIS-Korea: United States Information Service, Korea

USOM: United States Operations Mission to Korea

VOA: Voice of America

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Introduction

For the people in the south of the Korean Peninsula that were liberated from Japanese colonial rule, America was an entity to learn from. However, at the same time, it was an alien civilization, and they could not identify it as being like their own nation without great effort. The United States Information Service in Korea (hereinafter USIS-Korea) took on that to educate Koreans on the American way of life. After three years of activities by the U.S. Army Military Government In Korea (hereinafter USAMGIK) and the U.S. Army Forces In Korea (hereinafter USAFIK), USIS-Korea took over the public information function from these military agencies and continued their tasks until a superior authority, the United States Information Agency (hereinafter USIA), was abolished by law in 1998 (Public Lay 105-277, Oct. 21, 1998).

One of the main tasks of USIS-Korea as of 1953 was “to convince the ROK and its people that the U.S. was committed to a policy” which would “bring freedom through strength, stability, and fruitful relations with the free world” (J.R. Higgins, May 12, 1953). On this advice, their activities were explained as used “to convince” Koreans of certain information. It was an important aspect of U.S. public information agencies since this function also covered reception which did not take place with spontaneous consumption by the public.

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Consideration of such involuntary reception of the self-representation of the West, which was demanded from the new citizens of the “Free World” and which sometimes replaced the newborn country’s national education, produces certain key questions: What were the characteristics of the West that were introduced as being both attractive and ideal to follow? How were Korean audiences positioned to perceive the Western Self and the Korean Other? Which of those self-represented characteristics of the West were maintained or rejected in the eventual perception of “Koreanness” as an antithesis to the West?

The self-representation of the West, particularly America, is one of the core issues in dealing with postcolonial Korea as a history. The Japanese Government-General in Korea banned Hollywood films from being distributed in Korea after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, while USAMGIK on the contrary imported and released a tremendous number of such films beginning in 1946 (Yecies & Shim, 2011: 141-167). Not only did the frequency of exposure to American cultural products incomparably increase, but also the imaginative location of America in the Korean mind was encouraged to shift in an entirely different direction. During the colonial rule, the East was recognized as the Same, with the spiritual civilization, while the West was regarded as the Other in the old world order (Yi Sang-u, 2008). After August 15, 1945, the situation reversed and America became the liberator as well as the leader of a new world order. In such a changed imaginative geography, this study poses questions on where the Korean Self, a newly found postcolonial

subject, was positioned and what the representation of America, the closest ally of this new subject, was.

In addition, the Korean Self (re)presented¹ in the reception procedure is also worth noting. Local production of public information materials, including employment of local creators, was highly encouraged by the USIA, since it believed that the localization of public information activities would promote greater mutual understanding among all the allied nations (Nicholas J. Cull, 2008: 81-96). This process involved the adoption of local issues and local language. Thus, locally produced materials were expected to encourage local audiences to identify themselves with these (re)presentations. Whether such identification actually happened is not as clearly demonstrated, but it is worth paying attention to the fact that there were intricate relationships between American and Korean social actors when planning, creating and consuming those products.

1. Problematizing the Cultural Film Production of USIS-Korea

Among its public information activities, film propaganda was one of the most emphasized tasks for USIS-Korea. Since 1945, when USAMGIK

¹ The orthography of '(re)present' is used in this study to embrace both the concepts of 'present' and 'represent.' More detailed explanation is provided in the section of methods.

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organized a film production unit and started to make a documentary, U.S. public information agencies in South Korea continuously produced, imported, and distributed films. During the whole period of U.S. public information activities in South Korea, USIS-Korea film production occupied most of the time and remained the biggest collection of films.

Although they officially called all newsreels and documentaries for “convincing” purposes as *public information film*, these films were called *munhwa yŏnghwa [cultural films]* in Korea. The idea of cultural film (Kulturfilm) was originally conceived through the experience of Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft (hereinafter UFA), the principal film studio in Germany from 1917 until the end of WWII, and imported to Korea by the Japanese colonial rulers (Kim Han-sang, 2009). This term was a vaguely defined category of films that were mainly distributed by governmental-level agencies for educational and propaganda purposes. They included ethnographic and public information documentaries, and educational features. The same categorial appellation was followed by the U.S. and ROK public information agencies after Liberation. When Pak Chŏng-hŭi (Park Chung-hee) and his Junta enacted the Motion Picture Act in 1961, they legally defined ‘cultural films’ as “films produced mainly from factual records in order to describe educational, cultural effects or social customs, from social, economic and cultural phenomena,” and they obligated movie theaters to screen these films before commercial features were screened (Act No.995, Jan. 20, 1962).

Given the ambiguity of its meaning, despite both legalization and legal definition, the term “cultural film” is a problematic category, especially when tracing the activities of USIS-Korea. It was a category tied to the purposes of distribution. As the Motion Picture Act in 1961 demonstrates, the core purpose of these films was education of the culture and social customs. Thus, cultural films were not only a means of publicizing governmental policies, but also a window through which audiences were expected to learn about the ‘world’ with ethnographic elements. USIS-Korea also produced documentaries in the name of cultural films; these dealt with local issues by hiring Korean filmmakers. Their imported American documentaries were also called cultural films in the cinemas. In these creation and adaptation activities, the ethnographic elements of cultural film produced a certain effect in terms of the historical and geopolitical particularities of South Korea.

Cultural films were placed to educate the nationals of this new-born country about a standardized model of ideal citizen in the “Free World.” However, the scenario that an American agency was educating Koreans and the ethnographic elements of these cultural films made this process rather entangled. In learning about the world through cultural films, audiences might have been asked to answer identity questions about themselves in the new world order.

Further, since cultural film production was a long-time activities both in terms of an introduction to filmmaking and earning a living for filmmakers in

Korea, the categorial ambiguity of cultural film frequently resulted in identity confusion. A filmmaker affiliated with USIS-Korea was a documentarist, an ethnographer, a propagandist, a Korean employee of an American agency, and/or an artist baptized by sophisticated art trends overseas, all at the very same time. These different identities sometimes came into conflict with one another.

2. Theoretical Background of the Study

The Self and the Other in Ethnography and Cultural Film

In an essay on the definition of cultural film, Pak Yǒng-kūn wrote that the heightened public interest in cultural films around 1938 was motivated by the fame of both the popular scientific films of UFA and British documentaries (*Tonga Ilbo*, Dec. 6, 1938: e5). His comments show that cultural film was understood to consist of two primary elements — scientific knowledge and issues of social reform. The British documentary movement, which fit more with the latter, was led by the renowned filmmaker, John



Figure 1. An ethnographic depiction of Jehol culture in *Tokyo-Peking* (c1939)

Grierson, and mainly was in collusion with government publicity campaigns. It is interesting that Pak mentioned scientific films as the model for the former. The term 'scientific cinema' designated non-fiction films that contained scientific knowledge as an entertainment element. Ethnographic films were also included in that category (Virgilio Tosi, 2005: 162-163; Francesco Paolo de Ceglia, 2011). In other words, any knowledge of ethnicity was regarded as scientific. If so, what was the meaning of "scientific" in ethnography?

In Egypt under British colonial rule, ethnographic knowledge was used to make the colonized people industrially productive. Timothy Mitchell (1991) stated that "Ethnography emerged in the early nineteenth century, not just to describe the nature of man, but as part of a larger process of describing man as, by nature, productive." (105). The knowledge of natives who were different from Europeans provided a ground for the colonizers to change those indolent "savages" so they would behave in an industrious and self-disciplined manner. The "striking difference" seen in Egyptians from the "civilized" citizens of Europe had to be collected and categorized with a scientific method (Timothy Mitchell, 1991: 104-108).

Nicholas Thomas (1994) also examined the objects of "racial science and anthropological knowledge" in his study on colonial Fiji under British rule. The indigenous culture and traditional communal system were investigated, categorized and preserved. This knowledge about native tribes enabled the

British administrators to intervene in Fijian living and control the population more easily. The invisible or inaccessible character of the villages had to be inspected and visualized. Thomas called such a strategy of visualization the technology of government, quoting Foucault's conception of governmentality (Nicholas Thomas, 1994: 105-142). Construction of the Other by collecting ethnographic knowledge with scientific methods and systems, therefore, was a mechanism that was used to define the population to be governed and control it.

The first ethnographic motion picture, shot by the anthropologist, Félix Regnault, in 1895, was also part of the colonial technology of government. The French anthropologist filmed Senegalese natives at the Paris Colonial Exhibition "for scientific documentation purposes" (Virgilio Tosi, 2005: 162). The photographic, as well as the cinematic, gaze enabled the shooter to gain power over the objects of the film, and the representations were used to classify different races (Sturken & Cartwright, 2001: 72-108). In such ethnographic representations, the Self/Other opposition was integral, and "the perception that film is a window onto reality" further entrenched these divided categories (Fatimah Tobing Rony, 1996: 12-13). As Claude Lévi-Strauss articulates, Western subjectivity was classified as the "historifiable" Same, and non-Western indigenous people became the "ethnographiable" Primitive Other (Fatimah Tobing Rony, 1996: 6-13).

When it comes to cultural films being imported and produced by USIS-

Korea, however, the confrontation between the Self and the Other becomes rather entangled. Imported documentaries showed American life as an idealized model of civilization, but there is little probability that Koreans fully identified with the Americans in these films. Representations of idealized American urban life were rather a means of entertainment, namely, to see the exotic Other. In fact, America and its allied countries were represented by Japanese propaganda agencies as the “demonic Other” that was confronting the “pure Self” of the Japanese Empire during the Pacific War (John W. Dower, 1986: 201-261). Since the U.S. Army had landed on the peninsula as a liberator, this extreme opposition of the Self to the Other concerning America eroded. The removal of the embargo on Hollywood films promoted alternative views of America and carried out the “heavy scent of Americanism” (Yecies & Shim, 2011: 141-167). Nevertheless, a certain sense of spiritual superiority over Western civilization sometimes appeared as criticism about materialism and decadence.

At the same time, locally made cultural films depicted South Koreans who had constructed their lives and rehabilitated themselves from social and personal damages. Despite the aim being to facilitate self-recognition of Korean audiences, these films also presented a complexity in identification since the subjectivity was organized by a foreign agency, USIS. In other words, the idealized Korean Self in those films was invented and captured through the gaze of the Other. The cinematic gaze into the represented Self in those films was

made possible by the Other's camera and projector. Thus, it is highly probable that the reception of those films was a process of intense negotiation to define the Self and the Other.

Flaherty vs. Grierson: Negotiation to Define the Self-Identity of Filmmakers

In the case of Korean filmmakers who were affiliated with American public information agencies, this negotiation appears more clearly. They were hired by U.S. agencies and served as messengers of the Free World screen, but at the same time, they recognized themselves as builders of their nation. Sometimes they also regarded themselves as artists who did not merely deliver the rhetoric of their hirers, but also expressed their own artistic sensibility. These contested self-identities led these filmmakers to adopt a compromising position, which I call cultural film auteurism.

Long Journey, a UN film directed by Theodore Conant, and with Yi Hyŏng-p'yo (Lee Hyung-pyo) as Assistant Producer, during and after the Korean War, starts with a close-up shot showing a Korean farmer's face (see Figure 2).



Figure 2. Opening of *Long Journey*

This film's entire narrative is driven by a voiceover narration, while real-time recording sounds and raw images depict the actualities of wartime refuge. It faced several complications regarding direction, and finally, its sponsor, the UN Korean Reconstruction Agency (hereinafter UNKRA) decided not to release it. It was originally titled *Ko-Chip*, but the work came to a standstill after a conflict between the Director, Alfred Wagg, the Cinematographer, Richard Bagley, and UNKRA officials. Conant, who originally was the sound specialist for this film, thus took on the role of reliever, but still came to a similar conclusion. The aspects of the conflict surrounding this film show obviously a definite difference between the point of view of the filmmakers and the sponsoring agency in the perception of cultural films.

In an internal letter from UNKRA in March of 1954, the Public Information Officer, Norman Michie, communicated the shared opinion of the UN Department of Public Information to the addressee, stating that *Long Journey* was unsuitable for lectures and not "useful as a piece of film delineating the Agency's activities" (Norman Michie, Mar. 2, 1954). Considering that Conant learned film from the documentary filmmaker, Robert Flaherty, and joined Flaherty's 1948 film, *The Louisiana Story*, as an assistant staff member (Hee-sook Shin, 2012), the UN officials' critical understanding of his film was reminiscent of the famous contrast between Flaherty and Grierson.

As an explorer and geologist, Robert Flaherty inserted the lifestyle of the

Eskimos into his film, *Nanook of the North* (1922), and it became the early touchstone of documentary and ethnographic cinema (Fatimah Tobing Rony, 1996: 99). John Grierson, who started his engagement with cinema as a writer on public relations and propaganda issues and later became the leader of the British documentary movement, at first showed an amicable attitude toward Flaherty's filmmaking. Grierson was the writer who first founded the theory of documentary, and Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* was an important model of this new medium for him (Keith Beattie, 2004: 26-43). However, an irreconcilable difference between the two was their basic attitude toward documentary and art. Grierson later became an unrelenting judge of Flaherty's filmmaking style.

Flaherty's conception of documentary cinema was "built upon the idea of revelatory knowledge in which subjective transformation is inseparable from, and the precondition for, knowing the world differently" (Anna Grimshaw, 2001: 44-56). His concern was with "showing the world as he saw it, which is one way of understanding the artist's job" (Ellis and McLane, 2007: 70). In contrast, Grierson thought that the documentary was "a tool of citizenship," that is, "a cinematic social pedagogy addressed by an individual or corporate author to the citizen of the modern industrial nation-state" (Keith Beattie, 2004: 28; Jonathan Kahana, 2008: 7). He produced public educational documentaries for the Empire Marketing Board, the British government's largest publicity organization, and later the General Post Office (Keith Beattie, 2004: 26-28).

His contribution to social reforms using the tool of documentary, likewise, mainly depended on governmental bodies. Grierson once said, “I look on cinema as a pulpit, and use it as a propagandist” (Ellis and McLane, 2007: 71). Therefore, Flaherty’s romanticism was like shapeless mass for Grierson who believed that a documentary should be an indicative form rather than a descriptive one.

When Theodore Conant, who had learned filmmaking from Flaherty, was met with considerable opposition by UN officials, who wanted the film to deliver their specific message clearly, it was second presentation to show the contrast between his mentor and Grierson. Richard Bagley, another UNKRA-affiliated



Figure 3. *On the Bowery* (1956)

filmmaker who had left the *Ko-Chip* project because of the different viewpoint on documentary from the officials, then returned to America and joined a team to film *On the Bowery* (1956) (see Figure 3). This film became one of the earliest models for direct cinema (Erik Barnouw, 1993: 231-252). Flaherty’s pursuit of verisimilitude—such as the use of long takes and his attempts to preserve nondirected actualities— was recalled by documentarists, including Jean Rouch and cinema vérité, as much as it was by Ricky Leacock and direct

cinema (Ellis & McLane, 2007: 218).²

As for those Korean filmmakers who were involved in cultural film making the situation was very different. The Flaherty-type humanist impulse, which did “seek to recreate through his work something akin to the aura of the original work of art” (Anna Grimshaw, 2001: 44-56), could not be realized in either government-sponsored cultural film productions or the then-nonexistent independent documentary scene. On the contrary, in an “overdeveloped” postcolonial state like South Korea, the Griersonian “top-down perspective of the world” was the most practicable and persuasive position (Hamza Alavi, 1972; Anna Grimshaw, 2001: 57-68). Grierson entertained a “corporatist conception of society, in which individual and social phenomena were perceived as being integrated, at different levels, within the social totality.” This belief led him to see individualism as “a potentially negative force, because it expressed the opposite principle to that of integration” (Ian Aiken, 1990: 184-195). This perspective seems to have been the same attitude as that of the public information agencies in South Korea, including USIS-Korea, for making cultural films.

² Tom Gunning conceptualizes the aesthetic of actuality which is “a descriptive mode based on the act of looking and display” as “the ‘view’ aesthetic,” contrasting with the aesthetic of documentary, “a more rhetorical and discursive form [of] inserting images into a broader argument or dramatic form” (Tom Gunning, 1997). While Flaherty was regarded as a pioneer of documentary by Grierson, his strong attachment to actualities might have aroused Grierson’s antipathy, in terms of the aesthetic of documentary.

The idea of cultural film, nevertheless, did allow room for negotiation. Its elements of descriptive ethnographic flow, which the Griersonian documentarists would avoid if there were no compelling theses, sometimes corresponded with an artistic and humanistic impulse. The “expert system” also sometimes contributed to the “disembeddiment” of cultural film making from a “local context of interaction” (Anthony Giddens, 1990: 21). The USIS-Korea film production’s advanced technology education of its employees, the UNKRA Film Unit’s training project of Korean filmmakers, and the education project of the International Cooperation Administration (hereinafter ICA) for Korean film specialists helped to foster the expert system. The expertise imported through this system stimulated filmmakers’ social relations to be disembedded from the “immediacies” of local context (Anthony Giddens, 1990: 28). Certain liberal, or even auteurist, impulses observed in the locally produced cultural films are all the more explainable when considering these social practices.

Cultural Film In the Context of U.S. Psychological Warfare

USAMGIK and USIS-Korea film propaganda activities were a part of a broader strategy toward the globe established by the United States. Multiple simultaneous propaganda activities were conducted in Europe, Latin America, the Near East, and the Far East after WWII (S. J. Niefeld, 1953). Psychological

warfare activities toward former enemy countries and occupied areas, including Germany, Austria, Italy, Japan, and Korea, were supervised with particular concern by the U.S. Government (Cora Sol Goldstein, 2009: 1-13; Simona Tobia, 2008: 15-21; Kyoko Hirano, 1992: 13-46). While filmmaking and screening for propaganda purposes or ‘public information’ were an invention and result of two world wars, led by the United Kingdom, the Third Reich, the Soviet Union and the United States (Nicholas Reeves, 1999: 1-13), the new order after WWII requested that this accumulated experience now to be absorbed into Cold War bloc-building.

The categorial ambiguity of cultural film in Korea at first was a product of colonialism and imperialistic mobilization under the Japanese Government-General. Then, this category became rather entangled in the ongoing context of the Cold War and the Korean War. Therefore, it is significant to acknowledge the negotiations that occurred in the sphere of cultural film production and consumption in South Korea as a social phenomenon during the postcolonial state formation of Cold War Asia.

3. Object of the Study: The *Negotiated* Korean Self

This thesis aims to trace the negotiation that occurred to define the Korean Self,

both in constructing (re)presentations and fostering experts under U.S. supervision.

Under the ambivalent categorization of the cultural film, the two movements produced two different lines of that negotiation process: A line which was drawn between the internalization of the Otherized Self and the appropriation of the Western oriented Self/Other opposition and a second line drawn between the roles of integrated civil servants and self-conscious artists. Both processes were closely linked with each other, but not always in causal relationships.

As Siegfried Kracauer points out, “the photographic media make it much easier for us to incorporate the transient phenomena of the outer world, thereby redeeming them from oblivion. Something of this kind will also have to be said of history” (Kracauer, 1969: 192). Therefore, any examination of how those mandated screened cultural films (re)presented “Koreanness” and fostered Korean film experts would be expedient to use to trace the “ur-images” of the collective dream surrounding this perception of the Self (Buck-Moss, 1989, 115-120).

It is highly probable that the traces of the collective unconsciousness, which remained oblivious between the mythology of industrial modernization and the discourses that criticized political mobilization during the Cold War, lie scattered in the cultural films that were mandatorily shown in the Korean

Peninsula for nearly three decades. Those traces will be suitable materials for writing a history that is not a simple continuum of “homogeneous, empty time” but rather “the subject of a construction” (Benjamin, 2003: 395).

4. Review of Precedent Literature

For examination of America’s nation-building project in South Korea in the cultural context, there have been two major precedent studies conducted.

Gregg Brazinsky (2007), in his monograph on South Korea from the post-revisionist perspective, argues that nation-building in South Korea could be achieved by economic development and political democratization. While this argument is rather a looser definition of nation-building than the *kŏn’guk* [national foundation] discourses, which define nation-building as a preparation procedure for establishing a government at a single moment in time, it does set up an objective to attain in both economics and politics. For Brazinsky, nation-building has been “a ubiquitous component of American foreign policy during the last century” (Gregg Brazinsky, 2007: 1). That is to say, nation building in South Korea is regarded as something that was achievable through policy implementation. From a post-revisionist point of view, he describes the U.S. aid and institutions as crucial to nation-building in South Korea. His answer to

why South Korea could be exceptionally successful in achieving “a wealthy democracy” among many aid-receiving countries is the existence of “Korean agency” (Gregg Brazinsky, 2007: 1-11; 256-258). There have been criticisms of this point of view, including comments that Brazinsky’s work does not show enough concrete illustrations of South Korean agency (Pak T’ae-kyun, 2008; Sang-Yoon Ma, 2008) and that “his conception of civil society is self-consciously liberal and Western” (Brad Simpson, 2008).

In addition to these criticisms, this thesis is skeptical about Brazinsky’s framework used to set up South Koreans as the agency carrying out a U.S.-led modernization and to attribute the distinctive success of modernization to a kind of Koreanness. First, the premise of such a framework makes an immediate connection with the ideas of U.S. officials that nation-building in aid-receiving countries equates to U.S.-led modernization, and the U.S. is a model of that fixed goal to attain. This view corresponds to the common tendency of post-revisionist historians, including John L. Gaddis, who attribute the victory of the Cold War to American-style democracy and regard American values as ‘nomality’ (Pak In-suk, 2003). Second, both the American value, which has been the fixed goal, and Koreanness, which enabled such distinctive success in South Korea, are based on the singular imagination of certain national characters, or one that could be constituted as singular. In contrast to this spurious belief, this study purposes to examine a subjectivity that could not be homogeneously constituted, since it was the product of permanent negotiation to form a Korean

national identity under the ongoing operations of U.S. aid and U.S. public information activities.

The other notable study on the nation-building project in South Korea at the cultural level is Hō Ůn's monograph (2008(a)) on U.S. public information agency cultural activities in South Korea. His book shares the basic criticism of the post-revisionist perspective with this study. While Hō sometimes counterposes U.S. public information activities with Korean nationalism, he does not define Korean nationalism as a fixed category, but rather distinguishes it as three different categories: "a node between the core and the frontier," an "attempt to change from the frontier status," and "flight from the core-and-frontier relations" (Hō Ůn, 2008(a): 24-26). This fluid categorization corresponds to the constructivist approach. However, Chang Se-chin (2009) points out that the binarity of sender-receiver still remains within Hō's framework of 'core-and-frontier relations' regardless of his attempt at appropriation of the meaning. This limitation cannot be overcome since Hō's research allots a considerable proportion of the monograph to an institutional historical analysis that focuses on the 'intention' of the U.S.

His assumption that Korean nationalism not only bowed to American hegemony, but also sought flight from it is reasonable; however, his approach to the matter of (re)presentation in the course of citizen education is rather schematic. For instance, his analysis of USIS-Korea's films is premised on the

assumption that the U.S. agencies' political 'intention' was reflected in the films. This approach leaves room for a failure to notice that the films could go wrong by generating representations coincident with such intention and could create several different possible interpretations. When there was a failure in forming a singular cultural identity— Korean nationalism during the Cold War —in cinematic representation, the dimension must be examined through an analysis of the film texts themselves. Such a difference in the premises of Hö's and this study seems to originate from different stances on representation,³ as well as a different understanding of cultural identity construction (Stuart Hall, 1990).

This study pays close attention to the possibility that the creation of visual image in works can have mutually independent plans and outcomes and considers the intention of U.S. public information agencies as one of several factors that help viewers interpret film texts.

5. Theoretical Methods and Concepts

(Re)Presentation and *Weldbild*

'Representation,' according to Bergson, is a "diminution" of the image (Henri

³ Stuart Hall distinguishes three stances on representation: reflective approach, intentional approach, and constructionist approach (Stuart Hall, 1997).

Bergson, 1994: 37). It is “being something less than the image,” thus involving “a selection from the image rather than the whole image” (Anthony Uhlmann, 2006, 11-12). That is, representation subtracts something from the image to confine itself to the meaning that the representation is supposed to deliver. On the contrary, “there is no process of subtraction involved” in ‘presentation’ (Anthony Uhlmann, 2006, 12). Deleuze defines “the transcendental form of time” in cinema as “the direct time-image” (Gilles Deleuze, 1989: 274) and a presentation as the process that “the time-image requires the movement of the viewer into the image in order that that viewer might directly experience seeing and the time involved in seeing” (Anthony Uhlmann, 2006, 12). Therefore, presentation involves the direct experience that is formed when the viewer sees the image. These two elements of the image experience are found in cinematic reception, as Deleuze connotes both the movement-image and the time-image.

While propaganda films have been understood as a loyal medium for ‘representing’ the creator’s intention, it is important to acknowledge that the cinematic experience of these films might produce a certain directness that is formed during the process of seeing. Such directness implies that the image in and of itself produces meanings and these are not subtracted so as to elicit a specific intention behind the image. The term ‘(re)presentation’ is thus used in this study to indicate that the dual process of ‘presentation’ and ‘representation’ might both happen in the reception of propaganda films.

Weltbild [world-picture] is the concept of Martin Heidegger (2002), which also resonates with the idea of (re)presentation. According to Heidegger, the modern subject does not encounter the picture of the world, but rather “the world itself constituted as a picture” (W.J.T Mitchell, 2007). Timothy Mitchell used the phrase “the age of the world-as-exhibition,” echoing Heidegger’s original phrase, to explain the situation of the 19th century Middle East where people encountered the world as exhibition (Timothy Mitchell, 1991: 12-13). In a like sense, the situation of rural Korean villages where people faced film images of U.S. public information agencies at mobile film screenings can be explained using the concept of *Weltbild*.

These theories and concepts are taken and used to approach the spectatorship of film propaganda in the specific context of postcolonial state formation and the Cold War. Tom Gunning’s theory of early cinema (1995; 2006) and Kim Hong-chung’s theorization of landscape (2005), based on the work of Walter Benjamin, are also referred to in this theorization.

Visualization As a Technology of Government, and Its Unraveling

In giving an account of sovereign power, Foucault states that the *gaze* of a power presented its ‘subjects’ as ‘objects’ for its *observation* during the ‘parade’ (Michel Foucault, 1978). Sovereign power was the “power of the gaze, power

of the spectacle, and disciplinary power,” and it was the “power of modernity” wielded over “every subject” (Chu Ũn-u, 2003: 346). To wield such power of the gaze, every invisible subject had to be visualized and observed. Urban street management, including cleaning, pavement and lighting installation, was such a way of visualization. It is important, on the other hand, to bear in mind that ‘visualization’ was not only about the actual visualized subjects, but also the matter of the visibility of the visualizing power (Chu Ũn-u, 2003: 346-350).

Nicholas Thomas (1994) applies this theory of visualization on the government strategy of the British Fiji. British administrators in colonial Fiji collected the information of indigenous residents and classified their peculiarities into tribal categories. Thomas defines such projects as the technology of government in the colonial state, which thus visualized the invisible realm of the colonized (Michel Foucault, 1991; Nicholas Thomas, 1994: 105-142). As the sovereign power ostentatiously showed its visualizing power to its subjects, a colonial power exhibited its scientific knowledge through the “magic of spectacles.” In British India, collected ethnographic knowledge of the colonized was classified in scientific order so as to stage exhibitions (Gyan Prakash, 1999: 17-48).

In Barry’s understanding of social theorists of surveillance (1995), Giddens argues that “visualizing and acting on distant objects and events” is an effective means created by “the development of modern science.” Hannah

characterizes the structures of both colonial and “benign” governmentality based on “the rule from a distance,” which was/is made possible by both the modern scientific knowledge and technology (Matthew Hannah, 2000:113-159).

However, Barry expresses skepticism about the effectiveness of such “scientific” methods. “The space of non-human observation” is unexpectedly “a space of fragile networks” and “the translation of visual representations from one place to another often proves impossible.” What he pays attention to is “individuals” in such scientific expert systems (Andrew Barry, 1995). Prakash also emphasizes “the unraveling of the narrative which posits that Western knowledge, fully formed in the center, was tropicalized as it was diffused in the periphery” (Gyan Prakash, 1999: 47). These insights form a significant theoretical background for an examination of the *negotiated* Self in this study.

Public Information and Propaganda

Because of categorial ambiguity, the term ‘cultural film’ is frequently used for the same object that ‘propaganda film’ or ‘public information film’ designates in this thesis. Cultural film, however, can be differentiated in terms of the local context of postcolonial South Korea, while the other two terms are used in their widest sense. The concept of propaganda basically follows the comprehensive definition offered by Jacques Ellul:

Propaganda is a set of methods employed by an organized group that wants to bring about the active or passive participation in its actions of a mass of individuals, psychologically unified through psychological manipulation and incorporated in an organization (Jacques Ellul, 1973: 61).

Following this definition, both ‘public information’ and ‘propaganda’ are used to designate intrinsically the same object in this thesis.

As ‘propaganda’ became gradually perceived as “an epithet of contempt and hate” by the public during wartime, propaganda agencies changed the poorly viewed term to ‘public information’ or ‘public relations’ which gave more of a neutral and defensive impression than did propaganda (Harold Lasswell, 1928). In this study, both terms are used without any conceptional separation. They are distinguished rather inclinationally: When designating the activities of agencies and administrations, ‘public information’ is used more often; when indicating an effect on the public, ‘propaganda’ is used more often.

6. Thesis Organization

This thesis offers three chronologically arranged parts that cover U.S. film propaganda activities. Each part has its related chapters that discuss (1) the historical conditions of the agencies; (2) the activities and works of the affiliated film makers; (3) the (re)presentations of their films; and both (4) reception and

spectatorship.

Part I spans the time from the Liberation to the eve of the Korean War and examines the changing status of U.S. propaganda agencies from a state apparatus to a diplomatic body. It examines how the U.S. Army took over the colonial system of film propaganda; how colonial Korean film makers were absorbed into U.S. film activities; and how a new spectatorship was formed from the intensified negotiation during mobile film exhibitions.

Part II explores the period from the Korean War to the closure of the aid program by UNKRA in 1958. It investigates the newly established USIS-Korea film studio, offering a detailed analysis of films that showed how the American image intruded into the South Korean perception of the Self during the reconstruction period. Since U.S. public information agencies were training camps that offered an abundance of material and technological supplies for filmmakers, it is important to understand the identity confusion that occurred for USIS- and UNKRA-affiliated filmmakers.

Part III covers the period from the collapse of the Yi Süng-man (Rhee Syngman) Government to the beginning of Pak Chǒng-hŭi's *Yusin* Regime. It pays close attention to the declining status of USIS-Korea film production, which now had to compete with the mature Korean film industry and the ROK governmental agencies. A sign of anxiety appears here in the tendency of auteurist cultural film making, and the crisis comes into full focus with closure

of the core newsreel series in 1967. The changing conditions of the Cold War, including the Nixon Doctrine and Pak's authoritarian path of self-reliance, were important variables during this decade.

Part I. The Undifferentiated Self Facing A Bullet Screen

Part I discusses the period from the Liberation of Korea in 1945 to the eve of the Korean War in 1950. During this period, the Korean Self was underdiscovered and undifferentiated. Such an unformed identity soon became a place of severe competition. As seen in Chapter 1, the USAMGIK was not able to settle its propaganda strategy toward Korea clearly until the actual plan to establish a separate government in the Southern part was carried out following the deadlock of the Second U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint Commission in the autumn of 1947. Korean filmmakers organized autonomous groups, and many of them supported the position to form a unified government. However, their voices were foreclosed and finally separated from the ideal Korean Self as represented in American cultural films.

The USAMGIK's public information agency, as stated in Chapter 2, did not cover this stance in its newsreels and imported American documentaries to provide education on the American way of life and democracy.

Chapter 3 defines the spectatorship during this period as that of 'bullet screens'; that is, the films were deployed in front of Korean audiences as if they were bullets fired during military operations. Since late 1947, the U.S. Army's public information agency had set up provincial information centers and run mobile film screening units that toured the rural areas nationwide. Such

activities were conducted to promote the general election of the separate government in May 1948, which was strongly opposed by leftists and pro-unified-government activists, and also to educate Koreans on the principles of an elective democracy. The audiences thus were engaged in intense negotiations to find their positions in the middle of a fierce dispute that would decide their identity and future.

Chapter 1. The Unsighted Shooter: History of the U.S. Public

Information Agencies, 1945-1950

In a secret report from the Headquarters of the U.S. XXIV Corps dated April 7, 1948, there is an interesting description of a news article published on March 31 in *Chung-ang Sinmun*, a Korean newspaper of that time:

“[...] It should be noted that the Chung Ang Shinmun was formerly a Leftist mouth-piece and closely affiliated with the People’s Party. It ceased publication about a year and a half ago but reappeared six months later in its present Rightist form.

This news article concentrates its blast on two principal points: one is that American films contain substance objectionable to Korean audiences, the other is that the Central Motion Picture Exchange is flooding the country with American motion pictures at the expense of local production.

[...] There is reason to believe that the news article in question was written under pressure from some Korean film producers. From the beginning of the Occupation until six months ago, forty-eight feature films were produced locally. Since that time only two films have been produced, the reason for this reduction being that Korean producers are now denied use of Government equipment which, in the past, they were permitted to utilize. The result is that some inexperienced operators have been deprived of their source of the quick profits obtained from producing amateurish films. [...]” (Joseph E. Jacobs, Apr. 7, 1948)

This article indicates several facts as of April, 1948. First, many Korean film producers could not produce films without the support of equipment from the government, while a few others could. Second, with the lack of locally produced films, American films dominated the market, and they sometimes received criticism from Koreans about their contents. Third, the leftists,

including film producers, had lost control of the channels to propagate their opinions, and were not regarded as the power behind this article.



Figure 4. *Chung-ang Sinmun*, March 31, 1948

The report was written about a month before the general election for a separate government in South Korea. Considering that Korean filmmakers had established a united organization,

Chosŏn yŏnghwa tongmaeng [Chosŏn Film Alliance] (hereinafter CFA), as early as December 15, 1945, and it was generally regarded as a pro-leftist group, this article shows that there has been a considerable change in the Korean film industry, especially in the conditions for filmmakers and producers.

Several preceding studies have shown that this change was mainly due to the repression by the USAMGIK and Hollywood’s monopoly over the local film market (Yi Hyo-in, 1989; Cho Hye-jŏng, 1997; Han Sang-ŏn, 2007(a)). However, little research on the opposite side of the repressed has ever been investigated. The public information agencies of USAMGIK and USAFIK, which were policy decision-makers as well as core performers of those policies, and their film-related activities should be fully examined and historicized. By

doing so, it can be clearer what kind of system and value made the autonomous film movement shrink and substituted its place.

To trace this change, this chapter investigates the whole flow of film activities conducted by U.S. public information agencies in South Korea. Film was regarded as an element of public information, and most film-related activities were left in the charge of those agencies.

1. The Colonial Legacy, August, 1945 – April, 1946

The United States started to conceive its plans for information and propaganda activities for the Korean Peninsula before the close of World War II. A propaganda plan sent to Claude Albert Buss, the Director of the San Francisco Office of the U.S. Office of War Information (hereinafter OWI), by Edwin Wade Koons in 1944, shortly before the surrender of Japan, indicates the background of later activities undertaken by the USAMGIK after the Liberation (E.W. Koons, 1944). Koons was a missionary who also worked for the OWI as an informant. He had been forcibly repatriated in May, 1942, after being arrested on a charge of espionage by the Japanese Government-General (Byung-Joon Jung, 2005: 412-413). In the plan he wrote based on his experience in Korea, Koons emphasized the significance of information to prevent “Korea’s possible fall into Russia’s lap,” expressing his will to apply for a post with the future American

Information Center in Korea. He argued that the launching of an information center in Korea was the most urgent task for “the future peace of the Far East” (E.W. Koons, 1944).

Although Koons’ plan was not adopted as offered, the USAMGIK’s Office of Information did aim to perform the functions of providing education and information to Koreans to promote what he had devised and suggested. The Office of Information was set up in the requisitioned information section of the Japanese Government-General, when the U.S. XXIV Corps occupied the Southern Korean Peninsula and established a military administration after the surrender of Japan (Chang Yōng-min, 2001). This agency was then reorganized several times into the Korean Relations and Information Section at first, the Information and Intelligence Section secondly, and the Bureau of Public Information next. It then expanded into the Department of Public Information (hereinafter DPI) on March 26, 1946 (Pak Su-hyōn, 2009).

It is worthy to note as well that Koons was considerably agreeable toward the potential of film propaganda. He noted that “Korea was well supplied with moving-picture theaters in the larger towns and cities, and the people were used to out-door shows with canvas screens and portable machines. As fast as electric power is available, use should be made of films”⁴ (E.W.

⁴ In addition, Koons recommended that documentaries, films on the history of the war, high-quality American films, and newsreels be presented (E.W. Koons, 1944).

Koons, 1944). Therefore, it is highly probable that film then was recognized as an effective means of propaganda in the Korean Peninsula even before the establishment of the USAMGIK. As Koons pointed out, this judgment was attributed to an ample environment for everyday moviegoing in colonial Korea. After the introduction of motion pictures around 1903, theaters equipped with projection facilities had sprung up in every big city in the Korean Peninsula in the early 1900s, and annual movie attendance had increased steadily from 960,000 in 1922 to 5,870,000 in 1932, 11,000,000 in 1937 to 21,000,000 in 1940 (Yu Sŏn-yŏng, 2009). In this environment, American public information authorities knew that film propaganda had the potential to be one of the most useful measures for the new government to publicize their policy.

However, it still took a great deal of time until American films were actually used as a USAMGIK propaganda tool. According to a memorandum to the Army Pictorial Service, the U.S. Department of War sent by Major David B. Tuke, who was affiliated with the Office of Public Information, the USAFIK in October 25 of 1945 could not procure any film prints at that time even though the USAMGIK officials strongly wanted to screen American public information films for propaganda purposes (David B. Tuke, 1945). The other record on propaganda activities in South Korea, as reported by an official of the Department of State in November, states that the USAMGIK could not undertake film propaganda activities due to a lack of American films, and screening facilities were also urgently needed ([Anonymous], 1945(a)). While

the USAMGIK had begun preparing to retain American films as early as September and October of 1945 (SCAP, September-October, 1945), it was not until April, 1946, when the Central Motion Picture Exchange (hereinafter CMPE) established its Korean branch, that any actual distribution was made possible (SCAP, April 1946; *Tonga Ilbo*, Apr. 8, 1946: 2). Before then, only one American public information film imported for propaganda purposes is put on the record: *Fury In the Pacific* [*T'aep 'yǒngnyang-ŭi pun 'gyōk*] (1945), released in February, 1946 (*Chung-ang Sinmun*, Feb. 23, 1946: 2). American commercial films were also in short supply even after the lifting of the ban on Hollywood by the Japanese Government-General. When the CMPE Korean branch was activated, fifteen Hollywood features were imported directly by the USAMGIK and three of these were first released in April (*Hanseong Ilbo*, Mar. 31, 1946: 2; *Tonga Ilbo*, Apr. 8, 1946: 2).

This situation became an essential factor for the forming of a close relationship between autonomous groups of Korean filmmakers and the USAMGIK. On August 16, 1945, the day after the surrender of Japan, a fair number of Korean filmmakers smashed down the storage room of the Chosŏn yŏnghwa chusikhoesa [Chosŏn Film Production Co.] (hereinafter CFP), which had been a government-run corporation of the Japanese Government-General for propaganda film making. They then shot scenes of the liberated nation with cameras pulled from that storage (Yi Pyŏng-il, 1977). On August 19, the establishment of the Chosŏn yŏnghwa kŏnsŏl ponbu [Chosŏn National Cinema

Construction Headquarters] (hereinafter CNCCH) followed immediately (Sŏ Kwang-che, 1947: 23-29; Chŏng Chong-hwa, 2007: 86-87). Ironically, the quick choice of Korean filmmakers to organize film groups and activities was also attributable to the forced centralization of production and distribution during colonial rule. The CFP was the product of the compulsory merger and abolition of all existing film production companies in Korea in September of 1942, which had absorbed all filmmakers whether full-time or part-time employees.⁵ Before the Liberation, the CFP had produced ten feature films in total, and the official newsreel series, *Chosŭn Sibŏ [Korean Time Signal]* that contains the news of governmental activities and the war (Yi Yŏng-il, 2004: 194-208). It is obvious that this experience provided a backdrop for the Korean filmmakers' centralization activities including building national-level bodies to prepare for a new country and making newsreel films to nationalize the public audience.⁶

Therefore, the initial film activities of USAMGIK had to be focused on supervising and inducing Korean filmmakers toward the direction of government policy. The newly established military government immediately placed the CFP facilities and equipment under its control, and the Korean filmmakers'

⁵ The distribution of films was also merged into the Chosŏn yŏnghwa paegŭp chusikhoesa [Chosŏn Film Distributor Co.] (Yong-il Lee, 2004: 194-208).

⁶ On the other hand, the filmmakers' immediate group activities also can be explained as the emergence of modern 'civil society' in Korea. According to Chang Kyung-Sup, "Japan's harsh colonial suppression and capitalist exploitation [...] served as a gestation for Korea's modern civil society with a strong socialist orientation" (Kyung-Sup Chang, 2011: 66).

newsreels could not be released until October 21, after the government approved it through a censorship process, giving it the title *Haebang nyusŭ* [*Liberation News*] (Han Sang-ŏn, 2007(b)). This newsreel series produced by the CNCCH and its follow-up CFA, was placed in a unique position as press before the military government launched its own series.⁷ It was made possible due to a foundation that included skilled manpower.

Then around the end of 1945, government began to produce films by hiring Korean filmmakers. For instance, the cultural film, *Chayu ūi chong ūl ullyŏra* [*Ring the Liberty Bell*], was cranked up in December of 1945, with shooting by Han Ch'ang-sŏp and editing by Pang Han-chun under the direction of Captain Mason of the USAMGIK (*Chung-ang Sinmun*, Dec. 11, 1945: 2). The government also produced its official newreel series *Sibo* [*Korean Newsreel*] twice a month on average beginning in January 1946 and publicized its own activities and current affairs (*Yesul t'ongsin*, Dec. 3, 1946: 1). At that time, although the Motion Picture Section of the USAMGIK was equipped with a large amount of raw film and production equipment, including a processing laboratory, they still had to rely on the available pool of skilled Korean filmmakers for the actual production tasks (KRECA, 2003: 290-302). The USAMGIK's decision to expand the employment of Korean officials in the

⁷ This series was with such a strong left-wing coloring that it was at last disapproved to be released on around August, 1946 (*Chayu Sinmun*, September 1, 1946).

administration through Ordinance No.64 on March 29, 1946 (Chŏng Yong-uk, 1996), was also significant in building a relationship with Korean filmmakers. The Chief of the Motion Picture Section was changed from Lt. Dearden to the Korean film Director Pang Han-chun on March 26, with a reorganization of the Bureau of Public Information into the DPI (*Sŏul Sinmun*, Mar. 13, 1946: 2; *Chungoe Ilbo*, Apr. 19, 1946: 4). Pang acted as a bridge between the Korean filmmakers and the Motion Picture Section, introducing the cameraman, Yu Jang-san, to Dearden, and hiring Kim Yŏng-hŭi as a film editor for the DPI (KRECA, 2003: 290-302; KOFA, 2007: 9-62).

It can be concluded then that the initial propaganda policy of the USAMGIK was founded on a condition created by Japanese colonial rule and its sudden collapse, so as to seek realizable measures. Despite the quick judgment of the U.S. propaganda authorities, experienced manpower and the content necessary for film activities were not procured immediately. This problem was resolved by reorganizing the Korean filmmakers in and out of the Motion Picture Section and absorbing their colonial experiences for further efforts.

2. Establishment of a System, April, 1946 – December, 1946

The USAMGIK's film industry refurbishing project around April of 1946, turned the relationship into a distinctly different entity. Before this project, on

February 7, the government had promoted a censorship policy through the Regulations for the Control of Theater and Show Business under the control of the Department of Police in Kyōnggi Province. However they were obliged to abolish this regulation since Korean cultural and artistic circles strongly criticized it, including a protest visit to the Department of Police by the Chosŏn Munhwa Tanch'e Ch'ongyŏnmaeng [Chosŏn National Federation of Cultural Organizations] (hereinafter CNFCO) (*Chung-ang Sinmun*, Mar. 8, 1946: 2; *Sŏul Sinmun*, Mar. 9, 1946: 2). USAMGIK Ordinance No.68, proclaimed on April 12, 1946 was the legislation for such censorship. In accordance with the Ordinance, every film in Korea had to be censored by the DPI before its release (*Tonga Ilbo*, Apr. 19, 1946: 2). Further "all duties, functions, records and property concerned with the supervision and control of production, distribution and exhibition of motion pictures" were transferred from the Department of Police to the DPI (SCAP, May, 1946).

This radical change provoked a backlash from the moving picture world in Korea. Since the ordinance included stocked motion picture items among the objects of censorship, nine cinemas in downtown Seoul had to be closed until they could obtain available features early in May (*Sŏul Sinmun*, May 5, 1946: 2). The clause that obliged distributors to translate the full text of scripts for submission to the censors was a barrier hindering production of Korean films. Thus, criticism followed, namely, this action was essentially no different than the censorship of the Japanese Government-General because both functioned and

were obstructive to the development of Korean cinema and democracy. Fifteen organizations, including the CNFCO, thus presented a petition to Major General Archer L. Lerch, the Military Governor (*Chayu Sinmun*, May 5, 1946: 3).

Censorship was not the only problem that created disagreement between the military government and Korean filmmakers. On March 22, 1946, when the Kyōnggi Province Department of the Enemy Property Administration clarified its position to loan ten former Japanese-owned cinemas for open bidding, both filmmakers and cultural organizations reacted against the policy for fear that certain profiteers irrelevant to theater arts would enter a bidding war (*Sōul Sinmun*, Mar. 22, 1946: 2; *Chayu Sinmun*, Mar. 27, 1946: 2). Eight cultural organizations submitted a joint petition to hire administrators of the cinemas based on a qualification examination (*Sōul Sinmun*, Mar. 30, 1946: 2). However, the government's response was both uncooperative and lukewarm (Cho Hye-jōng, 1998).

The CMPE activities from April onward were a lot to worry about for filmmakers. The CMPE exclusively distributed films from Hollywood's nine major companies to Korea (*Sōul Sinmun*, Apr. 11, 1946: 2), but its demand for high profit sharing ratio against theater owners became an object of public concern. While the distributors had taken 35-40 per cent of the total income from screening before the Liberation, the ratio the CMPE now demanded was over 50 per cent (Cho Hye-jōng, 1998; *Chungoe Ilbo*, Apr. 19, 1946: 4). For

this reason, the CMPE's exclusive distribution of Hollywood films became a cause of concern, as it could constrict any autonomous development of the Korean film art and industry by "letting sprouts of Korean cinema wither under the large and tenacious trees of Hollywood" (*Chungoe Ilbo*, Apr. 19, 1946: 4).

Despite all this criticism, the CMPE continued to run to maximize profits of American film companies and did not change its high-handed attitude (Cho Hye-jöng, 1998). DPI Chief Pang stated that his department had no connection with the CMPE, and it only carried out its duties when there were orders to censor (*Chungoe Ilbo*, Apr. 19, 1946: 4). However, seen from the monthly activities report that contained records of attendance and "ticket sales at the United States made motion pictures," Pang's assertion is far-fetched (SCAP, Aug., 1946; Sep., 1946).

The changed surroundings of distribution and theater management became a new condition for the relationship between the USAMGIK and Korean filmmakers. By exercising legal and institutional command on the entire film entertainment industry, the military government dominated the film field and showed off its state power to decide the material basis of filmmakers.

In the meantime, the DPI's propaganda products were finely crafted during the period. According to the monthly reports of U.S. Army Military Government Activities from April to June, 1946, cultural films were produced as

actively as fortnight newsreels.⁸ Table 1 gives the list of total twenty-one films produced by the DPI in 1946. In comparison to the records of the 1948 report, “History of the Department of Public Information: An Outline,” which states that the DPI made a total 26 newreels and 7 documentaries from 1945 to 1946 (SCAP, 1948), only one documentary is shown made in 1945: *Chayu ūi chong ūl ullyōra* [*Ring the Liberty Bell*]. Another 6 documentaries seem to have been made after March, 1946, when the Bureau was reorganized into the DPI (SCAP, Apr.-Sep., 1946). This information tells us that the film production of the military government stabilized along with the DPI system.

Table 1. Films Produced by the DPI during 1946 (*Yesul t'ongsin*, Dec. 3, 1946: 1)

Production	Type	Title	Length
Korea	Newsreel	<i>Sibo</i> [<i>Korean Newsreel</i>] Nos. 1-15	
	Cultural Film	<i>Kwihwan tongp'o</i> [<i>Returned Compatriots</i>]	2 reels
		<i>Paegŭi ch'ōnsa</i> [<i>Korean White Angel</i>]	2 reels
		<i>Kigye sidae</i> [<i>Machine Age</i>]	
		<i>Chingmul kongōp</i> [<i>Textile Industry</i>]	1 reel, in progress
		<i>Hoyōlcha</i> [<i>Cholera</i>]	2 reels
		<i>Chosŏn ollimp'ik</i> [<i>Korean Olympic Games</i>]	2 reels
USA	Korean Adaptation	<i>Two Years Before the Mast</i>	
		<i>Lingk'ōn chōn</i> [<i>Lincoln Story</i>]	

⁸ In April, a documentary about the activities of the National Police Academy was completed, and another one on public health issues, including DDT manufacturing and the work of the National Chemical Laboratory, was cranked in (SCAP, Apr., 1946). Films on Korean industrial activities in May, various agricultural, sericultural and horticultural and forestry experimental establishments in June, and cholera control practices in infected areas in September followed (SCAP, May-Jun., 1946; Sep., 1946).

A similar move was made in distribution at the same time (see Table 2). After May, 1946, the Mobile Education Unit was organized to travel around rural areas and show American public information films, including *Fury In the Pacific*, *Freedom of Education*, and *The Battle of Iwo Jima*, with Korean subtitles (SCAP, May, 1946). The government also started to run joint programs' combining public information activities with visual education, public health, and adult education. Film screening was a large part of these joint activities.⁹

In this way, the military government's film distribution activities were able to expand their geographic scope through a mobile screening system and also expand their psychological scope as a propagator of ideas, by combining their efforts with professional and non-professional educational programs designed for certain vocational and generational groups.

⁹ As part of the public health program, three U.S. Army training films — *Control of Flies and Mosquitoes*, *Disinfection of Surgeries in Hospitals*, and *Surgical Dressings* — were shown to 3,400 students, medical doctors, nurses, midwives, and food merchants in Suwon on June 10 and 11, 1946. A lecture on nursing affairs, given by Korean specialists, was included (SCAP, Jun., 1946). The public exhibition of three short films — *Good Government*, *Improved Farming*, and *Justice* — in Seoul on June 13 and 14 was the first program for the government's visual education activities (SCAP, Jul. 1946). At the Summer School Institute for Home Economics in August, an adult education program, films dealing with "home economics problems and possible solutions" were screened. The same month, a film titled *The Korean White Angel* was shown all over the country "to orient the people as to nursing aims and techniques" (SCAP, Aug., 1946).

Table 2. Films Reported Screened by the USAMGIK from May to August, 1946 (SCAP, May-Aug., 1946)

Month	Title	Production	Details
May	<i>Fury in the Pacific</i>	USA	mobile screening, w/Korean subtitles
	<i>Freedom of Education</i>	USA	mobile screening, w/Korean subtitles
June	<i>Control of Flies and Mosquitoes</i>	USA	vocational educational screening (Suwon)
	<i>Disinfection of Surgeries in Hospitals</i>	USA	vocational educational screening (Suwon)
	<i>Surgical Dressings</i>	USA	vocational educational screening (Suwon)
	<i>The Battle of Iwo Jima</i>	USA	mobile screening
July	<i>Good Government</i>	unknown	visual educational screening (Seoul)
	<i>Improved Farming</i>	unknown	visual educational screening (Seoul)
	<i>Justice</i>	USA	visual educational screening (Seoul)
August	<i>Korean White Angel</i>	Korea	vocational educational screening

3. A New Condition for Differentiation, January, 1947 – August, 1948

The adjournment of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint Commission on May 16, 1946, and its after-effects gave more power to the contention that a separate government had to be established in South Korea. This change involved the USAMGIK and its serious consideration of the South Korean interim government (Chŏng Yong-uk, 1996: 120-129). All the changes also impacted the public information system. On August 24, the USAMGIK held a briefing session on Ordinance No. 118, which proposed the foundation of an Interim Legislative Assembly of South Korea; on December 20, after four months of discussion, that Assembly opened (Chŏng Yong-uk, 1996: 150-164). Consequently, the DPI

turned over management of the Motion Picture Section to Korean officials, and Pang became the person in charge, while Lt. Dearden stepped back and remained a consultant (*Yesul t'ongsin*, Dec. 11, 1946: 1).

A large part of the DPI's role also changed. Pang wrote in a column for the New Year that the DPI would make every effort "to provide the Korean film world with materials and tools above all things" in 1947 (*Yesul t'ongsin*, Jan. 7, 1947: 1). He expressed his intention to change the status of the DPI as a supporter of Korean cinema. However, this change also meant that the Motion Picture Section's function, namely propaganda film production, was reduced to a minimum. Comparison of several records shows that the Motion Picture Section had no actual production achievements after 1947 except for a few newreels (*Yesul t'ongsin*, Dec. 3, 1946: 1; SCAP, 1948; USAFIK, Jun. 20, 1947). According to local news records of the time, primary responsibilities of the Section were to supply necessary materials for commercial film production and release permission in accordance with the ordinances (*Yesul t'ongsin*, Feb. 6, 1947: 1; *Kyŏngnyang Sinmun*, Apr. 24, 1947: 4; *Chung-ang Sinmun*, Jan. 22, 1948: 2). The DPI's right and responsibility for releases was specified in Ordinance No. 115 enacted on October 18, 1946 (*Chayu Sinmun*, Oct. 19, 1946: 2).

A remarkable event during this change process was Lt. Dearden's transfer to the XXIV Army Corps as Photographic Officer of the 502d Signal

Photography Detachment.¹⁰ The Detachment's parent body, the U.S. Signal Corps (SCAP, n.d.(a)), was formed in 1861 to handle the U.S. Army communication and information system (Editors of *Army Times*, 1961: 7-25). The Corps is known as the creator organization which shot the largest number of battle scenes for the U.S. Army during World War II. Film specialists trained by major Hollywood film companies worked for this unit during wartime (Raymond Fielding, 1972: 288), and master director Frank Capra was scouted to make the *Why We Fight* series (Thomas Doherty, 1993: 60-84). The transfer of film manpower from the USAMGIK to the Detachment paved the way for the USAFIK's propaganda activities to absorb the Signal Corps' accumulated capability.

The propaganda plan submitted by James L. Stewart, Director of the Public Relations Office, USAFIK, on April 14, 1947, speaks to the understanding of the U.S. Army at the time. He points out that "With the increasing American interest in Korea, it has become impossible to separate the story of United States activity in Korea that we tell to Koreans and the story that we tell the Americans back home" (James L. Stewart, Apr. 14, 1947). In other words, the course of public information did not merely address the relationship between the governing USAMGIK and governed Koreans anymore. It was

¹⁰ The '502 Unit,' often mentioned among film specialists, their retrospective, and oral records, was actually a photography unit under the US Signal Corps, with the official name of the 502d Signal Photography Detachment (Buerkle, Jun. 30, 1947).

also involved relationship between the U.S. Government and its citizens. Such an understanding led to the conclusion that the public information activities could no longer be assigned to the DPI, USAMGIK, but had to be centralized under the Commanding General of USAFIK (James L. Stewart, Apr. 14, 1947). This process shows not only the background of the change, but also its substance, namely, the changing aim and stature of U.S. propaganda activities in South Korea.

The rationale of holding the military government in check at the juncture of Koreanization, of course, was also a causal factor of the change. While the DPI's Motion Picture Section had been hiring Korean filmmakers from the beginning of its production activities, the U.S. authorities did not exhibit such full confidence in Koreans as to entrust them with full power. Pang had never been given actual authority to censor films even though he was the Chief of the Motion Picture Section before Koreanization. In September, 1946, in response to a controversy over the ban of *Chosŏn Ŭiyongdae* [*Korean Volunteer Corps*], he spoke out to say the Section did not have the right of decision-making on censorship. It only reported content to DPI officials, so that they could decide (*Chungoe Ilbo*, Sep. 4, 1946: 2). In the propaganda plan of April, 1947, Stewart points out that there was a dangerous situation "where the Korean people would not be hearing a straight American message but instead would be hearing about America exactly what a small clique of Korean leaders would like for them to hear" (James L. Stewart, Apr. 14, 1947). In other words, U.S.

Army authorities did not think the DPI of the Korean Interim Government part of the U.S. public information agencies any longer.

Stewart's plan to expand the Public Relations Office of the USAFIK was given its shape as the establishment of the Office of Civil Information (hereinafter OCI) on May 30, 1947 (Chang Yǒng-min, 2001), just before the launching of the South Korean Interim Government on June 3 in that year. The OCI's film production segment was closely connected with the 502d Signal Photography Detachment (KRECA, 2003: 30-34, 301-302). The OCI's duties in terms of film propaganda included the "production of feature-length films," "production of newsreels," "adaptation of United States films to Korean sound," and the "distribution of films to commercial movie houses, OCI information centers, mobile teams, and other outlets." All film related functions were assigned to the Motion Picture Section under the Production Branch. In addition, the "management of provincial information centers" and "supervision of mobile movie teams" were other important duties of the OCI assigned to the Branch Offices and the Mobile Education Train. Beginning in September, 1947, the OCI started to set up its branches in major cities, equipped with projection systems and viewing rooms (SCAP, n.d.(b)).

Stewart, the first director of the OCI, had been a public information specialist in charge of psychological warfare toward China during World War II and sent to Korea in December, 1946, following the decision by the U.S. Army

Civil Affairs Division (hereinafter CAD) to cooperate with the State Department in the program of propaganda toward Korea (Pak Su-hyŏn, 2008). Hence, OCI activities were conducted with the close support of the CAD, while the Motion Picture Section of the CAD was in charge of film propaganda activities. The mission of the CAD Motion Picture Section was “the reorientation, reeducation, and democratization of the peoples in the occupied areas—Germany, Austria, Japan, and Korea—through the use of effective films” (Chief, Screening Unit, Nov. 21, 1947). In accordance with this objective, the Section formulated a plan for distribution of American documentaries, including the selection of 120 films in 11 categories for Korea (see Appendix 1). Films like *Nation’s Capitol*, *New England*, *Swing King*, and *The Story of the Lincoln Tunnel* were sent via Japan to Korea in 1947 under the supervision of the CAD (James L. Stewart, May 17, 1948), while a direct shipment system from the CAD to Korea was established in January the next year (USAFIK, Jan. 8, 1948).

Table 3. Films Reviewed for Release by the DPI (SCAP, 1947(a); 1947(b))

Date	Korean films	American films	German films	Other films
December, 1946	5	23	7	7
March, 1947	9	7	none	none
April, 1947	9	39	5	2
June, 1947	15	17	2	1
July, 1947	18	11	none	1
August, 1947	36	18	1	3

The dual system for the DPI and the OCI sometimes created conflicts

over authority (KRECA, 2003: 301-302). However, as seen in connection with the 502d Detachment and the CAD, the initiative was seized by the U.S. Army. In the end, after the breakdown of the second U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint Commission, the OCI began to take charge of most public screening around November of 1947 (Pak Su-hyön, 2009). The DPI's role in film production also decreased, so the *Sibo* newsreel series ended late in 1947. The substitutive series was entitled *Taehan Chŏnjinpo [Progress of Korea]*, and produced and distributed by the OCI beginning in January, 1948 (SCAP, n.d.(b)). The major duties of the DPI, as a part of the Interim Government, were administrative tasks, such as the approval of importation and release of films (see Table 3). This change became a basic condition for OCI's campaign for the South Korean separate government following the second deadlock of the Joint Commission. Film propaganda activities for the campaign began to crystallize late in 1947 and rose to a crescendo around the General Election of May, 1948. The details of that campaign are discussed below.

4. Transfer of the Function, September, 1948 – June, 1950

After the establishment of the Republic of Korea (hereinafter ROK) in August, 1948, the OCI changed the role of U.S. public information agencies in South Korea. In a report dated September 18, 1948, Director Stewart defines the

OCI's new role as "to let Koreans realize how politics operates in the Western world," including forthcoming elections in the U.S., since Korea had just entered into "crucial days for the new republic" and "the future viability of the government" was a concern. However, its viability was considered to be dependent on "decisions made new by the leaders of the government" (James L. Stewart, Sep. 15, 1948). Therefore, the OCI's new policy was to spread the idea of Western democracy to the Korean public and keep the new state and its leaders stable under U.S. umbrella. This decision shows that the OCI started to regard their activities as acts of diplomacy and not state administration.

With the withdrawal of the Headquarters of the U.S. XXIV Army Corps from Korea in January 1949 (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Jan. 15, 1949: 1), the OCI was taken over by the U.S. State Department, from the U.S. Army (James L. Stewart, Sep. 15, 1948; William G. Ridgeway, Feb. 28, 1989). The civilianization of the OCI was a turning point for American public information activities in South Korea in terms of both its characteristics and status. In comparison with the pre-ROK period, when the DPI had publicized governmental policies and activities and the OCI had concentrated on educating Koreans about elections to build a pro-U.S. state south of the 38th parallel (Chang Yŏng-min, 2007; Kim Han-sang, 2011(b)), the post-establishment period was the first stage where the U.S. public information agencies conducted their activities on a more 'diplomatic' basis and in a position that actually rested 'outside' the South Korean nation-state. The OCI changed its title to USIS-

Korea, which focused on the meaning of U.S. overseas information service, as early as 1949, when the OCI was transferred into the State Department.¹¹ Thus, it is reasonable to say that USIS-Korea finally found a position where it could conduct publicity campaigns delivering the diplomatic point of view of an external party.

Even before its conversion into USIS-Korea, the OCI had already registered its motion picture unit as a film company based in Seoul and conducted production and distribution activities (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Oct. 26, 1948: 3). Film propaganda activities were founded in production and distribution experiences already accumulated by the Army organizations. During the OCI period, a large portion of shooting and post-production work was conducted by the 502d Detachment (Buerkle, Jun. 30, 1947). Activities, manpower, and the media of the 502d Signal Photography Detachment, as well as of the OCI, were fully transferred to USIS-Korea (Chang Yŏng-min, 2001), with no major change in staffing. Both Charles M. Tanner, Motion Picture Officer since 1947, and his assistant, William G. Ridgeway, kept their positions after their section was transferred in 1949 (William G. Ridgeway, Feb. 28, 1989; *Covenant Players*, 2011). The film specialists Yi P'il-u, Yu Jang-san, and Yi

¹¹ For instance, the title 'USIS' appears in a news article in October 1949 (*Tonga Ilbo*, October 19, 1949: 2) and a letter from the American Embassy in Seoul to the Secretary of State in December of the same year (American Embassy, Dec. 24, 1949).

Kyöng-sun, who had cooperated with the 502d Detachment, continued to do their same work as before (KRECA, 2003: 30-34, 301-302). The 502d Signal Photography Detachment terminated their activities and was dismissed on November 10, 1948, and propaganda functions were transferred to USIS-Korea ([Anonymous], 1948).

The USIS-Korea film production and distribution both were actively conducted during the early years. In a memorandum to U.S. Ambassador Muccio in January of 1950, Stewart states the Motion Picture Branch was their “heaviest operation” (Stewart, January 11, 1950). At the time, they produced 2 newsreels and 1 documentary per month, two or three feature films per year, and a large number of adaptations of U.S. documentaries. Screenings were held using seventy 16mm projectors throughout cities, rural areas, and Army, Navy and police facilities. Between August and October of 1949, the attendance at outdoor showings were over one million per month. The audience response seems to have been positive. For instance, at an outdoor screening in Pusan on April 16, 1950, two children were killed, five were injured critically, and twelve received minor bruises from an accidental trampling of the crowd (Everett F. Drumright, Apr. 21, 1950). The screening was held in the playground of an elementary school, and attendance was approximately 3,000, probably an unexpectedly uncontrollable crowd for two policemen, four city crews and three teachers.

5. Aimed Shots: *The People Vote* and The Ch'oe In-kyu Production

Here the discussion goes back to the initial question. As of April, 1948, what was the substitute for the autonomous film movement of Korean filmmakers? In the above-quoted report on page 31, the reporting officer indicates that “only two films” were produced between November of 1947 and April of 1948. Except for a couple of short cultural films, there actually were two feature film produced during this period: *Choe ōmnŭn choein* [*An Innocent Criminal*], produced in January of 1948, and *Tongnip chŏnya* [*The Night before Independence Day*], in February of 1948 (KFPA, 1972). Both of these films were directed by Ch'oe In-kyu and produced by Koryŏ yŏnghwa kongsa [Korea Film Production Company] which was owned by his brother Ch'oe Wan-kyu (IRCA, 2009: 757-760). While the reporting officer states that these films were products of a few self-reliant film producers, it does not seem to be coincidental that the Ch'oe brothers were the creators of *The People Vote* [*Inmin t'up'yo*] (1948).

Ch'oe In-kyu had been the CFP-affiliated director during the Pacific War, and the brothers had a box office hit with the anti-colonial film, *Chayu manse* [*Hurrah! For freedom*] in 1946 (IRCA, 2009: 757-760). According to Kim Yŏng-hŭi, who had also become affiliated with CFP, those CFP-affiliated

filmmakers, including Pang Han-chun, continuously went to the CFP studio even after Liberation, and that opportunity sometimes gave them chances to make personal connections with USAMGIK officials. The post-production of *Chayumanse* was also undertaken at the CFP studio, Kim says (KOFA, 2007: 9-67). Therefore, Ch'oe also seems to have drawn a certain relationship with U.S. Army officials.

The production of *The People Vote* was an ambitious project for OCI. The film was completed and previewed on April 12, 1948, and a 35mm print was sent to Japan for processing to 16mm film. A total of thirty-five prints, including fifteen 35mm and twenty 16mm, were distributed to cinemas and information centers nationwide, and approximately three million viewers watched the film during the election campaign (James L. Stewart, May 15, 1948; [Anonymous], Jun. 15, 1948). Offering a fictional narrative depicting a family's first election, this film was seen as an effective tool to educate people for the election. Ch'oe was already a qualified filmmaker who had a lot of relevant experience. As a CFP-affiliated director, Ch'oe had made several successful propaganda features for wartime mobilization of the Japanese Army.

After the success of *The People Vote*, the Ch'oe brothers could continuously obtain orders from OCI and USIS-Korea. Their next film was *Dance of Jang Chu-Hwa* [*Chang Chu Wha muyong*] (1948) depicting a Korean modern dancer and her performance. Another film was *The Town of Hope*

[*Hŭimang ũi maŭl*] (1948) which introduced Korean rural customs. Both were made for the purposes of exportation (KMDB, n.d.). Although the film prints are missing and unavailable today, the project plans themselves are full of suggestions. Those were films which were an early output of the localization of U.S. public information activities, conducted under the category genre of cultural film and, most importantly, produced by ethnic Korean filmmakers to introduce their own culture to foreign audiences. The problem of ethnographic gaze would now become complicated; Korean filmmakers shot Korean culture to show to foreign, possibly Western, audiences under orders given them by an American agency. Similar composition is seen in *Korean Farm Life* (c1948), which stars Ch'oe In-kyu's wife, Kim Sin-chaeh, with a Korean-American director Han Ken Lee.

Many other filmmakers were also involved in U.S. public information activities both directly and indirectly during this period. Kim Yŏng-hŭi and Kim Hyŏng-kŭn had been affiliated with CFP and later became the employees of DPI, OCI and USIS-Korea (KOFA, 2007: 9-67). Pang Han-chun and An Ch'ŏl-yŏng were bureaucrats for USAMGIK and later the Interim Government and had made feature films as directors during the colonial period (KMDB, n.d.). Another group of filmmakers were those who received outsourcing orders from U.S. agencies, including Yu Jang-san, Yi Kyŏng-sun, Yi P'il-u, Ham Wan-sŏp, Han Ch'ang-sŏp and Hong Kae-myŏng (KRECA, 2003; KMDB, n.d.). In addition, there were filmmakers who had indirect relationships with U.S.

agencies, and these included Han Hyöng-mo and Sin Sang-ok. The future famous director, Sin Sang-ok, practiced shooting with a Mitchell camera that the Ch'oe In-kyu Production rented from OCI (Kim Chong-wön, 2004: 318-322). He was apprenticed to Ch'oe In-gyu and trained with “various public information outlets” (Steven Chung, 2008: 21). This episode thus shows that Ch'oe In-kyu Production could produce films in affluent circumstances, in contrast to other film producers who pushed Chung-Ang Sinmun to censure the government.

In the meantime, other filmmakers who were inextricably involved in these autonomous group activities had to face obstructive power and went on the wane. Although CFA, established on December 15 of 1945, was considered to be inclusive of all filmmakers in the Korean Peninsula, including those in the North and the South (*Chayu Sinmun*, Dec. 18, 1945: 2), the intense social debate on the trusteeship in January of 1946 split the filmmakers and solidified the organization as pro-Leftist (Han Sang-ön, 2007(a)). After the proclamation of the Ordinance No.68 on April 12, 1946, filmmakers in CFA were continuously caught up in trouble with USAMGIK. The alliance submitted a petition to relax censorship regulations, but it does not seem that it was agreed to by the military government (*Tonga Ilbo*, May 5, 1946: 2). However, to the contrary, several restrictions of persons and activities were repeatedly imposed on CFA by

the government.¹² In April of 1948, the Seoul league of CNFCO, including CFA, made a statement in support of the South-North negotiations through the South-North Joint Meeting of Patriotic Parties (*Sŏul Sinmun*, Apr. 4, 1948). This act was the complete opposite of USAMGIK's goal for propaganda, which was the successful establishment of a separate government in South Korea. While OCI set up local branches and dispatched mobile units to rural areas, CFA rearranged its rivalrous activities at the local level and ran underground units to give lectures and mobile exhibitions (Han Sang-ŏn, 2007(a)). Thus, after the establishment of the ROK Government, CFA and other sister cultural alliances became illegal and filmmakers who wanted to participate in cultural activities had to certify their withdrawal from CFA (*P'yŏnghwa Ilbo*, Apr. 10, 1949). Many of the filmmakers and actors who had been intimately involved in CFA activities, including Ch'u Min, Sin Pul-ch'ul, Yun Sang-yŏl and Sŏ Kwang-che,¹³ defected to North Korea between 1946 and 1948 (Han Sang-ŏn, 2007(a)).

¹² The CFA Secretary Ch'u Min was arrested along with the actor, Sin Pul-ch'ul, and brought to trial by reason of audience disturbances at the special screening commemorating the Independence Demonstration in June 10, 1926 (*Chayu Sinmun*, Jun. 19, 1946: 2). Soon after, two CFA cinematographers who shot a trial on forgery were arrested, and their cameras were impounded by the police without ever knowing the reason (*Chayu Sinmun*, Aug. 1, 1946: 2). In September of 1946, USAMGIK banned a CFA-adapted documentary *Chosŏn Ŭiyongdae* (*Chayu Sinmun*, Sep. 1, 1946: 2). The CFA issued a statement to criticize Ordinance No.15 on October 18 (*Chayu Sinmun*, Oct. 20, 1946: 2). Early the next year, the CFA-produced films *Chosŏn nyusŭ* and *Haebang nyusŭ* were violently suspended during the show and seized by a right-wing group and the police, although these films had been permitted to be screened by the government (*Chayu Sinmun*, Jan. 27, 1947: 2).

¹³ Sŏ Kwang-che was one of the last filmmakers who defected to North Korea before the Korean War. As a leading figure of CFA, Sŏ wrote critical essays on USAMGIK's motion picture policies and led the discourses on Korean cinema at that time (Cho Hye-jŏng, 1997).

After the establishment of separate governments in the South and the North, Otherization of the Left became conspicuous. USIS-Korea produced *Fellow Soldiers* [*Chõnu*], the first genuine anti-



Figure 5. A newspaper advertisement of *Fellow Soldiers* (1949)

Communist film in South Korea, in 1949. Hong Kae-myōng, a veteran director from the 1920s and 1930s, directed this film, and Yi Myōng-u, one of the long-time cooperators of DPI and OCI, took on the role of producer.¹⁴ About 20 million wōn was invested into this production and 20,000 actors and actresses were cast in this film (see Figure 5). The plot of the film was the story of two brothers' devotion to the eradication of Communism after defecting from North Korea (Kim Chong-wōn, 2011). After this film, several anti-Communist films followed in the South Korean film industry, including *Sōngbyōk-ŭl Ttul'k'o* [*Breaking the Wall*] (Han Hyōng-mo, 1949), *Nara-rŭl Wihayō* [*For the Country*]

In "Chosōnnyōnghwa-ron [Discussion of Korean Cinema]" in August 1946, he censured the lack of facilities and cameras in the Korean film industry under USAMGIK (Sō Kwang-che, 1946). In the 1947 yearbook on Korean arts, he severely criticized the military government for censorship of films, suppression of CFA members, and ordinances related to the film industry (Sō Kwang-che, 1947). He ceased to publish his own newspaper and defected to North Korea after the establishment of the ROK Government (Han Sang-ōn, 2007(a)).

¹⁴ According to film historian Kim Chong-wōn, both of them were abducted by North Korea during the Korean War because of this film (Kim Chong-wōn, 2011).

(An Chong-hwa, 1949), *Pukhan-ŭi Siljŏng* [*The reality of the North Korea*] (Yi Ch'ang-kŭn, 1949), and *Munŏjin Samp'alsŏn* [*The Collapsed 38th Parallel*] (Yun Pong-ch'un, 1949).

In this fashion, this period became a crucial moment for practicing new power relations in the new world order. The colonial expert system was successfully inherited with a related urgent demand for propaganda. The Korean Self started to be discovered, imagined and constructed through the cameras of foreign agencies, and part of the undifferentiated Self was split to become a foreclosed Other in preparation for further division.

Chapter 2. Show Them Where They Belong: U.S. Information Agencies

Films

The films imported, produced, and distributed by U.S. public information agencies during this period show that the U.S. propaganda strategy toward the Korean Peninsula was vague and uncertain at that time. Contrary to Japan, where SCAP set up a determined goal for propaganda and deployed relevant films in public screenings nationwide, Korea was not a target for an accurate propaganda plan. There were not nearly enough films for propaganda purposes. Many of the films which were supposed to be having been passed on to Korea after they were shown in Japan remained in the Archipelago. *Fury In The Pacific*, the first American public information film shown in Korea, seems to have reached the Peninsula early since SCAP excluded documentaries on the Pacific War from the list of films to distribute in Japan.

Nonetheless, the U.S. public information films during this period require careful consideration since they built a “primal scene” of the (re)presentations that followed in the later works of U.S. agencies (Sigmund Freud, 1996: 186-205; Kim So-yŏng, 2010: 18-38). DPI of USAMGIK replaced CFP in the Japanese Government-General and produced regular newsreel series in the name of the government. The DPI-imported American WWII films, which illustrated the U.S. Army as a liberator, and the titleback images of the DPI newsreels, which symbolized the American ideal of an independent nation, show how this

postcolonial, but pre-independent, nation of Korea was positioned precisely to imagine America as its new role model. The OCI-imported films for election education show the systematic representation of American democracy, which connected the local and the federal governments. The ethnographic documentaries produced during the transition period from OCI to USIS-Korea mirror the elements of the intricate Self/Other opposition.¹⁵

1. Sensing Society, Viewing Power: Newsreels

Of the 33 films produced under the supervision of the DPI from 1945 to 1946, the newsreel series *Sibo [Korean Newsreel]* was the largest in terms of its number as well as its weight. As *Haebang nyusŭ* was at the center of the conflict between the military government and the leftist filmmakers in 1946 (Han Sang-ŏn, 2007(b)), the newsreel format was understood as an effective political device due to its reportage-style neutral attitude. Production and distribution of newsreels were world-widely active and common before the advance of television, and many were parts of governmental public information activities. Collings (1995) points out that newsreel films functioned to deliver to audiences a shared identity and organize them into a nation-state and society,

¹⁵ Chapter 2 is modified from the original Korean article, Kim Han-sang, "The U.S. Film Propaganda In South Korea, 1945-48: The Study on Film Materials Discovered in the U.S. National Archives." *Miguksa yŏn'gu [American History]*, vol.34, 2011: 177-212.

in the same manner that tabloids and the radio “Americanized the Americans.” *Sibo* also served that function.

Sibo was the first direct production of a newsreel by the DPI, dating from January, 1946 (*Yesul t’ongsin*, Dec. 3, 1946: 1).¹⁶ The first group of *Sibo*, owned by the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration (hereinafter NARA), deals with major governmental activities and social issues from January 14 to February 7, 1946. The film starts with the T’aegükki hoisting ceremony scene. It contains issues of grave national concerns, such as the Preparation Talk for the Joint Soviet-American Commission and the Emergency National Assembly, administrative pending issues, such as the re-formation of the National Guard and the trial of a pro-Japanese collaborator, and several new bulletins, such as a foreign guest’s visit and a march of the National Police Academy students. All these topics are organized to arouse shared concerns in Korean audiences. Especially, the headline for each topic was sometimes rather provocative: for instance, “Fire corrodes the national foundation!” an expression to call the attention of audiences to an everyday topic and make them consider that event as a national issue (see Table 4).

¹⁶ The US National Archive (NARA)’s collection of *Sibo* series also starts its first number with the news from January to early February, 1946. The NARA has catalogued this series under the title, *Korean Newsreel*.

Table 4. Contents of *Sibo No.1*

Headline	Expressed Issue
Overwhelming moment of hoisting T'aegŭkki on the ruins of Kyŏngbokkung – Jan. 14	The T'aegŭkki hoisting ceremony on January 14, 1946, with Gen. Hodge, Robert P. Patterson, and Cho Byeong-ok in attendance (<i>Chosŏn Ilbo</i> , Jan. 15, 1946: 2)
U.S. Secretary of War Patterson's Unexpected Visit to Seoul – Press Conference on Jan. 14	U.S. Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson's visit to Korean in January, 1946 (<i>Chosŏn Ilbo</i> , Jan. 14, 1946: 1)
The First Preparation Talk Opens the Eyes of 30 Millions! – Jan. 16	Preparation Talk for the Joint Soviet-American Commission on January 16, 1946 (<i>Chosŏn Ilbo</i> , Jan. 17, 1946: 1)
Fire corrodes the national foundation!	Two big fires in Seoul on January 21, 1946 (<i>Chosŏn Ilbo</i> , Jan. 23, 1946: 2)
With the consensus of the people! The opening of the Emergency National Assembly – Feb. 1	The opening of the Emergency National Assembly at the Catholic Auditorium on February 1, 1946 (<i>Tonga Ilbo</i> , Feb. 2, 1946: 1)
Re-formation of the Chosŏn National Guard	The formation of the National Guard of the USAMGIK, which started to recruit guard members in Kyŏnggi Province on January 14, 1946 (<i>Chosŏn Ilbo</i> , Jan. 12, 1946: 2)
Collaborator, profiteer! Kim Kecho's Last Day!!	The public trial of Kim Kecho, who conducted a covert action to establish a pro-Japanese government in connection with USAMGIK officials (Jung, Byung Joon, 2008)
A Flag for Service and Order! March of the Chosŏn National Police Academy! – Feb. 7	March of 300 students in the National Police Academy from the Military Government Office to City Hall on February 7, 1946 (<i>Chosŏn Ilbo</i> , Feb. 8, 1946: 2)

It is worthy of notice that this film does not contain social controversies and events going on in South Korea in January 1946. Since *Tonga Ilbo*'s false report on December 27, 1945, titled “The Soviet Union argues Trusteeship, the United States argues Immediate Independence,” an intense anti-trusteeship movement had sprung up throughout early 1946 and a false landscape formed where the Soviets and Korean leftists were pro-trusteeship and the U.S. and

Korean rightist were their opponents (Chŏng Yong-uk, 2003: 53-96). The Korean Communist leader Pak Hŏn-yŏng and the Chosŏn Communist Party published an official statement on January 17 and held a press conference on January 18, to complain about the distortion in the false report (Chŏng Yong-uk, 2003(a): 53-96). However, the whole progression of this dispute is left out of *Sibo*. It even does not speak off the rightists' stance, but rather leaves the topic completely untouched. Instead, the film is filled with the events supervised by the military government and its affiliated organizations. On the one hand, that reporting attitude reflects the will not to restart a lulled controversy again early in February, but on the other hand, it also shows that USAMGIK's basic position was not to empower indigenous political groups to become main agents in South Korean politics.

Table 5. Contents of other *Sibo*, owned by the NARA

Number	Headline	Expressed Issue
No. 2	Touching in a New Way! Inauguration of the Korean Representative Democratic Council of South Korea – February 14	Inauguration Ceremony of the Korean Representative Democratic Council of South Korea – February 14, 1946
No. 5	(unknown headline)	The first Joint Soviet-American Commission on March 20, 1946
	Exchange of Mails at the 38th Parallel	The first mail exchange ceremony between North and South Korea, a consequence of the third Joint Communique of the Joint Soviet-American Commission
Breaking News	Opening Ceremony at the Inauguration of the Korean Interim Legislative Assembly	Opening ceremony at the Inauguration of the Korean Interim Legislative Assembly on December 12, 1946

2. Introducing a 'Free World' Superpower: WWII Films

Due to a shortage of American films, the DPI's distribution activities were difficult until April of 1946. *Fury In the Pacific* was the only American public information film, except for some newsreels, that was shown by the DPI before April among the films one can find in the existing records (*Chung-ang Sinmun*, Feb. 23, 1946: 2). This film is also the first film approved by the Motion Picture Section after its review (*Kukche sinmun*, Aug. 26, 1948). It was first screened in cinemas in February of 1946 (*Chung-ang Sinmun*, Feb. 23, 1946: 2), and was included in the selections for mobile screening in provincial areas in May (SCAP, May, 1946). Co-produced by the U.S. Army, Navy, and Marine Corps in 1945, this 20-minute documentary depicts the battles against the Japanese Forces on the islands of Palau, Peleliu, and Angaur during the Pacific War. Joint operations combat scenes crossing the borderlines of land, sea and air are distinguishing features. The film begins with a sortie scene of bombers on heavy carriers, and then 10 minutes of fast cuts with shooting and firing sound effects to follow, depicting aerial bomb-dropping, heavy artillery fire, and landing operations by the Marine Corps. Next are 10 minutes of capture scenes from the individual battle after landing, the conveyance of wounded soldiers, and the surrender of the enemy. Except for the voiceover narration, there are no dialogues or focal figures to form any narrative elements, but rather only images of battle and bombing continuously shown throughout the film. In particular,

the exterior of military machines and their destructive power are shown with verisimilitude and actuality as an entertaining element (see Figure 6).¹⁷ For a vivid depiction of warfare, scenes depicting actual combat in the air and at sea adopt viewpoints and angles made possible only because they were in the movie.

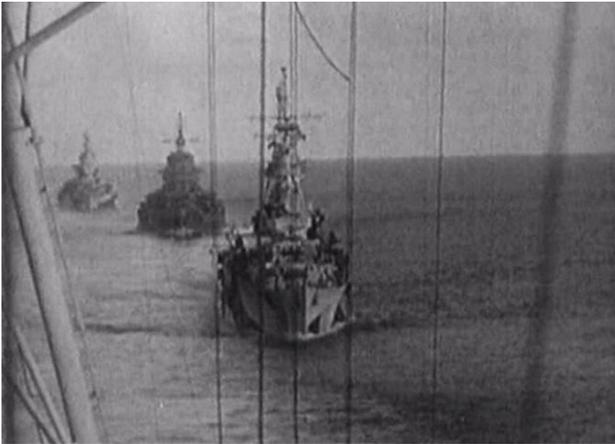


Figure 6. A scene from *Fury In the Pacific*

The surrender scene, which shows Japanese soldiers' lying down and some of their bare dead bodies, was probably an entirely new spectacle for South Koreans who were just liberated from the Japanese colonial rule.

After the opening of the CMPE Korean branch in April, more films were imported and released by the DPI for propaganda purposes. *Freedom of Education* was shown by the mobile unit in May and *Fury In the Pacific*, and *The Battle of Iwo Jima* in June (SCAP, May-June, 1946).¹⁸ Among other DPI-

¹⁷ Whether the initial emotion of the audiences was pleasure or fear, the shock of such actuality images can be defined as 'attraction' according to Tom Gunning (1995). In the shock of technology that enabled early cinematic audiences to watch the spectacular images, viewers remained "aware of the act of looking, the excitement of curiosity and its fulfillment." Gunning calls such experience as "the cinema of attraction" (Tom Gunning, 1995: 121).

¹⁸ The title, *Freedom of Education*, appears only in the USAMGIK monthly report, and the NARA does not possess any film material having this title. It is highly probable that the author of the report miswrote the title as *Freedom to Learn*, which was also released in Japan in 1946 (Yuka Tsuchiya, 2002). *The Battle of Iwo Jima* also does not have any relevant film

imported films, *Justice* (1944) is a good example that shows the popular narratives and images of American wartime propaganda films, which were introduced to Korea right after the Liberation. This film was produced by the U.S. Army Pictorial Service, Signal Corps, and was screened in Seoul in July of 1946 (SCAP, July 1946). It is a 2 minute and 30 second short film, appealing to American citizens for participation in wartime activities and arousing animosity towards Japan. American citizens' enraged feelings against Japan appear as they were

portrayed in this film.

Japanese are depicted as brutal enemies who kill infants and bury people alive in China without hesitation. At the end of the cross cutting of



Figure 7. A shot of American factories in *Justice*

reenacted performances and recorded scenes show the cruelty of the Japanese Army, the narrator asks what America must do to bring “Justice for the soldiers of Japan.” The next scene is a strong contrast with shots of highly-advanced industrial areas and urban centers in America, and the slogan “This is America!”

material with the same title. There is a possibility that the film's real title was one of these: *Activity on Iwo Jima* (1944), *To the Shores of Iwo Jima* (1945), *Iwo Jima Invasion* (1945), *D-Day at Iwo Jima* (1945), *Invasion of Iwo Jima* (1945), or *Action on Iwo Jima* (1945).

(see Figure 7). Then another unique cross cutting scene follows to end the film. When the narrator states that “Every forching kills a Jap!”, a scene of dead Japanese soldiers who seem to have been killed by the U.S. Army is paralleled as an image. Following the same pattern, whenever the narrator delivers similar sentences including a tank, truck, shell, and gun, corresponding scenes of dead damaged bodies follow. Notwithstanding its short length, the film is designed to shock audience with its brutal violence and extreme slogans. With such (re)presentations of Japanese enemies, the conventional opposition of the “pure Self” and the “brutal Other” during the colonial rule was destined to be deconstructed (John W. Dower, 1986: 293-317)

Both films proclaim the characterisitic of the DPI’s propaganda activities at the early stage of occupation. As mere a “bulwark” against the Soviet Union, South Korea was not considered as an unequaled advanced base. The region’s political stability was the major aim of the USAMGIK (Chǒng Yong-uk, 2003(b): 473-487). Along with the inadequacy of the American film supply, this expedient aim produced unclearness in early film propaganda activities. *Fury In the Pacific*, *The Battle of Iwo Jima*, and *Justice* were only a few wartime propaganda films which the DPI could procure under these poor conditions. These films are outspoken in their description of Japanese troops and extremely explicit, enough so to expose mangled bodies of the enemies. In contrast, America, the opponent, is depicted attractively. Modern equipment and the high technology of the U.S. are exhibited in a fascinating manner. Combat

scenes show off overwhelming fire and the mobility of the U.S. Forces and fetishized shiny skins of war machines with close-up shots. In a liberated Korea, this keen contradiction probably imprinted the image of the U.S. Army as the liberator in the mind of audiences.

Such a contradictory depiction of two warring sides was hardly seen in U.S. film propaganda activities in occupied Japan. According to the “Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan and Korea No. 1, September-October, 1945” compiled by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (hereinafter SCAP), one of the initial aims for the public information activities in Japan was the “War Guilt Campaign” (SCAP, Sep. – Oct., 1945). While this campaign included an information and education program to let Japanese citizens know the true facts of Japanese atrocities during wartime, the U.S. officials also warned that they had to dispel the Japanese people’s common belief that Japan’s defeat had been due to industrial and scientific inferiority. Thus wartime U.S. propaganda films, such as *Fury In the Pacific* and *Justice*, which contained a sense of superiority over Japan, hardly seem to have been welcomed. The CAD’s “Breakdown of Documentary Films On Use or On Order for Occupied Areas,” as of November 21, 1947, shows that they did not distribute nor plan to distribute any films depicting WWII in Japan, while they listed 11 WWII films for Germany, 10 for Austria, and 17 for South Korea (CAD, Nov. 21, 1947) (see Appendix 1).

This difference in distribution, however, was not merely caused by the different situations between the former colonialist and the former colony. Although wartime films that contained expressions of hatred toward Japan might work in liberated Korea, distribution of those films was not a result of any elaborate plan. A significant distinction between the two occupied areas was already evident in the 1945 plans for public information activities by the U.S. occupation authorities. No specific guidelines are found in the plan for propaganda in Korea, whereas there were ten concrete objectives listed for the “Motion Picture Industry Guide” in Japan, including ‘life cooperating to build a peaceful nation,’ ‘resettlement of Japanese soldiers,’ ‘solving the postwar problems in Japan,’ and ‘tolerance and respect among all races and classes’ (SCAP, Sep. – Oct. 1945). This different depth in plans for the two areas seems to reflect the order of their strategic importance to the U.S. and the Allied Powers.

3. The Birth of A Nation Reloaded: (Re)Presentation of ‘Liberty Bell’

What is noteworthy about the DPI films during the early years is that the *Sibo* series started a tradition of unique opening and closing graphics that would remain in U.S. public information films in South Korea until the early 1970s. The USIS-Korea major newsreel series *Liberty News*, which were produced and

distributed for 15 years from 1952 to 1967, used bell-striking scenes for the title background. For instance, the opening of *Liberty News* in the 1960s starts with a man who wears Korean traditional clothes striking a bell with all his strength (see Figure 8). Then the sound of the bell mingles with the logotype of the



Figure 8. Title background of *Liberty News* in the 1960s

Liberty Production, the USIS-Korea's film company, to complete a comprehensive imagery of the production. Considering the patterns and the design, the bell is supposed to be the former Bell of Posin'gak Belfry (Bosingak Bell), which hung at a historical spot in the center of Seoul (Cultural

Heritage Administration of Korea, 2012(a)). This title background graphics remained an abstract image of the newsreel until the end of the follow-up newsreel series *Screen Report* in 1972 (*Kyŏngnyang Sinmun*, Jun. 15, 1993).

The typical use of bell striking scenes originated in the first issue of the *Sibo* series in February, 1946. *Sibo* seems to have used the T'aegŭk Mark Bell of Taehŭng Temple (Jikji Museum of Buddhist Arts, 2012). The film shows a still image of the bell in the opening, while the moving image of a bell striking comes in the closing (see Figure 9). Even though the production authority for this series had been the DPI, USAMGIK, the bell image remained after the USIS

years began. USIS-Korea put the image of the Sacred Bell of The Great King Söngdög in the title background for the 1950s Liberty Production films, including *Liberty News* (Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea, 2012(b)). After the 1960s, the Liberty Production replaced the bell image to the moving image, as stated above. This chronicle shows that the U.S. public information agencies consistently used the image of a bell to symbolize their products.

The use of bell in the title background images corresponds to a remarkable anecdote for the first New Year's Eve in liberated Korea.

The Posin'gak Bell, which is seen in the 1960s films, was used as the Watch-Night bell for New Year's Eve from 1946 to 1985. In December 1945, when the USAMGIK and the Chosön pangsong hyöp'oe [Chosön Broadcasters Association] jointly planned the Watch-Night Bell Tolling event, a difference of opinion about the title became an issue. While there was an agreement to keep the original title *Cheya üi chong* [*Watch-Night Bell*] and ring the bell on the night of December 31, a counterview was also suggested, namely that they could hold the event at noon of New Year's Day with a new title, *Chayu üi chong* [*Liberty Bell*] (*Chayu Sinmun*, Dec. 27, 1945: 2). Although the controversy



Figure 9. Opening and closing graphics of *Sibö*

seems to have been ended by ringing the bell at noon of New Year's Eve day at last (*Tonga Ilbo*, Jan. 1, 1946: 2), the coinage of *Chayu ũi chong* is still worthy of notice. The proposer of this name was the U.S. Captain Wills, who was working for the Seoul Chungang Pangsongguk [Korea Broadcasting Corporation] (*Chayu Sinmun*, Dec. 27, 1945: 2). It is highly probable that *Chayu ũi chong* was a Korean equivalent to the "Liberty Bell," the symbol of the U.S.A.'s founding and independence.

In Korea, since ringing of Posin'gak Bell had been strictly banned during colonial rule, it was understood as a national symbol (Pak Chŏn-yŏl, 1998). The U.S. information agencies also recognized this fact, so the OWI's radio propaganda "Voice of America (hereinafter VOA)" broadcast a program targeting Koreans under Japanese rule in 1944, titled *Posin'gak Chong* [*The Chongno Bell*] (Pak Ki-sŏng, 1994).



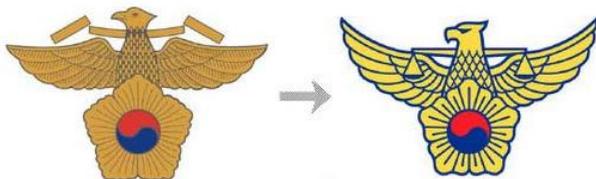
Figure 10. The Liberty Bell depicted in the USIS-Korea's television footage *Korean Entertainers* (1971)

U.S. public information agencies intended to connect the Posin'gak bell's pre-existing meaning of freedom and independence to the symbolic meaning of the Liberty Bell that originated in American history (see Figure 10). According to Paige, the

U.S. Government actively utilized the Liberty Bell as a symbol of the "Free

World” during the Cold War, by adopting it as an emblem for the U.S. Savings Bond campaign and inviting East-European visitors to Philadelphia to see the bell (John C. Paige, 1988: 69-71). Therefore, it was not a mere coincidence that Captain Wills wanted to call the Posin’gak Bell as *Chayu ũi chong* [Liberty Bell].¹⁹ In the same way, the DPI’s first documentary in 1945 was titled *Chayu ũi chong ũl ullyōra* [Ring the Liberty Bell] (*Chung-ang Sinmun*, Dec. 11, 1945: 2), and another VOA program for Korean listeners in 1946 was titled *Han’guk Chayu ũi chong* [Korean Liberty Bell] (International Broadcasting Division, Aug. 7, 1946). This adoption of a Korean bell demonstrates the U.S. information agencies’ serious consideration of localization.²⁰

¹⁹ Another interesting case that shows the adaptation of the American national symbol is found in the emblem of the Korean National Police Agency (hereinafter KNPA). In 2005, KNPA changed its official emblem from the figure of a bald eagle to that of a Steller’s sea eagle (see figure below). The bald eagle figure had been used since October of 1945 under USAMGIK, but KNPA did not change the design even after the establishment of the ROK Government. It is said that there were criticisms of KNPA’s use of an American national symbol as a symbol of a Korean national agency. Steller’s sea eagles live in coastal Northeastern Asia (*Han’gyōre Sinmun*, Oct. 21, 2005: 10)



²⁰ Such a strategy of localizing the idea of the Liberty Bell was not only applied to the Posin’gak Bell. *Sibo*’s T’aegŭk Mark Bell seems to be integrating the national symbol of T’aegŭk mark with the significance of the Liberty Bell. Further, the Liberty Production’s 1950s title background appropriated the symbolic national meaning of the Sacred Bell, which has a related folk tale called *Emille chong* [Emille Bell] (see Figure 11). Emille Bell was another name for the Sacred Bell, and because of its appealing aspect, the tragic story of Emille chong was enjoyed as a national tale. For instance, from the Liberation to the mid-1950s, the famous director Pak Ku, and his musical troupe Pando Kagŭktan presented an operetta titled Emille chong, and promoted the show as “the legend of the nation” (*Kyōnghyang Sinmun*, Sep. 15, 1952: 2).

At the heart of the symbolic politics led by the USAMGIK, the signification of Posin'gak Bell tolling event showed a considerable change in discourses. Its original function of notifying the populace of a curfew was transformed into a notification of freedom and independence. On



Figure 11. Title background of the Liberty Production films in the 1950s

March 1, 1946, the first Independence Movement Day, the bell was tolled during the official commemoration ceremony (*Tonga Ilbo*, Mar. 1, 1946: 2).

4. Education for “Free World” Citizenship

Except for war documentaries, the DPI films produced or adapted for distribution in 1946 demonstrated a tendency towards practical topics, such as hygiene, manufacturing, agriculture, education, and vocational knowledge (see Tables 1 and 2). These might also have reflected the demands of governmental administration. To the contrary, the OCI's selection in 1947 and 1948 presents the image of America as a role model. American films such as *Tuesday In November* were imported to educate the electoral population in preparation for the South Korean general election on May 10, 1948. Other films like *New*

England, *The Story of Lincoln Tunnel*, and *Swing King* were intended to introduce American culture and civilization. After the end of the *Sibo* series in late 1947, the OCI's new series began immediately in January, 1948. It is remarkable that the title of the new series was *Taehan Chŏnjinpo* [*Progress of Korea*], in that *Taehan* was an expression mindful of the new state that would be established soon. In doing so, the OCI of the USAFIK claimed self-understanding as a nation builder.

This progress shows the changing role of the U.S. public information agency. As a foreign organization engaged in the mission of building a new state, the OCI reflected the dual aspects of the U.S. occupation: Direct intervention to establish a pro-American government and contain the Communist North, and devotion to leading the people of the new state to learn the American way of life so it could be integrated into the new world order. While concrete prescriptions for the latter had already been shown in the plans for Japan directly after the World War II (SCAP, Sep. – Oct., 1945), it arrived late in South Korea to prepare for that separate government (USAFIK, Jun. 20, 1947).

In publicizing the “American system of life” through films (USAFIK, Nov. 10, 1947), American values were presented as both ‘universal’ and ‘modern.’ According to the activities reported by the OCI in January 1948, at least four American public information films were released and adapted to Korean language for distribution between November 1947 and January 1948

(USAFIK, Jan. 15, 1948). These films were *Nation's Capitol* (1947), which introduced Washington DC and the U.S. Capitol; *New England* (year unknown), which introduced the traditions and cultures in the Northeastern part of America; *The Story of Lincoln Tunnel* (c1943), which depicts the construction of the Lincoln Tunnel in New York; and *Swing King* (year unknown), which is about the American tradition of jazz music. These films were selected to be the providers of information and knowledge about Western cultures, democracy, and social institutions. While they were considered to contain universal knowledge, an absolute majority were produced by American film producers.

One of the key examples among these films is *Tuesday In November* (1945). In April, 1948, just one month before the general election for a South Korean separate government, *Tuesday In November* was shipped from the U.S. (USAFIK, Apr. 15, 1948). This film was shown at local branch information centers in May right before the election (USAFIK, May 15, 1948). Produced by the Overseas Branch of the OWI in 1945, as Number XIII of *The American Scene* series, this documentary depicts an election day in the small city of California, Riverton, in 1944. 'Tuesday in November' refers to the Presidential election day. In a balloting place set in a school, the principal assumes the Election Board Chair, and two observers from the Democratic and Republican parties attend the election. After the voting scene showing the first voter, an animated scene follows to explain the principles involved in forming the U.S. Government. Then come scenes of Roosevelt and Dewey's electioneering, a

nationwide media campaign conducted through radio broadcasting, the actual election day, and counting of the votes (see Figure 12). Finally the film ends with Roosevelt's victory, depicting the crowd gathering in Times Square in



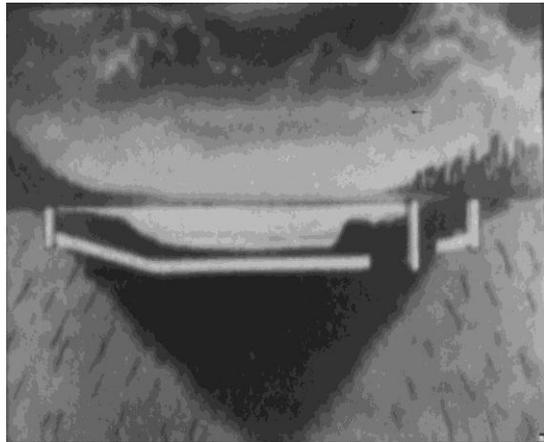
Figure 12. A scene from *Tuesday in November*

New York City to cheer under a neon sign notifying the name of the new President of the United States.

The lesson of this film, that legislative organs must be organized using a strict and rational procedure of election that represents individual voters' political opinions, might be appropriate to educate the general electorate in a month in South Korea. Abstract images of animation conveying the meaning of American democracy and montage scenes depicting the active election campaigns of both parties are part of the cinematic attraction of this film, well placed to catch the eyes of the audiences. In addition, a variety of American images, ranging those in from the small indistinctive city of Riverton to the fancy neon signs of Manhattan, turn the landscape of America into a spectacle. This attractive portrayal of American environmental diversity corresponds with the topic of political diversity, linking the local with the federal.

Nation's Capitol was released at a cinema in November, 1947 (*Hansǒng Ilbo*, Nov. 7, 1947: 2). It introduces the tourist attractions of the capital city, Washington DC, introducing the Lincoln Memorial, Washington Monument, and Arlington National Cemetery, and accompanying commentaries on the principles and systems of American political organizations and an introduction of the White House and the Capitol. The film is an episode of the *March of Time*, which was an influential newsreel series offered during World War II. Its style

of tourist guide film accorded a popular style to this film. *The Story of Lincoln Tunnel* rather takes the style of an educational film; for instance, an animated file picture offers an architectural exposition of the tunnel in a



crosscutting scene between actual real scenes of its construction (see

Figure 13. An animated scene of *The Story of Lincoln Tunnel*

Figure 13). By introducing a major city of America and a grand-scale engineering project, this film succeeds in exhibiting the fruits of American modernization in an appealing way.

5. Landscape of South Korea: The Ethnographic Korean Self

In preparation for the general election in May 1948, the OCI produced *The People Vote* for election education by outsourcing that task to Director Ch'oe In-kyu's production company (KOFA, 2006: 417-466). Then the OCI began to plan for the next period. One month before the election, a new project was given to the same outsourcing company that produced *The People Vote*. The new film would show a concert of "the Korean Symphony Orchestra and Chang Chu Wha" in a 20-minute short film. Chang Chu-wha was a Korean modern dancer taught by Ch'oe Sŭng-hŭi, a top dancer during the colonial rule. The production of this film started in May, 1948 (USAFIK, May 15, 1948; Jun. 15, 1948). It is a remarkable case that shows that U.S. public information agency concern was expanding to introductory and ethnographical depictions of Korean culture. While ethnography had been a common form of documentary since its first stage, this change is worthy of notice since it reflected the U.S. agency's strategy of localization at the very beginning of a new country.

Another case to investigate is *Korean Farm Life [Han'guk nongch'on saenghwal]* (c1948), which shows an aspect of USIS-produced films after the establishment of the ROK Government. This film was one of the earliest produced by USIS-Korea.²¹ Han Ken Lee, a second-generation Korean-

²¹ It seems that the film was cranked in as early as November of 1947 (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Nov. 23, 1947: 4), but CAD's request for license acquisition for the film came in February,

American First Lieutenant, shot and directed the film in 16mm Kodacolor. It was produced to introduce Korean farmers and their daily lives to the Korean community in Hawaii (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Nov. 23, 1947: 4). Thus, this film is not an example of films made primarily for Korean audiences. However, it does have the original form of a Christian narrative that would repeatedly appear in later works made by USIS-Korea, including *Ward of Affection* (1953) and *Building Together* (1955).



Figure 14. Opening title and scenes from *Korean Farm Life*

This film has a style of ethnography by depicting the life of a typical Korean farm village, but it is still more of a semi-documentary by starring a professional actress. A Korean film star, Kim Sin-chaе, took the leading role of ‘Tong-hae,’ and the actor who played the part of her brother ‘Hak-po’ also seems to be a professional (see Figure 14). They come from a farming family, living in a town at the foot of Namhan Mountain. *Korean Farm Life* introduces

1949, which allows one to presume the crank-up time was late 1948 (Robert L. Duncan, Feb. 4, 1949).

farm life, customs, and traditional festivities of Korea by following the daily routine of this brother and sister. Korean farmers are portrayed as diligent and cooperative, through depiction of farm work, harvest time, the marketplace, and harvest festivals. The voiceover narrator ends the film by saying in Korean “This is the scenery of farm villages in the Republic of Korea.”

Except for this last comment, the ROK as a political entity does not appear in this film. It only shows the daily life of farmers in a small rural village. However, this lack does not signify that the film is completely unconnected with any political context and the technology of government. As

seen in the small city in California in *Tuesday In November*, the emphasis on ‘the local’ stands out in this film as well. A similar

move is shown in other materials. In *Munhwa*



Figure 15. *Munhwa P'ungsok [Culture and Custom]*, vol.1, Iss.2

P'ungsok [Culture and Custom], the magazine first published in April, 1948 by the OCI, the second issue offered an article titled “Local Mail Delivery Wagon” (see Figure 15). In this manner, stress on local communities and cultures consistently appears in U.S. public information products. The farm village in *Korean Farm Life* offers a model for a healthy Korean community, one built on

self-help and cooperation, where the local person plays a role to support the central entity through self-reliance and self-improvement. It is a technology that might also work as a means of governing. This aspect is discussed in Chapter 10 and 11, when examining with the USIS-Korea film, *Korean Editor* (1958) and a Korean commercial feature, *P'aldogangsan* (1967).

In this regard, it is also worth paying attention to the rural village and its Christian characteristics. Its daily life is not so different from a Protestant Christian life in the West. The narrator comments that Christian churches in Korea had been in existence only for 60 years then, but emphasizes that “Millions of believers in over five thousand rural churches sincerely are holding worship every Sunday. There is no Korean who sees ever-growing crops on plowed ground everyday but is an infidel.” While other religions do not even appear in the film, Christianity, according to this film, had already achieved universality in Korean farm villages by the late 1940s. The beginning of mission works in Korea traces back to the eighteenth century; however legacies of a traditional society and the colonial rule of Japan prevented Christian values from becoming dominant in the first half of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, the everyday life of Protestant women illustrated naturally in this film makes such practice look universal as well as traditional. Korean rural Christian churches were, so to speak, just one of the many local examples of the ‘universal’ religion.

However, the real world situation seems to have been significantly different then from the film. According to a column written by Im Yŏngbin, Secretary of the Korean Association for Christian Education, on November, 1948, there were only 400,000 Christian believers in South Korea out of total population of about 21 million (Yŏngbin Im, 1948; *Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Sep. 15, 1948: 1). A 1949 survey on religious groups in South Korea tells that the total number of Christian believers, including Catholic, Protestant and Anglican, was around 500,000 while there were about 5 million Buddhists and 900,000 Ch'ŏndogyo [Heavenly Way Doctrine] believers. Moreover, though the film's narrator says that there were over 5,000 rural churches, the actual number of all Christian churches in South Korea including urban ones totaled only 340 (*Tonga Ilbo*, Jun. 27, 1949: 2).

This complete divorce from reality seems to have been rooted in the U.S. agency's intention to set forth a desirable model for this newly liberated country. As early as December 1945, two months after the establishment of the USAMGIK, the Section on Religions in the Bureau of Education of the USAMGIK reported the result of a survey on religions in Korea ([Anonymous], 1945(b)). This report classified the various religious bodies in Korea into six categories: Christian, Buddhism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism, Quasi-religions, and Shamanism. While it does not provide either the concrete numbers of each group of believers or a component ratio of the whole religious population, the reporter implies strong preference for Christianity and expresses

concern about its prospects: “The feeling is general that the field is open to Christianity, and that in the building of a New Korea there is no great competition to be feared from [of] other religious bodies” ([Anonymous], 1945(b)). Although the Section claimed to support the freedom of religion, it appears obvious that they also had another aim, namely, to set up a favorable environment for Christian bodies.

It was not just a matter of the reporter’s preference, but rather the consistent policy vision of the USAMGIK in terms of political factors. In November 1945, the SCAP set up the Department of Religion under the Civil Information and Education Section (hereinafter CIE) and began to reinstate Christian missionaries who had been deported from both Japan and Korea during the Pacific War (Pak Sŭng-kil, 1998). While this policy was set in the name of liberation from totalitarian rule, it also served as a momentum and means to absorb missionary families into important posts of the USAMGIK since they had considerable experience and knowledge about Korea. Thus, Korean Christian elites could easily build a network in the highest circles, while several groups of Korean elites who had reason to uphold indigenous religious traditions could not gain political power under the U.S. occupation (Pak Sŭng-kil, 1998).

Under the USAMGIK, Christianity resonated best with the ruling ideology. It was a religion with a strong anti-Communist propensity in favored the status quo, receptive to the Western ideal of democracy, and well equipped

with systemized churches in place (Pak Sŭng-kil, 1998). At the same time, other religions, tinged with national consciousness, including Ch'ŏndogyo, Buddhism and Confucianism, were in vastly different situation. Many of these religious groups opposed the establishment of a separate the government in South Korea. Claiming a national unity government to include the North, Ch'ŏndogyo and parts of some Buddhist groups joined together to build a united front with the Left. This difference, understandably, guaranteed the different political circumstances of the other religious groups after the establishment of the ROK Government (Kang In-ch'ŏl, 1994). It gave Christianity a stable social status, which Pak Sŭng-kil called hegemony in the religious market, even though its population was much smaller than other two religions during the 1940s (Kang In-ch'ŏl, 1994; Pak Sŭng-kil, 1998).

Everyday life, as depicted in *Korean Farm Life*, is a constituted picture rather than a reflection of reality. In other words, it delivers a normative model that realizes the 'universal' value of America at the level of 'the local.' Later in Chapter 5, other continuing aspects will be discussed when exploring two films of the 1950s: *Ward of Affection* and *Building Together*.

Chapter 3. Movie Comes to the Village: Film Spectatorship and The Negotiation of Identity

Under USAMGIK, the South Korean film market was dominated by Hollywood films. This control was mainly caused by USAMGIK's motion picture policy, which allowed CMPE to monopolize the distribution of films (Yecies and Shim, 2011: 141-167). Although this policy encountered ferocious opposition from Korean filmmakers, the proprietors who owned the means of distribution supported the government. Compared to filmmakers, major theater owners in South Korea had different interests in USAMGIK's open bidding policy to loan former Japanese-owned cinemas in March of 1946. Later they became highly cooperative with the government by not participating in autonomous movements when CFA and the leftist filmmakers were suppressed (Han Sang-ŏn, 2007(a)). Such consistent cooperation with restrictive policies was in many ways made possible through the past experience of the proprietors during the colonial period.²² Theater owners' fine-tuned teamwork with USAMGIK can be explained by "the Korean bourgeoisie's basic contentment with authoritarianism" that was indeed learned during the colonial rule (Carter J. Eckert, 1991: 253-

²² For instance, Hong Ch'an, who was the Chairman of the Sŏul-si Kŭkchang hyŏbŭihoe [Seoul Theatre Conference] in 1946, had been in charge of merging Korean film companies into CFP for the Japanese Government-General in 1940 and become Acting Manager of CFP in 1942 (IRCA, 2009). Some of the theater owners, including Kim Kap-ki, had experience in the entertainment business (Chŏn T'ack-i, 1941). Many other owners were not from the entertainment business, but had accumulated wealth under colonial rule (Han Sang-ŏn, 2007(a)).

259). In this monopolistic structure, newsreels and cultural films of DPI and later OCI were shown in cinemas as co-features before the commercial features were shown (Myöng-cha Yi, 2011: 393-673).

Such a stable dominance of USAMGIK films, however, was the case for urban show-places. Since the CFA filmmakers decided to popularize their movement and began to operate mobile screening units in September of 1946 (Han Sang-ön, 2007(a)), local communities became the battlefield of the film propaganda between the Left and the Right. Thus, the mobile units of CFA and other leftist filmmakers groups were regarded as a rival of the Mobile Education Unit of USAMGIK, which had been activated in May of 1946 (SCAP, May, 1946). OCI also had set up local branch information centers and operated its mobile units since September of 1947 (James L. Stewart, Jan. 15 1948). Their aim was to persuade South Koreans to understand the legitimacy of the general election for a separate government, which both the CFA and leftist filmmakers strongly opposed.

In the operations report of the Cheju Center, OCI, USAFIK in July of 1948, the OCI officials did not stop showing films to residents despite the acute situation in Cheju, where an uprising had started on April 3 of 1948 as a demonstration against the separate establishment of a South Korean government and later ended with the massacre of around 20,000 civilians (Ko Ch'ang-hun, 2004). The screening events were held in "a barn secured for the purpose."

At the same time, for purposes of psychological warfare, OCI continued air drops of leaflets (Ralph R. Busick, July 23, 1948). The OCI films were selected to publicize American democracy and the American way of life in the midst of a bitter conflict between local residents and the USAMGIK. It is highly probable that there were frantic negotiations in front of the screen, on whether the audiences would accept the world presented as a picture.²³

In this way, during state formation in postcolonial South Korea, the public was targeted as the audience for the movie screenings ‘delivered’ by the propaganda agencies of the new world superpower, the United States and its opponents. Mobile screening units conducted their missions by applying the techniques of maneuver warfare, infiltration of rural communities, and sometimes performing a ritual procedure to reconfirm the limits of the leverage possessed by the propaganda authorities. Local audiences thus were situated in the middle of the hard negotiation between the messages of the present supranational power and their own understanding of such propagandistic illusions.

²³ On the other hand, the place of negotiation was set in the middle of entertainments carried on with rare pleasure. In the same month in Kwangju, residents seemed to be deeply fascinated by these propaganda film screenings. The center operations report states that motion picture activities were limited at the Kwangju Center for two months due to a lack of electricity, and requests for the showing of the films became numerous, “with great enthusiasm” (Ralph R. Busick, July 23, 1948). This reaction shows how such film showing activities were attractive to the audiences of that time.

1. Opening of Local Information Centers and Election Education

Judging from the USAMGIK report titled *History of the Office of Civil Information, 30. May 1947 through 30. June 1948*, together with other operations reports from local centers, film propaganda activities were emphasized the most in May of 1948, when the OCI was educating Koreans in preparation for the general election on May 10 of that year (see Table 6). Starting with the opening of the Pusan Center on September 12, 1947 until that of the Kaesŏng Center on May 6, 1948, the OCI set up 9 local centers throughout the Peninsula south of the 38th parallel. These included centers in Pusan (Southern Kyŏngsang Province), Kwangju (Southern Chŏlla Province), Taejŏn (Southern Ch‘ungch‘ŏng Province), Taegu (Northern Kyŏngsang Province), Chŏnju (Northern Chŏlla Province), Ch‘ŏngju (Northern Ch‘ungch‘ŏng Province) and Ch‘unch‘ŏn (Kangwŏn Province) (James L. Stewart, Jan. 15 1948; Feb. 25, 1948; Mar. 20, 1948; Apr. 15, 1948; May 15, 1948; [Anonymous], Jun. 15, 1948). Each center secured screening facilities, a viewing room, and mobile units. As seen in Ch‘unch‘ŏn Center reports dating from June 15 to September 15, 1948, the mobile units of each local center covered all the *kuns* [counties] inside its province (see Table 6).

For election education, production of the OCI domestic film, *The People Vote*, was started in January of 1948, and the final cut was reviewed and

distributed on a nationwide scale in August. This film was released not only through the OCI channels, but also commercial cinemas. For five months, the whole process of film production, distribution, and release was completed with great speed. Total attendance throughout the country was approximately 3,000,000. Other election-related films, such as *Tuesday in November* and *Irök'e t'up'yo handa [How to Vote]*,²⁴ were also shown frequently (see Table 6). Centers operated different types of education and propaganda programs along with film screenings, including photo exhibitions, magazine and leaflet distributions, special lectures, library operations, and English classes. The Taejŏn Center's August 1948 report stated that film screening was an effective tool to combine with other activities (James L. Stewart, Sep. 15, 1948).

The OCI and its local centers continued their public information operations actively after the election, as seen in the report dated September 15, 1948. In that same report, a plan for transfer of the OCI function from the Department of the Army to the State Department is revealed. Stewart states that the OCI programs would not be reduced in any drastic scale after the transition (James L. Stewart, Sep. 15, 1948). Therefore, most of the functions at the local information centers were to be given to USIS-Korea.

²⁴ *Irök'e t'up'yo handa [How to Vote]* was a locally produced ten-minute long film showing the voting procedure (USIS-Korea, 1964: 51). Comparing to *The People Vote*, the production of this film was not described in the OCI reports. It is probable that this film was used as supplementary to *The People Vote* and *Tuesday in November*.

Table 6. Film Activities reported by the OCI in 1948 (James L. Stewart, Jan. 15 1948; Feb. 25, 1948; Mar. 20, 1948; Apr. 15, 1948; May 15, 1948; Aug. 15, 1948; Sep. 15, 1948; [Anonymous], Jun. 15, 1948; Ralph R. Busick, Jul. 15, 1948; Jul. 23, 1948)

Period	Report	Operations	Location
Nov. and Dec., 1947	Jan. 15, 1948	* Screened <i>Nation's Capitol</i> , <i>New England</i> , and <i>Korean Newsreel No.25</i> . Total attendance 60,000. * Preparation for distribution completed: American public information films including <i>Lincoln Tunnel</i> and <i>Swing King</i> , and Korean local film <i>Peace Returns to the Village</i> .	In general
Jan., 1948	Feb. 25, 1948	* Screened 5 documentaries including <i>Lincoln Tunnel</i> and <i>New England</i> , and newsreel titled <i>Progress of Korea No.1</i> . Average attendance 670 per screening. * Production of <i>People Vote</i> begins.	In general
Mar., 1948	Apr. 15, 1948	* Production of <i>People Vote</i> scheduled to complete April 10. * Importation and distribution of <i>Tuesday in November</i> scheduled * Importation of <i>World Food Problem</i> and <i>Lessons in Living</i> completed * Screened a total 8 films with attendance 162,205.	In general
Apr., 1948	May 15, 1948	* Production of <i>People Vote</i> completed. Preview on April 12. Distribution of 15 prints of 35mm film and 20 prints of 16mm to cinemas and local centers scheduled until April 20. * Preparation for production of a 20-minute short film depicting concert of Korean Symphony Orchestra and Chang Chu Wha	In general
May, 1948	May 12, 1948	* Screened election education films after opening of the Kaesŏng Center on May 6. Attendance around 3,500.	Kaesŏng
	Jun. 1, 1948	* Screened <i>Tuesday in November</i> , <i>Progress of Korea</i> , and <i>United Nations</i> .	Ch'unch'ŏn
	Jun. 3, 1948	* Acquisition of <i>People Vote</i> and <i>How to Vote</i> . Screened from April 23 to May 9, at 15 places including middle schools and village halls in 13 county towns, with attendance 11,000~12,000. * Numerous visits, from Center opening day on May 5 to May 9. Screened <i>People Vote</i> , <i>How to Vote</i> , <i>Tuesday in November</i> , <i>Children at Play</i> , and <i>Progress of Korea</i> at the information center and the city hall, with attendance around 8,000.	Taejŏn
	Jun. 8, 1948	* Screened <i>USA</i> and <i>The Nation's Capitol</i> , 5 times a day, with introduction given beforehand.	Pusan
	Jun. 15, 1948	* Screened <i>People Vote</i> at the Office of Civil Information, and cinemas. Total attendance around 3,000,000. * Screened at each information center, with total attendance 673,372. * Production of Chang Chu Wha film begins.	In general
		* Screened <i>People Vote</i> and <i>How to Vote</i> , with attendance 50,000	Kwangju
		* Total attendance 3,000.	Kaesŏng

		* Screened <i>People Vote</i> and <i>How to Vote</i> , with attendance 11,000~12,000. Branches and city hall attendance 8,000.	Taejŏn
		* Center attendance of 2,000 and 3 down town and 3 local area screenings, attendance of 6,000.	Ch'unch'ŏn
		* Information center attendance 10,192.	Pusan
Jun., 1948	Jul. 15, 1948	* Total attendance 448,110. * Production plans started for a documentary on the end of the U.S. occupation.	In general
		* Outdoor screening of <i>Peace Comes to The Village</i> , joint sponsored by the Ch'ŏngju Center and the Northern Ch'ungh'ŏng Provincial Government Bureau of Agriculture. Attendance 40,000.	Ch'ŏngju
	Jul. 23, 1948	* Film screening in a barn for security	Cheju
		* Mobile screening of <i>Tuesday in November</i> . In July and August, <i>Grain Collection</i> scheduled to be shown 24 times	Ch'unch'ŏn
		* Film screening postponed due to lack of electricity. Many requests for screenings.	Kwangju
	Jul., 1948	Aug. 15, 1948	* Released <i>Progress of Korea Nos. 15 and 16</i> , <i>World News Nos. 307, 308 and 309</i> , a special feature of <i>Inauguration of President Rhee Syngman</i> , Korean adaptation of U.S. documentaries <i>The House I Live In</i> and <i>Blue Ribbon</i> . * Total attendance in all the local information centers of 1,402,000.
* Attendance of 2,500. Most screening shown outside.			Cheju
* Mobile screening of <i>Peace Comes to the Village</i> . * Mobile team traveled approx. 500 miles and offered 14 outdoor screenings to 38,500 persons.			Ch'unch'ŏn
* Screenings held 5 times a week to capacity crowds.			Kaesŏng
Aug., 1948	Sep. 15, 1948	* Total attendance of 63,000 for 21 different screenings.	Ch'ŏngju
		* Regular screenings 3 times a day to capacity crowds.	Chŏnju
		* Motion picture team visited every <i>kuns</i> , and showed <i>Peace Comes to the Village</i> , <i>Tuesday in November</i> , and also short newsreels. Up to mid-August, 80,000 persons watched <i>Peace Comes to the Village</i> , and more watched <i>Tuesday in November</i> . Seven combination music-movie performances given with great success. A crowd of 10,000 gathered for the show in Chumunjin.	Ch'unch'ŏn
		* First outdoor screening with attendance of 20,000.	Kaesŏng
		* Attendance increased from 19,000 in July to 24,000 in August, partially because of the U.S. Steel Co. documentary <i>The Making and Shaping of Steel</i> .	Pusan
		* Due to hot and sticky weather, indoor screenings in the center restricted to special groups. Group showing was held 2 times a day with average attendance of 200.	Taejŏn
		* Evening English classes used films for language instruction.	

It is significant to remember that the operation of local information centers started to prepare for a separate government. As obvious in the Cheju Uprising case, the establishment of a South Korean separate government was an object of intense controversy throughout the Peninsula, accompanied by violent conflicts between leftists and rightists, and sometimes even guerilla actions (Ko Ch'ang-hun, 2004). In the midst of the controversy, OCI information centers were set up in all provinces in South Korea to represent the policies and political aims of the U.S. Army for the Korean Peninsula. In other words, these centers became strongholds for the 'war of position' during an intense political divide (Antonio Gramsci, 1971: 206-276). Center activities not only increased the level of contact between U.S. authorities and Korean local residents, but also guaranteed strategic footholds for a stable operation of the propaganda machine. The programs were routinized, and local residents frequently visited center and packed their viewing rooms. Mobile units covered smaller areas than before, since they were assigned at the provincial level rather than the national level. In other words, securing these strategic footholds for propaganda activities assured effective actions in the 'war of maneuver' (Antonio Gramsci, 1971: 206-276).

2. Organization and Operation of the Mobile Education Units

In terms of the ‘war of maneuver,’ it is worthy to notice that both DPI and OCI conducted film propaganda activities in provincial areas actively and sometimes vigorously. According to a report on the public information affairs of the USAMGIK in May, 1946, the DPI established a tour plan for the Korean Mobile Education Unit nationwide. The report writes that this unit, consisting of 16 actors, actresses, speakers and technicians, was to visit all the provincial capitals on a special train and visit other small cities by motor vehicle. It also adds that two American films were to be screened with Korean subtitles, and that a drama would be presented by the actors (SCAP, May, 1946). A follow-up report in June writes that this unit had recently concluded a tour of Northern Kyöngsang Province, and finished its nation-wide tour on June 23 (SCAP, Jun., 1946). Another report in September of the same year states that attendance at some of the outdoor shows reached 15,000, while indoor audiences were smaller (SCAP, Sep., 1946).

More emphasis was placed on the provinces after OCI took over the propaganda authority from DPI. A report by Director Stewart on November 10, 1947, five months after the establishment of the office, states that OCI considered “decentralization in operation” as an essential aim and endeavored to “operate into the countryside” from “a smooth, impressive headquarters” located in Seoul. After OCI organized a field trip to rural communities directly from

Seoul, Stewart evaluates in the report that this trip was the single most successful feature of OCI (James L. Stewart, Nov. 10, 1947). From July to November of 1947, according to the report, OCI carried out 6 provincial trips and showed short documentaries to audiences of up to 5,000, traveling by jeep and truck. It writes that OCI procured 200 projectors for these events (James L. Stewart, Nov. 10, 1947). It seems also that this activity continued through the next year, when each local center began to operate on its own cycle. As stated above, each center's mobile screening operations seem to have been considerably successful. For instance, according to a report in July, 1948, over 40,000 farmers and their families attended outdoor mobile motion picture shows jointly sponsored by the Ch'ŏngju Center and the Provincial Bureau of Agriculture (Ralph R. Busick, Jul. 15, 1948).

However, these field trips were not an invention of the U.S. agencies during the USAMGIK years. As seen in Koons' plan for Korea during the Pacific War, itinerant film exhibitions were already common for Korean audiences. A news article from August, 1920 reports that the Japanese Government-General ordered a provincial tour of a motion picture for local heads in Korea that contained scenes from the organized inspection tour to Japan (*Tonga Ilbo*, Aug. 20, 1920: 2). This signifies that the colonial government utilized mobile projection as a tool of propaganda already in the early 1920s. The other news from 1922 reports that a Kyoyuk Ch'ŏngnyŏn Hwaldong Sajindae [Youth Educational Motion-Picture Squad], affiliated with the

T'ongyŏng Ch'ŏngnyŏndan [Young Men's Association of the city of T'ongyŏng], arrived in the town of Naju and screened educational films for two nights (*Tonga Ilbo*, Oct. 19, 1922: 4). In other words, there were specialized groups of people in charge of mobile film projection. They were called Hwal-sa-dae [活寫隊, Motion-Picture Squad].

It is probable that some Hwal-sa-daes were set up under the Japanese Government-General and its provincial governments, while others were affiliated with various half-public-and-half-private organizations, such as youth associations and educational institutions. The topics of their propaganda activities varied: Introduction of modernized civilization, lectures on current issues, moral education, public health and hygiene, and more (Kim Han-sang, 2009).²⁵ Since the 1930s, war propaganda film screenings through mobile projection were actively conducted, in relation to the outbreak and development of the war. There are several newspaper reports from this time that convey news of war film screening events or mobile projections operated by military organizations (Kim Han-sang, 2009).

This accumulation of experience in mobile cinema was what attracted Koons' attention. Thus, itinerant film exhibition was a typical form of film

²⁵ Another news piece from 1928 records that a Hwal-sa-dae of the Southern Kyŏngsang Provincial Government showed an educational film on hygiene to an audience of up to 1,000 in a schoolyard (*Chosŏn Ilbo*, Apr. 20, 1928: 4).

propaganda and shows continuity throughout both the Japanese and the U.S. occupations. Unlike urban areas that had been actively absorbing new culture and information from the outside world, the provinces suffered from a chronic information gap. Hence the ruling powers judged that these locals could receive messages from verbal propagation, performances and moving image exhibitions more easily than through usual printed media distribution. Mobile film screening, as a tool of information warfare, was a form of maneuver warfare. Film units infiltrated and penetrated the provinces. In particular during the U.S. occupation, there was a fierce competition between propaganda and counter-propaganda between the leftists and the rightists, so that field trips into the countryside were also as competitive as other ideological types of warfare. While cinemas in the cities fulfilled the role of a strategic foothold to lure the urban audience, itinerant film exhibition was significantly active to approach the everyday lives of people in the countryside directly and mobilize the rural audience.

3. Rural Audiences and the Spectatorship of 'Movie-Coming'

The U.S. public information agency operation of local centers and mobile screening units should be examined in terms of the formation of early cinematic

spectatorship in rural areas. While the culture of everyday movie-going had been already formed in Korea before the Liberation, it was confined to urban areas, mostly Seoul. For instance, although annual attendance in Korea in 1940 was 21 million, there were only 45 *ups* [towns] and 7 *myöns* [townships] which had facilities to show films. In another 28 *ups* and 2,371 *myöns*, there were no regular movie houses (Yu Sön-yöng, 2009). Itinerant film exhibition was the alternative in those local villages. Even during the mid-1950s to the 1960s in South Korea, mobile screenings played a role by offering initial cinematic experiences to local people (Wi Kyöngnye, 2010). That is to say, unlike the capital city Seoul which had already formed its commercial film markets in the 1900s, local areas had no basis for the formation of these markets and permanent theaters. Thus, mobile screenings, conducted both by propagandists and showmen, defined the early cinematic experience of local audiences. Movie houses, which might be stable channels for commercial film distribution, numbered only 30 in the whole country in 1953, and 7 of these were located in Seoul and 4 in Pusan. Many other provinces had no cinemas at the time (Wi Kyöngnye, 2010). This gap in cinematic experience between the urban and rural areas shows that mobile screenings by the Japanese Government-General and later the U.S. public information agencies were crucial and did explain the nature of the local spectatorship in South Korea.

These facts raise an interesting question regarding early cinema spectatorship in South Korea. There have been meaningful analyses of the

urban visual culture and the formation of cinematic spectatorship in South Korea during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Yu Sŏn-yŏng, 2009; Yi Sun-chin, 2009; Kim So-yŏng, 2010). However, it is doubtful that this urban experience should be considered as a general model of Korean modernity, considering the extreme gap in cinematic experiences between cities and provinces until the 1950s. Itinerant film exhibition is the opposite of everyday ‘movie-going’ in Seoul, and could be called ‘movie-coming.’ Movie-coming defined the cinematic experience in rural villages for over half a century after the first film screening in Korea. Considering that the historical rural-urban migration began in earnest in the 1950s and 1960s, causing a concentration of population in major cities (Pak Sang-t‘ae, 1979), rural experiences should be regarded as one of the major factors in the formation of early spectatorship.

Tom Gunning’s theoretical framework on early cinema, which largely supports the precedent studies on urban cinematic experiences in Korea, should be reviewed in the following context:

While the impulse to curiositas may be as old as Augustine, there is no question that the nineteenth century sharpened this form of “lust of the eyes” and its commercial exploitation. Expanding urbanisation with its kaleidoscopic succession of city sights, the growth of consumer society with its new emphasis on stimulating spending through visual display, and the escalating horizons of colonial exploration with new peoples and territories to be categorised and exploited all provoked the desire for images and attractions (Tom Gunning, 1995: 125).

On the opposite side of “colonial exploration,” it seems difficult to adopt the

“form of lust of the eyes” when investigating the local spectatorship formed throughout the periods of colonization and foreign occupation. In Korea, prior to the expansion of urban-industrialization, three different dimensions of political governance were violently pushed on to the peninsula, by imperialists, foreign occupation forces, and founders of separate governments. Visual products were their favorite tools to use for propaganda to infiltrate the countryside on vehicles of armed squads. While “consumer eyes” in nineteenth century Europe were creations of craftsmanship and markets, most ‘local eyes’ in the twentieth century South Korea had to directly face the state powers standing behind the screens, whatever the substance of each of those states was. Therefore, for local audiences in Korea, duty of citizens took the place of “the need for thrills in an industrialised and consumer-oriented society” (Tom Gunning, 1995: 126).

Gunning’s criticism of the concept of “the enthralled spectator” is still effective, nonetheless, in that such local spectatorship was not a product of a singular process of mobilization and persuasion, but rather a “vacillation between belief and incredulity” (Tom Gunning, 1995: 117). Uproarious viewing in outdoor showings seem to have created a bigger distraction than viewing in urban indoor movie-houses with soundproof facilities. According to Wi Kyōngnye’s oral history research, itinerant film exhibitions in local areas were big “village events” for the residents and mostly combined with various other performances. It is said that a mobile screening was regarded as an

experience similar to watching exorcisms which were combinations of shamanism and performances in traditional agricultural society (Wi Kyöngnye, 2010). Although those local audiences were mobilized to watch these maneuvered screens, the audiences were dominated and influenced by heated distraction at the same time.

Considering these vernacular experiences, Gunning's definition of audience should be reconsidered. His naming of the "observer," the modern subject stimulated by subjective substances, is partly true to the situations of Korean local audiences (Tom Gunning, 2006: 36). However, the landscape they observed was not exactly one of modern markets and arcades, as the ideal "observer" was regarded. It was rather gained from movie screens as bullets were fired by mobile soldiers. Local audiences who were the targets of these bullet screens²⁶ had to be situated in hard negotiations between the present state powers and the illusions that came from the screens to the audiences. This status of heated negotiators could be assumed also to reflect the military and/or colonial aspects of "encountering with modernity" (Tom Gunning, 1995: 129). In other words, this was a spectatorship that emerged in the global historical context of Imperialist wars and the Cold War and, therefore, not an exceptional sample that could only be applied to Korean local cases. For instance, the

²⁶ The phrase 'bullet screen' in this study was created to define this vernacular experience of local screens, citing Virilio's idea that "cinema [...] effectively came under the category of weapons" (Paul Virilio, 1989: 7-8). It means the initial illusions of the film propaganda in the battlefields of the psychological warfare.

importation of techniques and technologies for mobile film propaganda activities from the Malayan Film Unit and the USIS-Singapore to the USIS-Saigon in 1951 was another noticeable event that witnessed the cinematic conjunction of postcolonial state-building and the Cold War strategy of containment, which were made possible by bullet screens (John Donovan, Aug. 28, 1951).

At this point, the positioning of these audiences as negotiators is based on the premise that propaganda films are not media that deliver the literal meanings intended by their senders. Propaganda films were a way of understanding the ‘world’ which could not be read in the written scripts but seen as a picture. When Korean audiences watched the American war film *Justice* in 1946, its scenes of a huge factory area were presented as a visual attraction. Such attractions are not mere copies nor translations from written languages, but originals per se, images through which audiences could learn a new way of life and a different vision of the future. They do not reflect nor do they represent the world, but rather ‘express’ it as images only. In this sense, Kim Hong-chung suggests using the term *Ausdruck* [expression], coined by Walter Benjamin when criticizing the concept of *Vorstellung* [representation]. While *Vorstellung* reflects the “mortal deficiency” in the existing methodologies of sociology of knowledge where the base is believed to be causally connected with the superstructure, *Ausdruck* is an alternative term that is conscious of the “expressive associations” where the superstructure appears “in formative ways”: “In the face of the desire to analyse and interpret every meaning to the last, the

visual does not let us see the truth of its own” (Kim Hong-chung, 2005). It is an approach from the side of interpreters; however, it also tells that there is a methodological deficiency on the side of the creators. Although propaganda films were considered as a means to convey certain intentions of these creators, they were not presented as a representation of the world, but as the ‘world’ itself as expressed in formative ways. Not as a medium delivering literal rationality, but as a bullet of images being poured into visually untried audiences, mobile propaganda films developed their *Weltbild* [world-picture] in front of the eyes of the audiences:

What is it — a “world picture”? Obviously, a picture of the world. But what is a world? What does “picture” mean here? “World” serves, here, as a name for beings in their entirety. The term is not confined to the cosmos, to nature. History, too, belongs to world. [...] Initially, the word “picture” makes one think of a copy of something. This would make the world picture, as it were, a painting of beings as a whole. But “world picture” means more than this. We mean by it the world itself; the totality of beings taken, as it is for us, as standard-giving and obligating. [...] Undersood in an essential way, “world picture” does not mean “picture of the world” but, rather, the world grasped as picture (Martin Heidegger, 2002: 67).

Using Heidegger’s conception, a world does not preexist as an object to represent, but is present as a picture. What appears in the face of the subject is not “the picture of the world,” but “the world itself constituted as a picture” (W.J.T. Mitchell, 2007). Hence, audiences of the bullet screens are affected by a sense that “the whole world” presented in the illusion is “within reach” (Tom Gunning, 2006: 25-41). They feel this world expressed as a picture spatially

and temporally, through which a variety of ununitable experiences and responses can be produced. At the same time, tension pulled by the state power behind the screen might push the audience to absorb the illusion as intended. This whole process becomes a field of intense negotiation.²⁷

²⁷ Some paragraphs in this section are modified from the original Korean article, Kim Hansang, "Cinematic Experience of 'New Order in East Asia': Japanese Imperial Propaganda Films on Joseon-Manchuria Tourism." *Journal of Film Studies*, vol.43, 2010(a): 81-114.

Part II. Gazing At the Rehabilitating Self

Part II deals with the period from the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 to the close of the UNKRA's rebuilding program in 1958. The impact of the war, ironically, provided the momentum to impart geopolitical significance to the Korean Peninsula. The aim of reconstruction of the damage from the war required an ex post facto construction of the Korean Self as well as an ideal model of the rehabilitated Self. Propaganda directed toward Koreans became an urgent task, and as stated in Chapter 4, the USIS-Korea film production system became remarkably innovative during this period. Its new studio in Sangnam was equipped with the most advanced technology and was a training camp for Korean filmmakers. UNKRA's Film Unit was also established during this period to reconstruct the South Korean motion picture industry.

The cultural films analyzed in Chapter 5 show how this mission of reconstruction created a heterogeneous model of the rehabilitated Self. In the narrative on self-reliance, America presents its long-lasting existence as an 'outsider which is that of a non-outsider,' or an outsider carved from the inside.

Chapter 6 problematizes the self-identity of the Korean filmmakers affiliated with USIS-Korea and UNKRA. They were located in a competition between the aims of nation building and Cold War bloc building. At the same

time, they were not satisfied with their role as employees of propaganda agencies and sought to develop their own world of art.

Such a heterogeneous and contested identity of the Self was imprinted in the mechanism of Self-gazing, as stated in Chapter 7. It was a form of identification with a self-relying subjectivity, in the same way that the mediator of the gaze was the American agency.

Chapter 4. Innovation through War and Reconstruction: USIS and UNKRA, 1950-1958

On May 19, 1952, during the Korean War, the first issue of *Liberty News* was released (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Mar. 7, 1963: 7). It was the third newsreel series from Liberty Production, the film production



Figure 16. *Liberty News No. 1* (1952)

company of USIS-Korea, following *Han'guk Nyusŭ* [*Korea News*] (1948-1950) and *Segye nyusŭ* [*World News*](1950-1952) (*Tonga Ilbo*, Aug. 16, 1959: 5; KBS, 1992: 1-2). *Liberty News No. 1* consists of several events from May of 1952, including President Yi Sŭng-man's audience with General Douglas MacArthur, opening of the Pusan City Council, the 20th ceremony for the honorable discharge of Korean disabled veterans, and the 360th anniversary of the Imjin War.

The launch of the *Liberty News* series was a symbolic event in the history of U.S. public information filmmaking in South Korea. It was not only the core newsreel of Liberty Production, but also an indicator that showed the rise and fall of film production. Above all else, this series represented USIS-Korea's film studio system. For USIS-Korea, the outbreak of the Korean War

was a catalyst for the tremendous strides in film production and the establishment of film studios in Chinhae and Sangnam. Especially, the film studio in Sangnam since 1952 had provided exceptional environments for both technology and techniques. A considerable number of newsreels and documentaries were regularly produced in this studio in the 1950s. *Liberty News* was one of the first products as well as the last product of this same studio system. (*Maeilgyöngje Sinmun*, Jun. 2, 1967: 3).

In this chapter, the internal and external conditions for such innovation in film production that were led by the two foreign agencies, USIS-Korea and UNKRA, both during and after the Korean War are examined and discussed.²⁸

1. The Korean War, and USIS-Korea's New Film Studio, June, 1950 – July, 1953

During the Korean War, Korea was considered an abundant source of film propaganda resources with real combat and rehabilitation scenes. In a secret internal memorandum of the U.S. State Department on October 2, 1950, George

²⁸ Sections 1 and 2 of this chapter are revised from part of the original Korean article, Kim Han-sang, "(Re)Presentations and Discourses in the USIS-Korea's Film Propaganda - The Rehabilitated Self in Rebuilding the Nation in the 1950s." *Society and History*, vol. 95, 2012: 243-279.

L. Harris, a cultural attaché of the American Embassy in China before the war, emphasizes the importance of the resumption of local film production in Korea:

“Korea today should provide many good subjects for pictures to be shown all over the world, as well as in Korea, for propaganda purposes. We should get pictures of the havoc wrought by the aggressors, [...] at the same time, we should photograph the beginnings of rehabilitation, emphasizing aid of the UN and US, and its progress through the ensuing weeks and months. Such shots should make excellent propaganda for months, possibly years, to come” (George L. Harris, Oct. 2, 1950; Leonard L. Bacon, 1990).

As Harris stressed, the United States Information and Educational Exchange Program (hereinafter USIE) resumed motion pictures operations in Seoul in October, four months after the outbreak of the war, along with radio, publications, libraries, exchange of persons, and an English language institute (Edward W. Barrett, Oct. 25, 1950). Imported films were dubbed in Korean for presentation in series. Locally produced newsreels and documentaries numbered 12 to 15 reels per month. The USIE Korea also operated 9 centers in the provinces and Seoul, and 10 mobile units. Films were shown throughout centers, schools, and governmental organizations by these mobile units.

The same month, the U.S. Department of the Army also initiated procurement action for film equipment and resources to conduct psychological warfare (Dept of Army, Oct. 27, 1950). 10 mobile film units, equipped with 16mm sound and 35mm slide projection equipment, public address systems, recording and record playing equipment, and related supplies, shipped from

Japan, along with 300 sets of 16mm projectors with screens and 25 prints of 16mm films in Korean language. The other 5 mobile units left New York for Pusan on February 3, 1951 by the U.S. Army transport directly, with another 5 units following on April 7 (Acheson, Apr. 9, 1951).²⁹

As of December 1951, the total number of the mobile units assigned to Korea was 19: 3 units were in Pusan, 3 in Taegu, 3 in Taejŏn, 3 in Seoul, 1 in Chŏnju, and 3 in Kwangju. Further, 2 units were held for operation in new branches, and 1 unit was used by the Motion Picture Production Center (W. Bradley Connors, Dec. 7, 1951). Mobile screening operations were sometimes exposed to guerrilla actions. In the USIE report in December, 1951, one vehicle was reported ambushed and lost to Communist guerrillas at that time. The report also emphasizes that the operational expenses for mobile units were considerably high.

Wartime audience reactions to the films were “enthusiastic” (Muccio, Sep. 3, 1950). The U.S. Ambassador Muccio states in a telegram to the Department of State that *Segye nyusŭ Nos. 416* and *417* received fervent response from Korean audiences. According to the operations report of the USIE in Taegu in September 1950, the film *President Truman’s Speech* and *5 Segye nyusŭ* were shown in the Taegu center with a total attendance at 75,960 persons,

²⁹ They were equipped with 50 Vitor projectors, a Wall camera with lense and accessories, a Model Q alignment gauge Eyemo camera, one 3-kilowatt generator set, and a Depue optical reduction printer.

and on mobile screens at rural villages around Taegu, with 37,870 persons attending (John J. Muccio, Oct. 6, 1950). Muccio requested more films that emphasized war shots, UN actions and UN military aid, since there were only newsreels on these topics in Korea at the time.

The USIS-Korea's resumed film production unit was withdrawn from Seoul and initially located in Chinhae, a Southern naval port city in South Korea. It started to increase its productivity. As of July 21, 1951, the unit was producing 2 newsreels, 2 documentaries and some adaptations of U.S. documentaries per month (Muccio, July 21, 1951). In the same manner as in the USAMGIK period, the wartime situation resumed the collaboration between the local film production unit and the U.S. Army Signal Corps. In November, 1951, the Corps planned to produce a new documentary on the POW camps in South Korea, and USIS-Korea was consulted for effective "world-propaganda angles" and requested to process the rushes (Muccio, November 23, 1951). The new production plant in Chinhae ran on a 24-hour basis. In a confidential report on USIE Korea on December 7, 1951, W. Bradley Connors, an official of the U.S. International Information Administration, reported that the Chinhae plant turned out "top quality" material (W. Bradley Connors, Dec. 7, 1951).

However it was not until the relocation of the production unit to Sangnam, a nearby small town, early in 1952 that USIS-Korea's film unit improved its production facilities to be a full-scale studio. Muccio explains in a

telegram to the State Department that the high maintenance expense and low operational efficiency of the Chinhae structure brought about the decision to find a new location (Muccio, Nov. 23, 1951).

In Sangnam, the unit could establish its own film studio equipped with a real sound stage, modern automatic development and printing equipment, a new processing machine, and sound recording equipment that used magnetic film. Ridgeway, the chief Production Officer of the organization from 1950 to 1958, recalls that the films made in Sangnam were much better quality than those in

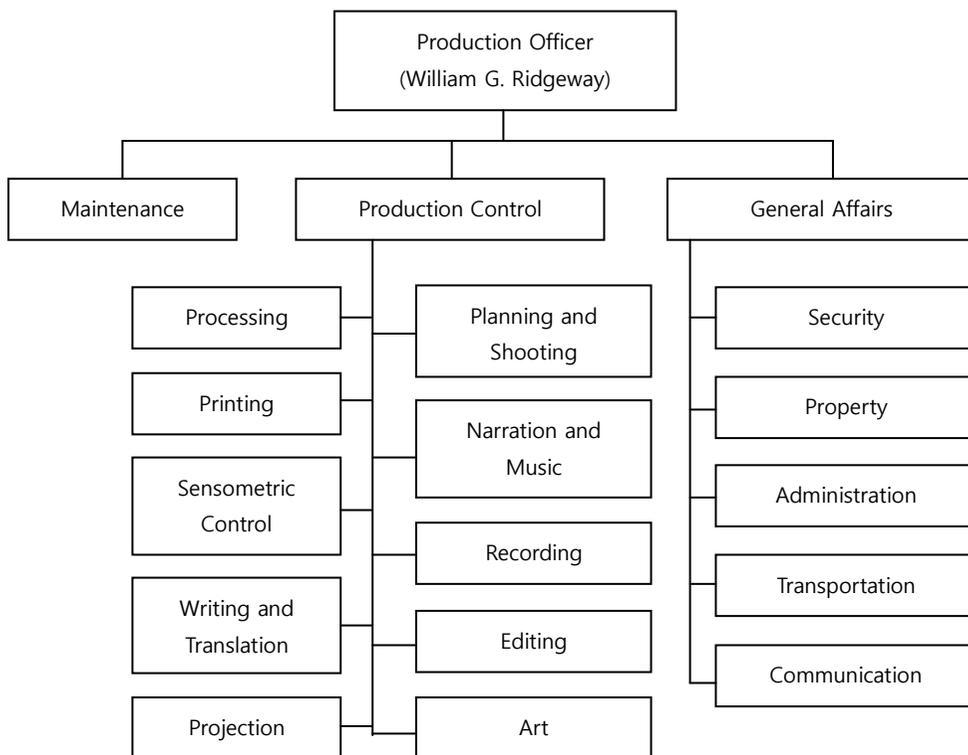


Figure 17. Organization chart for Liberty Production, USIS-Korea (Theodore Conant, Sep. 7, 1953)

Chinhae, because of the better performance of new machines (William G. Ridgeway, Feb., 28, 1989). While the motion picture program was still considered as “the primary weapon to enable USIS-Korea to convince Korea and the world,” the facilities of the Sangnam film production were indeed regarded as “unique” and requested to be mobilized “to the utmost” to greatly expand the program (Higgins, May 27, 1953). From 1952, the Sangnam film production studio continued to function as the center of the USIS-Korea’s film production activities for approximately 15 years until May of 1967 (*Maeilgyŏngje*, Jun. 2, 1967: 3).

After securing the better working environment, the film unit was able to regularly produce more works of better quality than before. Such works consisted of newsreel series like *Liberty News* (1952~1967), documentaries like *Building Together* (1955) and a few feature films including Kim Ki-yŏng’s debut film, *Boxes of Death* (1955) (Kim Han-sang, 2011(a)). These films were shown in cinemas regularly before the commercial features, in each branch projection room for public screenings, and in rural areas where mobile education units came on provincial tours. The extent of distribution was also considerably higher. For instance, according to a secret report to the State Department in October 1954, 75 cinemas in the nation regularly screened USIS films, 20 mobile screening units toured the country, and an average of 3,750,000 people watched the films per month (F.B. Tenny, Oct. 5, 1954).

2. The Eisenhower Administration and the Yi Sŭng-man Government,
January, 1953 – April, 1960

South Korea's changed status as a target of U.S. overseas propaganda activities became more significant during the Korean War. According to one report from the U.S. Embassy in Pusan to the State Department, U.S. propaganda activities were no longer merely a publicity campaign in an allied country. They were recognized as a weapon of information warfare which could act as a global model at the forefront of the Cold War battle (J.R. Higgins, May 12, 1953). For USIS-Korea, a simultaneous progress of "friend making" and "enemy making" was an urgently emerging mission in the cultural sector of that time (Chŏng Il-chun, 2003: 21-24).

In addition, USIS-Korea's film propaganda activities in the 1950s were conducted as part of a global procedure that USIA established as an U.S. overseas representative. From 1952 to 1953, when USIS-Korea's film department was moved to Sangnam as a full-scale film production system, the U.S. administration transitioned from Harry S. Truman to Dwight D. Eisenhower. It is important to examine the Eisenhower Administration's global strategy to explain USIS-Korea's activities at the time. While U.S. global strategy of the

Truman Administration had been characterized by “global imagery of containment,” including the Truman Doctrine and George F. Kennan’s blockade policy, a “global imagery of integration” now emerged as a new strategic model in the Eisenhower era (Christina Klein, 2003: 19-60). In other words, U.S. officials started to recognize non-Communist or pro-American countries not just as tools for blocking the spread of Communism, but as necessary members that could be integrated into a unified world through a process of mutual understanding. The 1953 measure to build the USIA with an “integrated” network of the USIS in each country must be understood as of the goals of mutual understanding (Nicholas J. Cull, 1998).

In a way, the transformation of U.S. global strategy during this period corresponds to the “rhetoric of peace” which was used as a tool of psychological warfare for coping with changed conditions, such as Stalin’s death and the Korean War Armistice in 1953 (Pak In-suk, 2005). While this “New Look” policy was carried forward to resolve the financial difficulties caused by the Korean War, its emphasis on effective military capabilities resulted in strategic nuclear arms enhancement on both sides of the rivaling superpowers (Pak T’ae-kyun, 2009), so the banner for “peaceful co-existence” remained as a rhetorical standoff (Laura A. Belmonte, 2008: 67-69). The Eisenhower Administration’s rhetoric of *détente* with the Soviet Union in the 1950s was not for practical purposes, but rather for psychological warfare to strengthen the U.S. position in

the Cold War environment (Pak In-suk, 2005). This development of psychological warfare explains the context for the establishment of the USIA.

However, this strategy was not conducted in smooth collaboration with the Yi Sŭng-man Government in South Korea. As has been pointed out in many other studies, the Yi Sŭng-man Government was frequently at odds with the Eisenhower Administration in terms of innerpolitical decisions, military diplomacy, and economic policies. Both entered compromise reluctantly after conflicts of opinions (Yi Wan-pŏm, 2007; Ch'a Sang-ch'öl, 2001; Pak T'ae-kyun, 2009). This circumstance influenced the status and activities of U.S. agencies, including the American Embassy in Korea. As for USIS-Korea and its activities, the Yi Sŭng-man Government regarded it as a "potential threat" (Hŏ Ũn, 2008(a): 196-203), and took the position to be "indifferent or opposed to its activities" (Chŏng Il-chun, 2003: 34-37).

Hence, USIS-Korea's film propaganda activities during this period were conducted under conditions that could hardly be homogenized and lead to the ROK Government-led nation-building project. On the other hand, as stated in the previous section, its high quality production gave the USIS-Korea overwhelming superiority over the ROK Government in terms of propaganda agencies. This advantage allowed the USIS to have a major hand in a large proportion of the propaganda activities directed toward the South Korean public (Chŏng Il-chun, 2003: 42).

3. UNKRA's Rehabilitation Project for the Film Industry, December, 1950
– July, 1958

The role of the UNKRA in propagating motion pictures during the 1950s must be investigated. On August 20, 1952, three film specialists were dispatched to Korea to establish a special UNKRA Film Unit (Bill Reiche, Aug. 13, 1952). They included Alfred Wagg, the chief of the team; Richard Bagley, the cameraman; and Theodore Conant, the electrician and sound man. The writer Pat Frank (Harry Hart Frank) had been sent to Pusan a little earlier than the shooting crew. All were from the United States. One important objective of their initial ones was “to develop a Korean motion picture production unit” and train the team “for the production of educational films and film strips in such fields as sanitary education, agriculture, literacy training, etc” (Bill Reiche, Jul. 24, 1952; Don Pryor, Jul. 25, 1953). The UNKRA Film Unit aimed to hire and train local filmmakers, so they would be able to engage in actual work. Until then, the United Nations had been utilizing one cinematographer in Korea (Bill, May 19, 1952), but the public information officers for the UNKRA had been seeking a way to establish UNKRA's own film unit as early as September of 1951 (Michael Wilson, Sep. 25, 1951).

The Unit conducted its mission that way. On August 29, soon after the team had arrived in Korea, Conant and a Korean filmmaker, Yi Hyōng-p'yo, turned in a report to Wagg that described the conditions for motion picture production in South Korea and the environments related performing arts like theater plays and radio dramatic shows (Conant and Lee, Aug. 29, 1952). Yi Hyōng-p'yo, whose another name was Arthur Lee, had worked as an Assistant Producer for the USIS-Korea's motion picture branch from 1949 until 1951. He was going to become an Assistant Director and interpreter for the UNKRA Film Unit's first film, *Ko-Chip*. Yi had such a positive level of proficiency in English that non-Korean staff in the unit needed him as an accompanying interpreter. He began to live with Conant, sharing a house in Seoul (Yi Hyōng-p'yo, Nov.29 and Dec. 6, 2005). The partnership between Conant and Yi from that moment on is important in the motion picture activities of the unit, because they took over the role of Wagg and Bagley after December 1952 (Don Pryor, Jun. 9, 1953). The other Korean filmmaker, Im Pyōng-ho, was hired as an Assistant Cameraman and received living allowances every one to three weeks (M.M. Heath, May 25, 1953). According to an oral history interview, Korean recording engineer, Yi Chong-il, also was at work for the unit. Several other filmmakers, including Yi Kyōng-sun, Yu Jang-san, Hong Il-myōng and Kim Myōng-je, were hired to the unit on a freelance basis (KRECA, 2003: 56-57). They absorbed new technologies and know-how, including how to use new equipment such as Arriflex and Eymo cameras (Yi Hyōng-p'yo, Dec. 6, 2005).

Donald J. Pryor, the Director of Public Information, and Pat Frank started searching for Korean actors for the unit's first film, as early as when Frank arrived in Seoul (Pat Frank, 1953: 117-120). Conant and Yi's above-mentioned report also included information on Korean actors and actresses, such as approximate daily salary, acting style, and names of leading stars. Wagg finally decided to use an entire non-professional cast (Pat Frank, 1953: 159-160). The three principal children roles were assigned to Sin Tong-ch'öl, Hong Sa-hae, and Ch'oe Chi-suk. Sin took the title role (Sir Arthur Rucker, Nov. 2, 1952; G.E. Jones, Nov. 22, 1952). Each of the three children received an honorarium equivalent to a year scholarship in school (Pat Frank, 1953: 160). None of them continued their acting career after *Ko-Chip* (Yi Hyöng-p'yo, Dec. 6, 2005).

For reasons discussed later, the production of *Ko-Chip* was postponed in December, 1952, and Conant was put in charge of the unit (Don Pryor, Jun. 9, 1953). The training period for the Film Unit was declared completed during the first half of 1953 (R.J. Youdin, Jun. 4, 1953). However, since the basic purpose of the Film Unit's project was not only to "build an essentially Korean unit capable of producing" films, but also to gain "documentary motion pictures, film strips and radio and television material" primarily for their "long range fundamental education program" in Korea and overseas (Don Pryor, Feb. 17,

1953), Conant continued making other films.³⁰ There are no specific documents on the Film Unit's activities after May 1955 that were ever found in the United Nations Archives and Records Management Section (hereinafter UN ARMS). According to Conant, he worked as a freelance sound specialist and film director, for agencies like the BBC, CBS, and NBC during the same period of time (Theodore Conant, Oct. 1, 2010). It is highly probable that the Film Unit became nominal in influence after 1956.

UNKRA also allocated resources directly to the Korean film industry. Although the UN ARMS' collection of UNKRA's "Rehabilitation of Motion Picture Industry" files (Record Number S-0526-0339-0006 and S-0526-0339-0005) was missing in November, 2010,



Figure 18. A new studio dedicated to the ROK Office of Public Information by the UNKRA on July 23, 1958 (UN ARMS Record No. S-0526-0345-7330)

there is a photograph testifying to the UNKRAs rehabilitation project (see Figure

³⁰ Conant and his unit produced films and film footage on a "milk feeding program sponsored in Korean schools by the Unitarian Service Committee of Canada," "the arrival and floating of an UNKRA procured dredge at Kunsan," "Korean dancing," and "the Quaker relief and medical welfare project in Kunsan" from 1953 to 1955 (Theodore Conant, Jul. 2, 1953; Dec. 30, 1953; Jul. 12, 1954; May 23, 1955).

18). The overline information on the picture states the following:

“New movie studio dedicated – A modern new movie studio and sound stage that will allow the Republic of Korea Office of Public Information to turn out better documentary, educational and information-type films, was dedicated today in Seoul. 23 July 1958. The new studio, a two-story structure 140 feet long by 40 feet wide was built with the help of the UNKRA, which furnished materials valued at \$50,000 as a special project in the \$147 million United Nations programme of economic assistance to the Republic of Korea. Earlier, in 1955, UNKRA provided OPI with \$50,000 worth of motion picture equipment consisting of a 35 mm Mitchell camera with blimp, a 35 mm sound recording channel and a large amount of studio lighting and accessories, all of which have been in constant use since delivery” (UN ARMS Record No. S-0526-0345-7330).

According to Yi Hyöng-p‘yo, who had moved to the ROK Office of Public Information (hereinafter OPI) in 1953, the UNKRA’s initial assistance to the OPI in 1955 was made possible by his personal connection with the UNKRA officials (Yi Hyöng-p‘yo, Dec. 6, 2005).³¹

Among the UNKRA’s technological support to the OPI were, two sets of RCA’s magnetic recorders. The first outcome of that support was OPI’s English-language film *Until That Day* (1955) (Yi Kyöng-sun, 2000: 120-122). It is interesting that the film’s Korean title is *Pulsajo-üi öndök* which is a direct translation of *The Hill of the Phoenix*, the working title of Richard Bagley’s 1953 film *Encounter in Korea* (Bill Reiche, Dec. 12, 1952; Jun. 25, 1953) (see

³¹ This project seems to have been also offered financial support from other U.S. agencies including ICA and USOM (James McCarron, Apr. 4, 1960).

Figure 19). It is probable that Yi Hyöng-p'yo, who cooperated with Bagley and then became the writer of the OPI film, picked the previously unchosen title (Yi Hyöng-p'yo, Dec. 6, 2005).

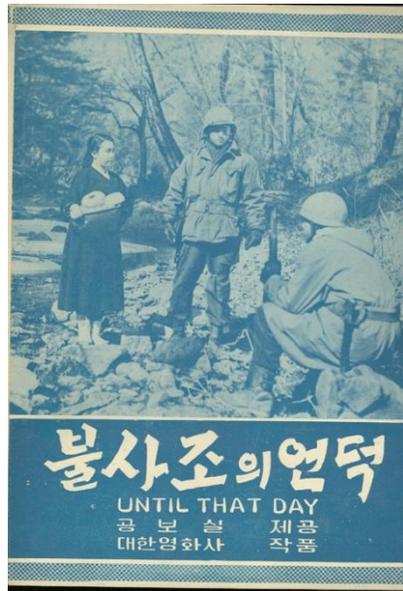


Figure 19. *Until That Day* (1955)

Chapter 5. The Rehabilitating Self: Troubles, Aleatory Solutions, and 'Restored' Everyday Life



Figure 20. Kim Sŏngjip in *Harabŏji Introduction Series*

During the Sangnam years, one of the studio's key characters was Harabŏji, an old Korean man. He was the hero of *Harabŏji Introduction Series*, an introduction footage series which was usually co-played as instructions at the beginning and end of other USIS-

Korea films. When a film begins, Harabŏji appears in that footage as a bearded old man wearing a *kat* [traditional hat] and introduces the films being screened (see Figure 20).

According to William G. Ridgeway, Motion Picture Officer of the USIS-Korea at that time, he used this character to give Korean audiences a familiar context and image before showing American films they might find confusing and unfamiliar. By seeing an old Korean man in traditional clothes and smoking a pipe, the Korean audience would feel comfortable and be able to accept all the foreign ideas and topics that they were about to see (William G.

Ridgeway, Feb. 28, 1989).³²

Interestingly, the symbol of old-fashioned values is used to introduce modern American life. Kim Sŏngjip, an employee of the USIS-Korea and the actor of several films including *Young Men's Fighting for Freedom* [*Charyu rŭl wihan chŏlmŭnidŭl ŭi t'ujaeng*] (1957), *Hands that Moved the Sea* [*Pada-rŭl mirŏnaen saramdŭl*] (1958) and *Korean Educational System* [*Han'guk-ŭi kyoyuk chedo*] (1958), took the role of Harabŏji. He starred in *Korean Educational System* as a symbol of die-hard old-fashioned values, but in these greetings, he behaves like a modern American.³³ What is truly remarkable is that such a character was well received in theaters and Kim Sŏngjip became a popular figure (William G. Ridgeway, Feb. 28, 1989). Although the traditional values of the older generation were seen as barriers to be overcome, Kim Sŏngjip's character functioned as a buffer between tradition and modernity as a way of gently guiding audiences toward the acceptance of the modern values as espoused in American culture.

However, the problem with this approach is that the character was, in its

³² In this footage collection, this same introduction appears in 17 films, including locally produced films, such as *The Lighthouse on the Street* (1955) and *The Second Enemy* (1955), even though most of the films were produced in the U.S.

³³ He advocates women's rights in *American Working Women* and urging us to keep our eyes on our sanitation and hygiene habits in *Defense Against Invasion* and *The Second Enemy*. In the process, he speaks in a refined voice about Benjamin Franklin and the history of the U.S. while clearing his throat and stroking his beard, and in general portraying a traditional elderly Korean man that is familiar to his audiences.

essence, completely fictitious. The imagery of Harabōji is on the one hand a manifestation of the steadfast patriarch who would lead self-help with indigenous experience and knowledge and stick to traditional attire. However, on the other hand, the character is at the same time exceedingly open to foreign culture, especially to the American way of life. Harabōji is a mixture of such two conflicting propensities in one character.

This unique character arouses an intricate issue on the (re)presentation of the Korean Self, which was formed in between the reality of U.S. aid and the ideal of Korean self-reliance during the reconstruction period after the Korean War. Koreans were supposed to stand on their own feet both as builders of their reconstructed nation and as members of the “Free World”; however, it was impossible to acquire such citizenship without U.S. support. It is important to examine what filled the gap of such entangled and incomplete identity.³⁴

1. Cinematic (Re)Presentation of the Reconstruction of Korea

The USIS-Korea films produced in the 1950s stressed topics of ‘reconstruction’ and ‘the U.S. aid’ in many cases. These two topics were the targets of

³⁴ Section 1 and a paragraph of Section 2 are revised from part of the original Korean article, Kim Han-sang, “(Re)Presentations and Discourses in the USIS-Korea’s Film Propaganda - The Rehabilitated Self in Rebuilding the Nation in the 1950s.” *Society and History*, vol. 95, 2012: 243-279.

propaganda activities contained in specific plans (J.R. Higgins, May 12, 1953; Briggs, Aug. 25, 1953). However, from a larger viewpoint, they were the very reason for existence of the USIS-Korea's film department and Liberty Production. The procurement of the studio system in Sangnam was equipped with state-of-the-art production facilities and establishment of its brand identity, "Liberty Production," was involved in the whole process of aid and rehabilitation in the entire sector of the Korea economy. The task of Liberty Production in the 1950s was to promote and publicize these processes to Korean audiences. Therefore, the theme of economic aid was repeatedly stressed in narratives of the USIS-Korea films during the reconstruction period.

However, the U.S. attitudes toward aid were dealt with caution in these narratives, except in a few wartime films, such as *Gift of Friendship [Ujŏng-ŭi sŏnmul]*.³⁵ On the one hand, these films were produced for Korean audiences, so Korean sentiments were probably taken into account, but on the other hand, that point of view was due to the fact that Korean filmmakers were also deeply involved in the production. The 'localization of production' was a

³⁵ *Gift of Friendship* is the earliest USIS film of the 1950s USIS-Korea, classified as RG306 in NARA. It seems to have been produced during the Korean War. The plot starts naturally with a scene of an American soldier writing a letter to his parents from the battlefield and moves to the introduction of aid by America's Relief for Korea, which was established in the U.S. during the war. In this film, Koreans are depicted as aid recipients, not as key actors. The U.S. civil society is the main focus of the film. It can be regarded as an initial aspect of wartime films.

recommendation to the USIA by the Jackson Committee³⁶ in the Eisenhower Administration, which was in charge of overseas propaganda action plans to “save on staffing in the United States and avoid annoying audiences around the world with inappropriate material” (Nicholas J. Cull, 2008: 81-96).

This degree of localization seemed considerably high in South Korea. For instance, according to Kim Hyöng-kün, who was in charge of cinematography and processing at the Sangnam studio from the end of the war until 1957, a great number of USIS-Korea’s cultural films were shot *without* scripts. In other words, Ridgeway and other U.S. officials did not have a firm grasp on the direction of their films at the preproduction stage, so the Korean filmmakers had great autonomy in that filmmaking. Kim’s reminiscence on *I Am A Truck* [*Na-nün t’ürö̅k-ida*] (1954), which he shot with Director Kim Ki-yöng, exemplifies this view:

Kim: I and Kim Ki-yöng were shooting the film *I Am A Truck*, with no script, we got nothing. So, Kim Ki-yöng took charge of direction, and I, cinematographer, we two went out. Well.. we were supposed to shoot the vehicle recycling scene. But no script, nothing was prepared.

Inviewer: Did Ridgeway order you to shoot the scene?

Kim: Ah, yeah, he did. Kim and I, both of us, brought the Eymo camera to shoot the scene. To the recycling factory. There was not a special thing to shoot. “Let me see! I will make this a cultural film.” So he held the Eymo alone and ...

Kim’s daughter: Riding on the conveyor belt with the Eymo...

³⁶ The U.S. President’s Committee of International Information Activities

Kim: Riding on there, we finished it only in two hours. [...] Then, after we finished it, it was very much welcomed.

Interviewer: Oh, did people like that a lot?

Kim: Yes, *I Am A Truck*, very welcomed. Because, it was even released at the Sudo Cinema (Kim Hyöng-kün, Mar. 30, 2012).

In other words, while the initial direction to shoot the recycling factory was given by Ridgeway, the structuralization of the main narratives, the shooting, and the editing were all conducted entirely by Korean filmmakers who made their own decisions.

For that reason, it is noteworthy how U.S. aid is depicted in the narratives. Apart from the reflective aspects of the intent of the U.S. as a production authority of propaganda, the ‘discursive’ aspects that the Korean filmmakers shared at the time and the aspects of ‘(re)presentation’ in the context of film consumption by Korean audiences must be carefully considered.

Investigation into the visual and narrative discourses as well as (re)presentations of U.S. aid and Korean rehabilitation in the USIS-Korea films can provide clues as to how U.S. overseas activities were understood in the local context of South Korea.

1) The Rehabilitating Subjects in Trouble, and Aleatory Solutions Through the U.S.

Ward of Affection [Sarang-ŭi pyŏngsil] (1953) is the first documentary produced by USIS-Korea after setting up of the Sangnam studio (J.R. Higgins, Apr. 10, 1953). It was one of the earliest films directed by Kim Ki-yŏng (Yu Chi-hyŏng, 2006: 27). This semi-documentary film depicts an injured war orphan's rehabilitation, set in Severance Hospital immediately after the ROK Army's recapturing of Seoul during the Korean War. Using a format of first-person voiceover narration, Chŏng Bok-nyŏ, a nurse at Severance, relates the story of the boy, Hong Sun-kil, who lost his mother and a leg during the war. The film's main theme is on how she helps the boy recover.

Sun-kil is described as a strong-willed child who is "trying to get over his injuries as quickly as possible" until he "finally stood up leaning on a cane." The film shows his rehabilitation program in a time order, such as getting out of bed, standing up, walking alongside a bed rail, and walking on crutches, with the soundtrack featuring a fast tempo march. However, his triumph is short-lived since it means that he is ready to leave the hospital. Bok-nyŏ worries about the boy's future since he has to "go out with a great burden of being a cripple" "to the war-torn city, Seoul."

At this point, it is worthy of attention to see how the film depicts this crisis and resolution, as Bok-nyŏ's worries about Sun-kil getting worse. After her monologue, "Sun-kil, Sun-kil, where are you going? And how will you survive? Are you following the twist of fate to go where you even do not know?",



Figure 21. The extreme long shot in *Ward of Affection*

the camera shows the boy leaving the hospital on his crutches alone. In this scene, with its extreme long shot, Sun-kil occupies only a small part of the frame and is sharply contrasted with the large building and its long corridors where the small boy

moves slowly on crutches (see Figure 21). After he walks out the gate of the hospital, Seoul city is depicted as frenetic and chaotic with fast-moving traffic and noise. Then, suddenly the background music with its menacing atmosphere stops, replaced by the loud noise of the city. The sense of crisis has reached a boiling point.

Immediately after this scene, music returns with a positive and cheerful sound, and soldiers appear and lift the boy into their vehicle. Bok-nyō's narration continues, "See? We are not living in the world where people ignore an abandoned and dejected boy on the street! UN troops in Korea collected a hefty donation of 75,000 dollars from public sympathy for this boy, and Sun-kil can receive an artificial leg! This fund is enough to save all war orphans in Korea, and the newly built Chōnjae Sujok Jōldan Adong Chillyoso [War Amputee Clinic for Children] has become a great hope for disabled children."

In this way, the threat to Sun-kil's rehabilitation and self-reliance disappears quickly due to the sudden appearance of the UN troops and their support.

Despite the length of the film, 20 minutes and 30 seconds, the heroic UN troops have only 40 seconds of screen time. After this scene, for 6 minutes until the ending credits, the film's concern is only for Bok-nyŏ and Sun-kil, not only in terms of the duration of their appearance, but also their importance in the narrative structure. The UN troop support is not presented as an inevitable outcome. Although it plays a decisive role in solving the character's trouble, it is presented in an aleatory way. In other words, it is a factor that is not placed at the center of the rehabilitation narrative, but simply set aside on the sidelines.

The facile resolution of thorny problems' confronting rehabilitating subjects is also seen in *Hand that Moved the Sea* (1958). This is a documentary based on the true story of North Korean refugees who came down south from the Korean Iron Triangle, Ongjin Peninsula, and Yŏnp'yŏngdo and succeeded in supporting themselves by creating salt farms on the West coast as a reclamation project (*Chosŏn Ilbo*, Sep. 25, 1956: 2). Their story of success and overcoming the difficulties surrounding them is described as a good model for Koreans. U.S. aid is featured here, as a crucial element for that success.

Initially the reclamation project looks almost impossible, but as soon as a truck from the UN Economic Adjustment Bureau (hereinafter OEC) arrives with the proper equipment, the project becomes realizable. Three years of poverty

and starvation are alleviated by the sudden arrival of trucks loaded with food donated by the U.S. National Catholic Welfare Council and the World Food Service. Aleatory solutions for the problems of indigenous people, also seen in *Ward of Affection*, are repeated in the way they are rescued by the support of the U.S. and UN, but with no cause-and-effect relationship. This film also emphasizes Korean citizens' commitment to self-reliance.

2) Intellectuals Who Accompanied Americans

The hygiene educational film, *The Second Enemy* [*Che2-ŭi chŏk*] (1954), was produced by USIS-Korea in cooperation with the Korea Civil Assistance Command (hereinafter KCAC) in 1954. Unlike other films, this film was directed by an American director, Franklin Judson, but Kim Eui-hwan took charge of the basic story sketches (Franklin Judson, Nov. 15, 1954). Korean and English versions were produced at the same time, and KCAC planned to dub the film in 17 languages to distribute it overseas (USIS-Korea, 1964: 56; Hō Ŭn, 2008(a): 168-169). After the first scene that shows contrasting landscapes of wartime chaos and peacetime restoration, the voiceover narrator emphasizes that 'the second enemy' people are confronting after the war is disease and poor health. The narrator introduces a typical postwar South Korean village located in Naesŏng-ri Yangsan-kun Kyŏngsangnam-to with 625 residents and 141 houses. Mr. Kim has been newly elected the Sanitation Officer of this town,

which has no doctors, nurses, or drugstores. He struggles to improve the town's sanitation system. After seeing people suffering or dying from undiagnosed illnesses, he seeks to find solutions, keeping strict records of all the townspeople. In the end, Mr. Kim visits the Provincial Public Health Bureau to find out how to prevent these diseases.

It is interesting that he is almost always accompanied by the U.S. or UN agents in the process of improving the sanitary environment. He gets help from public health expert officers and sanitation experts



dispatched from the KCAC and UNKRA. They are all

Figure 22. Mr. Kim and sanitation experts in *The Second Enemy*

Caucasian and wear UN uniforms (see Figure 22). These experts, doctors, and sanitary engineers carry out immunization and hygiene education for the residents, teaching Mr. Kim how to collect water samples and design and build sanitary wells. The mobile health clinic is operated by the UN, and the UNKRA's aid program plays a central role in building modern waterways and public toilets. Meanwhile, USIS-Korea helps Mr. Kim conduct poster exhibitions and hold mobile screening events for educating residents on health and hygiene. The narrator in this film says, "Korea's friends of the Free World

continue to share their strength to lend a helping hand to improve the health of the courageous people of Korea.”

Despite this narrative development, the American characters tend to remain on the periphery while Mr. Kim takes on the role of the central figure, similar to other rehabilitation films. In addition, there is a continuing distinction made between Mr. Kim and other Korean residents. In the scene where Mr. Kim watches the villagers’ exorcism ritual to cure disease, and in the other scene where Mr. Kim disagrees with others on pending hygiene issues, the film obviously Otherizes the villagers on the side of Mr. Kim. This film, produced by a team of American production crews, captures shamanism and the ancestral rites from time to time with the perspective of an outside observer. Adding to this element of Otherization, Mr. Kim’s Western style suits deliver a sharp contrast to the residents’ traditional outfits.

It is important to notice that villagers’ bodies in the film are ideal self-gazed models for the audiences of this to-be-mobile-screened film. That is to say, since this film was to be shown to other rural villagers, the human figures in the film might work as ideal objects of identification. Thus the mobile screening scene in this film might be a mirror image of real scenes from still to-be-offered screening events. This aspect is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7 dealing with *Lighthouse on the Street* [*Kōri-ūi tūngdae*] (1955).

3) Younger Generations Open to the American System

The issue of Otherization of traditional lifestyles from the perspective of young intellectuals is drawn exquisitely in *My 4-H Club Diary* [*Na-ŭi 4H kwajejang*] (1958) and *Korean Educational System* (1958) and shown as a generation gap. In both films, American values are exteriorized “modernized new agriculture” and “democratic new education.” The younger generation is more open to these values and actively tries to accept them for the development of their reconstructed country.

My 4-H Club Diary is the story of a 17-year old boy, Son Chong-ki, who lives in T’ap-ri Hwasŏng-kun, Kyŏnggi-to, and shows how 4-H, an American youth organization for rural development, took root in South Korea. Chong-ki is confused about what to do after he graduates from middle school. Then he decides to join the 4-H club on his sister’s recommendation. In a voiceover narration, Chong-ki explains that there are 3,400 4-H clubs in rural areas and about 120,000 students are engaged in after-school club activities by helping with farm work at home. Every year the club receives project plans for agricultural modernization from students and submits them to a nationwide contest. This year Chong-ki chooses a project for pig raising while his sister’s choice is sewing. After steady effort, they win the first and second prizes in the competition. The film minutely depicts how Chong-ki and his sister learn

ideals and skills for agricultural modernization through their club activities.

The OEC and USIS-Korea supported these club activities by issuing textbooks.

In this film, Chong-ki and his sister symbolize the younger generation which has a potential to achieve agricultural modernization. Their parents' generation used traditional farming methods, described as activities to overcome. For instance, in a scene where Chong-ki helps his parents on the farm and watches his mother tilling the soil and his father sowing seeds, his voiceover narration runs parallel with the moving images. "At this moment when science is advancing day after day, I think farming methods also should not be behind the times." This editing implies that his parents' farming methods are inferior to modern ones. The film includes minor conflicts that show different opinions on modernization exist between the younger and older generations. The 4-H

club students' passion for modernization is sometimes described as unappreciated and undervalued by their parents. Chong-ki's parents remain indifferent to his club activities. In

another scene, a father is so displeased with his son's



Figure 23. A father detaining his son in *My 4-H Club Diary*

volunteer cleaning of town that he forcibly hauls him from the spot (see Figure

23).

The generation gap is also shown in *Korean Educational System* with a more acute tension. With a father, his son and daughter as the central figures, the film shows the difference in pedagogy among the generations. While all are educators, the father is an old-fashioned village teacher, the son an authoritative education-oriented professor, and the daughter is a champion of new democratic ideas of education. They visit an elementary school, a middle and a high school, a special-education school, and a university one at a time, and discuss pending issues and the goals of each school. In a scene showing an industrial high school where students are receiving job training, the film narrates how overseas aid agencies, such as UNKRA, APEC, ICA and UNICEF helped the postwar educational reconstruction in South Korea.

Although the generation gap is set as a family issue, each character's opinion on education is so historicized that each represents the educational system of a specific historical period. The father's traditional views originated from his experience "only living in a *kulbang* [village school]," the son's authoritarian attitude toward education was learned from his youth "in the atmosphere of totalitarian education under the Japanese colonial rule" and the daughter's modern, American-style view of education was made possible by her "majoring in contemporary, democratic new education" (see Figure 24). It is interesting that this young lady is seen as the supporter of democracy, a common

feature of USIA propaganda films during the Eisenhower Administration. The USIA films frequently depicted women as equal participants in a democratic society. It gave an impression that American democracy guaranteed equal opportunity to women (Kenneth



Figure 24. The family in *Korean Educational System* (1958)

Osgood 2006: 257-262). This strategy also was an effective way to appeal to the female demographic who made up a large portion of the audience.

4) The U.S. as an ‘Immanent External Party’ in the Formation of the Self

It is suggestive that many of the USIS-Korea’s rehabilitation films focused on Koreans as ‘the principal manufacturers of the reconstructed nation.’ The point is that these films were produced in Korean language for Korean audiences, using local Korean labor forces, but the official production authority was owned by the U.S. governmental agency, USIS-Korea. In other words, it is important to pay attention to the complexity of the production and consumption process when interpreting these films.

In terms of the sequential order of the narratives, a sudden appearance of the U.S. and UN aids interrupts the smooth, linear development of each plot that narrates the self-reliance of the Korean subject. Such heterogeneity in subject formation reveals itself in a discursive structure that intellectuals and the young generation, who are Americanized, are the ‘enlightened,’ whereas the older generation, with its traditional beliefs and techniques, represents a ‘barrier’ to modernization. The older generation is positioned outside a new alternative subjectivity rather than seen as a target to integrate into the national identity. However, it is not possible for young intellectuals, who wear Western suits and support American democracy, to be identified as similar to their ‘aleatory’ supporters with white skin. Thus, (re)presentations of the Korean subjects in these films do not succeed in homogeneous identification, nor do they construct an alternative identity equated to the ideal model subjectivity of the U.S., the external party.

Meanwhile, the strong presence of America in USIS-Korea films also shows the ambivalent status of America which was both an outsider to the Korean nation-state and one of the state-builders in South Korea at the same time. The U.S. strongly presents its position as an “external party which is not external” or as an “immanent outsider” that is not Korean.

2. Protestant Ethics in Semi-Documentaries

Along with (re)presentations of American subjectivity, it is also worthy to notice how Christianity is depicted in most U.S. public information films.

1) Representation of Nurses: From Women in the Vanguard to Christian White Angels

The protagonist of *Korean Farm Life* (c 1948) is a young Korean woman, and female figures were commonly set forth as role models in U.S. public information films during the Cold War. This focus shows certain gender politics present in the film propaganda spectatorship. Women were usually characterized as highly adaptable to a new culture and thought. Such openness allowed them to enjoy the modern American way of life and become friends of democracy. As stated, a considerable number of USIA films during the Eisenhower period shared similar female characters who were both capable and professional in their social lives (Kenneth Osgood, 2006: 257-262).

For a similar reason, it is worthy to notice how nurses were depicted in USIS-Korea films. As early as August, 1946, one year after the Liberation, DPI produced a film named *The Korean White Angel [Paegŭi ch'ŏnsa]* (SCAP, Aug., 1946). It was one of the earliest films made by the U.S. public information agencies in Korea, and one of six documentaries produced in 1946 by DPI (*Yesul*

t'ongsin, Dec. 3, 1946: 1). This unknown two-reel documentary depicted Korean nurses and their services and was shown throughout South Korea in September of 1946 (SCAP, Sep., 1946). During and after the Korean War, such films as *Republic of Korea Restoring* (c1952) and *Highlights of 1959 Korean National Affairs [Nyusŭ-esŏ pon 1959-yŏn]* (1959) showed images of nurses who had been sent from UN member nations to help Korean patients (see Figure 25). This film contributed to promoting Korean public friendliness and sense of gratitude to allied nations by feminizing the images of their agents.



Figure 25. Foreign nurses in *Republic of Korea Restoring* (c1952)

The analogy between nurses and the ‘white angel’ had been commonly used since the colonial period. This image not only stereotyped the gender role of nursing, but also invested its mission with political significance by gendering it. During the Pacific War, war nurses were widely recruited from the whole Empire of Japan. Especially there were a great number of temporarily employed female nurses from colonies like Korea and Taiwan who were dispatched to Mainland China or the Southern Region (Sin Yŏng-suk, 2011). While women in general were regarded as located in the rear guard, *Ch’ong hu*, many military nurses were at the frontlines and their identity was complicated

(Kwŏn Myŏng-a, 2004). They were disposed to the battlefield, dressed in white robe, and glorified as brave fighters, thus who had been enhancing women's social role. However, at the same time, they were thoroughly gendered in terms of their role in the field as well as their 'motherly' emotional services given to the troops (Sin Yŏng-suk, 2011).

Straits of Chosŏn (1943)

captures this double-edged status of military nurses precisely. A volunteer's wife is taken ill, suffering from hearing nothing about him from the battlefield.



Figure 26. The last scene of *Straits of Chosŏn* (1943)

Those who connect this couple through a phone call are nurses. In the final scene, when the injured hero looks out to the Straits of Chosŏn [Straits of Korea] beyond which his wife is waiting for him, a nurse keeps him company, helping him to walk (see Figure 26). The strait symbolizes the distance between the battlefield and home. While the soldiers' wife is at home, working in a field clothes factory on the home front, the white-robed nurse is beyond the straits, helping the soldier. In this depiction, nurses are defeminized in terms of conjugal roles, but at the same time, they are shown an ideal female companion complementing the male subject who is pursuing a national, sublime mission.

After the Liberation from colonial rule and during the anti-Communist war against the North, this lofty mission was modified into a broader one than a national one: the Christian faith. The film, *Ward of Affection*, shows that change clearly. Bok-nyō prays to God, feeling laden with care about him, and the whole plot of the film is occupied with her motherly affection for him (see Figure 27).

At this point, the representation of nurses has changed completely and gains a quite different meaning from that of military nurses during the Pacific War.

While the Japanese Imperial Army nurses were depicted as carrying

out a grave mission of national triumph, Bok-nyō's mission

acquires its sublimity from her Christian pursuit of redemption. Though she also mentions the importance of the war against the Communist Army, her main concern is in religious achievement than a political one. She thinks that Sun-kil's late mother would not be redeemed if he fail to be rehabilitated. After Sun-kil successfully receives rehabilitation treatment and a prosthetic leg, she



Figure 27. The nurse's religious behavior in *Ward of Affection* (1953)

lays flowers on the bed where Sun-kil's mother died and hangs a framed picture of Jesus Christ on the wall behind it. Bok-nyō's mission that gains a spiritual value in this 'motherly' way. This demonstration shows how the spirituality of Japanese imperialism made way for the new order led by the U.S. and Christianity in terms of the gender role portrayed on the battlefield.

2) 'Restored' Everyday Life: A Peaceful Village With Rebuilt Churches

Reconstruction after the Korean War was a favorite topic of USIS-Korea films in the 1950s. As *Ward of Affection* connected the theme of redemption to the orphan's rehabilitation, the mission of rebuilding the nation was usually likened to resurgence of individual lives in many USIS-Korea films. *Building Together – Uijongbu Story [Ŭijŏngbu iyagi]* (1955) is one such film depicting everyday life in postwar Korea. This film shows the reconstruction process in Ŭijŏngbu City with the support of the US Armed Forces Assistance to Korea (hereinafter AFAK).

What is noteworthy in this film is how churches are depicted in the restored town. The voiceover narrator emphasizes that individual soldiers have already conducted a fund-raising campaign for assistance before the AFAK aid. As the result, the film shows a Catholic church consecrated in Ŭijŏngbu in August, 1953. After the US Army troops are shown putting money into the

donation box, a mass scene of Korean believers with traditional Catholic clothing and a cross follows. It is significant that the first outcome of city rebuilding in the film is a Christian church.

The other sequence dealing with Christianity is in a later part of the film. Kim Chae-hun, the key person in this documentary, and his family are depicted enjoying the rebuilt city facilities in this sequence. After the narrator's introduction of the new facilities including a playground, a kindergarten, traditional houses and a Buddhist temple, the film shows the restored everyday life of Kim's family.

Following the scene where Sŭng-hŭi and Sŭng-jin, Kim's daughter and son, go to school to take classes, Kim's family goes to church on Sunday. It is a Methodist church constructed with money raised



Figure 28. Kim's family going to church in *Building Together* (1955)

by the U.S. First Corps. Kim's family, including his aged parents, enters the church and exchange greeting with the minister (see Figure 28).

The Catholic Church sequence in *Building Together* starts with a scene where the spire of the church is looked up to with a low angle shot. The materiality of reconstruction is accorded to these perpendicular church buildings.

Through these ascending images, a link between the ‘rebuilt’ subjectivity and Christianity is formed. The two church sequences, placed in the beginning and the end of the film, portray living in a routine Christian way of life as indeed ‘restored’ everyday life. In the same manner as *Korean Farm Life*, the reality of whether Christian Sunday worship was prevalent before the war damage is not considered important in the film.

Therefore, the everyday life depicted in these films is a constituted picture rather than a reflection of reality. It is ‘the landscape,’ of a sociological conception, which means a cognitive framework fulfilled via apriority, institutionality and visuality (Kim Hong-chung, 2005). These pseudo-ethnographies deliver an imagined picture of daily religious lives in Korea and reflect the social and political power among religions at the time of the production of these films.

Chapter 6. Contested Identity: Affiliated Korean Filmmakers and Auteurist Impulse

While USIS-Korea functioned as educators to Korean filmmakers before and after the Korean War, the Korean film industry and ROK governmental agencies, including OPI, were the things the filmmakers had to strengthen the basics. As seen in Chapter 1, such relationships between the Korean filmmakers and U.S. public information agencies were not new, but had already existed prior to the establishment of the ROK Government. These trends indicate that Korean filmmakers were torn between using U.S. public information activities to improve their craft, and commercial filmmaking to assume their discursive leadership in the Korean ‘national cinema’ market. The superior system of the American agencies was indeed something to emulate.

However, working as production agents in an American public information organization meant that these individuals could not conduct their activities from the ‘Korean’ perspectives. Although their films were made for a Korean audience, they clearly had an American voice. Their aim was to create a favorable environment to have an American subject speak to the Korean people. The format of *Liberty News*, a core product of Liberty Production from 1952 through 1967, was similar to that of wartime American newsreels like *Paramount News*. By inserting the dubbed *Hearst Metrotone News* section, the newsreel was more informative than Korean newsreels. The voiceover



Figure 29. *Liberty News: Special Issue on Super Typhoon Sarah* (1959)

narrations were recorded in stiff formal tones, and the opening credit “USIS-Korea Presents” showed its provenance (see Figure 29). Hence, an American sentiment was expressed, but in the Korean language.

In this chapter, the identity confusion of the USIS-affiliated Korean filmmakers and the UNKRA-affiliated American filmmakers is investigated. Both cases also show the existential choice each filmmaker made.³⁷

1. USIS-Korea’s Material Resources and Conditions for Korean Filmmakers

In the course of the Korean War, key crew members of the USIS-Korea film production were replaced. First, the former motion picture officer Tanner resigned because he could not bring his wife to Korea during wartime.

³⁷ Section 2, 3, and some paragraphs of Section 1 are modified from the original Korean article, Kim, Han-sang, “Cold War and the Hybrid Ursprung of South Korean National Cinema: On *Boxes of Death* and Kim Ki-young’s USIS Public Information Films.” *Film Studies*, vol.47, 2011(a): 87-111.

Ridgeway, his assistant, took over the role of motion picture officer (William G. Ridgeway, Feb. 28, 1989). USIS-Korea resumed its film production function in October of 1950 in Seoul, but then had to move all facilities and staff to the South after the Chinese Communist Army entered the war. A total of 350 people, including all the employees of USIS-Korea and their dependents and all equipment were loaded into railroad boxcars and sent down to Chinhae (William G. Ridgeway, Feb. 28, 1989; Yi Hyŏng-p'yo, 2005; KOFA, 2007: 9-67). Yu Jang-san, Im Pyŏng-ho, Im Jin-hwan, Pae Sŏnghak (cinematographers then), Kim Pong-su, Kim Hyŏng-kŭn, Sŏ Ũn-sŏk, Yi T'ae-hwan, Yi T'ae-sŏn (film development specialists then), Ch'oe Ch'il-bok, Yi Kyŏng-sun, Yang Hu-bo (sound recording specialist then), Kim Hŭng-man and Kim Yŏng-hŭi (editing specialists then) were the filmmakers who went with USIS-Korea (KRECA 2003: 41-58).

Then a major replacement of personnel happened during the preparation for the second relocation of the production group from Chinhae to Sangnam. Six filmmakers, including Yi Kyŏng-sun, Kim Hyŏng-kŭn, Kim Hŭng-man, Kim Pong-su, Cho Paek-pong and Chŏng Ju-yong, resigned from USIS-Korea, and set up their own recording and processing laboratory in August of 1951 (Yi Kyŏng-sun 2000: 92-97). It is worth noting that the reason for their resignations is remembered differently by the filmmakers and Ridgeway.

According to the filmmakers, they resented Ridgeway's refusal to rent

the studio for the ROK Army film unit's war film, *An Assault of Justice* (1951) (Yi Kyöng-sun, 2000: 92-97; KRECA, 2003: 41-58; Kim Hyöng-kün, Mar. 30, 2012). While USIS-Korea created its own film production system during the Korean War, the ROK public information agencies had poor financial and technical conditions in place for film production. Thus, Ridgeway's refusal was accepted as hurting their pride in their own nation. After a discussion, the six filmmakers decided to resign and establish their own laboratory:

Kim Hyöng-kün: Ridgeway said, "This is not the ROK Government's property, but the U.S.' This is sponsored by the U.S. Government with the U.S. citizen's tax. It is impossible to let the ROK Army use it." He allowed to use the facilities for a couple of times, and then didn't allow it. So, we said, "Well, drop it! We are Korean." To Ridgeway, we said "Goodbye! Sayonara!" Then six of us rented this Marine Corps building and built the laboratory (Kim Hyöng-kün, Mar. 30, 2012).

However, what Ridgeway remembers is considerably different.

According to him, the Sangnam studio advanced equipment became a threat to senior film specialists familiar with the old equipment. Ridgeway reminisces that although a great number of the main staff resigned simultaneously, better performance with the new equipment and facilities helped improve the quality of production, so the assistant staff could successfully replace their predecessors:

Ridgeway: All of the lab chiefs went on strike when the new processing machine arrived. They thought they would lose face in not knowing how to operate it, so consequently they quit. I don't know what they really expected us to do, but anyhow I was able to train their assistants in on the new machine. That was the end of the old lab chiefs and

their strike. They all had their own special formulas which were closely guarded, even from each other. It was assumed we would be helpless without their know-how. The film that we processed by the old system was terrible. [...] So, finally, for the first time we were now able to turn out reasonably good quality, consistent photographic material -- and, best of all, at the same time, at a much greater pace. The new equipment included sound recording equipment that used magnetic film. [...] The staff absorbed the new techniques. [...] First of all, they followed instructions and didn't have to unlearn anything like some of the older movie people. A good two-thirds of the staff were originally contract employees (William G. Ridgeway, Feb. 28, 1989).

This contradiction in memory shows the complex identity of Korean filmmakers hired by USIS-Korea at that time. They were, according to their life histories and discourses, remembered as the builders of South Korean cinema. However, at the same time, they were wage earners in wartime, who had to negotiate the most favorable terms. Ridgeway's comments on "contract employees" is important in this regard. According to Yi Hyŏng-p'yo, at that time, many Korean filmmakers were not permanently hired, but worked in a sub-contractual relationship with USIS-Korea as an outsourcing production team. They actually preferred outsourced production because it guaranteed more profits. This scenario caused a conflict of interest between them and Ridgeway since he wanted to reorganize the system into direct management (Yi Hyŏng-p'yo, Dec. 6, 2005). The resignation of old employees thus seems to have made way for direct engagement of employees.

The filmmakers' reluctance to be hired directly to USIS-Korea reflects

their understanding of their relationship with the U.S. public information agencies. They possibly considered their employment relationship with the U.S. agencies as not a permanent one. It is probable that they did not feel a sense of belonging to these agencies, nor a sense of ownership of the products, when pursuing serial single profitable projects from the ordering organization. Rather, they wanted to negotiate with the client to raise their market price. Ridgeway's prescription to acquire new machines and engage workers directly put their positions as skilled workers with know-how in jeopardy. Wartime situations gave them many alternatives, since filmmaking skills were in high demand from various agencies, including the ROK Army, Navy, Air Forces, and OPI (Yi Kyöng-sun, 2000: 91). Their sense of mission to build South Korean cinema, of course, might also have affected their final decision.

The situation of the newcomers, including Kim Yöng-gwön and Kim Ki-yöng, was not remarkably different. Kim Ki-yöng was a playwright and theater director who became a screenwriter when taking refuge in Pusan during the war. The first films he directed were *Taehan nyusŭ*, the official newsreel series of the OPI, using equipment borrowed from USIS-Korea (Yi Hyo-in, 1994: 368-371; Hong-joon Kim, 2006: 65-87). Shortly thereafter, he was hired by USIS-Korea to make its new newsreel series, *Liberty News*. Since *Liberty News* was launched in May of 1952 and *Taehan nyusŭ* in 1953, Kim must have started

working for USIS-Korea in 1953 (KBS, 1992: 1-2). He earned 50,000 wŏn a month³⁸ when he was scouted by Liberty Production, a salary far higher than the average of 3,500 wŏn earned by physicians then (Yi Hyo-in, 1994: 368-371).

This kind of headhunting shows the rivalry that existed between the two public information agencies. Since the state used war-time newsreels to organize and mobilize the population, there was considerable competition and tension between nation-building and the “Free World” bloc-building forces, made possible by those American agencies’ having abundant equipment, techniques, and finances. Kim, nevertheless, viewed his USIS-Korea years as merely privity of contract due to his own ability, and stressed his auteurist will which stayed free from the propagandistic hirer (Yu Chi-hyŏng, 2006: 19-38).

2. The Complicated Status of USIS-Affiliated Korean Filmmakers

This section analyzes Kim Ki-yŏng’s USIS-Korea public information short films, *I Am a Truck* and *Diary of Three Sailors [Subyŏng-ŭi ilgi]*, in terms of the USIS-affiliated Korean filmmakers’ stylistic positioning in and out of the tradition of American wartime documentaries. *I Am a Truck* was released on March 26, 1954 (Liberty Production, 1954: 1), and *Diary of Three Sailors* was transported

³⁸ According to Kim Yŏng-hŭi, this 50,000 wŏn salary included extra pay for detached service. It seems that Chinhae and Sangnam were regarded as temporary placements during wartime (KOFA 2007: 9-67).

to the USIA's New York film laboratory on June 22, 1955 (Liberty Production 1955), although its release date is not known.

According to Ch'ŏn Hak-pŏm, who worked for the USIS-Korea's Film Department from 1948 to 1957, there were more than 8,000 American propaganda films with Korean dubbing in the USIS-Korea film library in the 1950s (Ch'ŏn Hak-pŏm, 2008). While 8,000 seem to be improbably high, this statement shows how large he did think the collection was. Pae Sŏk-in, who worked as a film director for Liberty Production from the mid-1950s, makes a similar claim (KOFA, 2009: 35-36). Thus, we can assume that Kim Ki-yŏng learned much from the USIS-Korea library. For Kim, "a film buff" who tried to watch "every foreign masterpiece" (Yi Yŏn-ho, 2007: 37-40; 145) and all the newly released films, the latest American documentaries housed in this library were must-see items.

The tradition of war time documentary and propaganda films began with World War I. The U.S. was one of the most successful countries to build up film propaganda system from the legacy of World War II. *March of Time* and *This is America* series were models of wartime propaganda (Richard M. Barsam 1976: 94-135). Given that American wartime documentaries, including *Fury in the Pacific* and *Justice* as seen in Chapter 2, had been imported and screened nation-wide in South Korea since 1946, such films must have become models for war films during and after the Korean War.

Considering this premise, Kim Ki-yŏng's 1954 film *I Am a Truck* is quite an interesting work. This first-person documentary narrated by a military truck, probably was influenced by a group of popular World War II American propaganda films. At that time, a "talking Jeep" was featured in numerous children's books, and one of the OWI films, *Autobiography of a Jeep* (1943), appears to have been part of this trend (NFPPF, 2000: 119-120). The Jeep's ability to cut through forests, navigate rivers, or board planes lends itself well to military purposes. It seems to set the goal of making people understand military equipment by anthropomorphizing them. *I Am a Truck* also partakes of this practice.

Meanwhile, *Diary of Three Sailors* (1955) also shows the influence of American war films. After March 1942 when the Signal Corps Photographic Center was activated, the U.S. War Department launched a newsreel series, *Fighting Men*, narrated by "a soldier speaking typical soldier language." This is said to have been influenced by the speech of Lt. General Wesley McNair at the Army War College, and the form of soldier self-narration became popular (Richard M. Barsam 1976: 138). Pare Lorentz's *Diary of a Sergeant* (1945), also produced by the OWI, is a soldier's first-hand account of rehabilitation following the loss of his arms.³⁹ Kim's *Diary of Three Sailors* is very much in

³⁹ Pare Lorentz is regarded as the leading figure of the American governmental documentary scene in the Roosevelt era (Patricia Aufderheide, 2007: 65-67).

this tradition as well. A sailor, who entered the ROK Navy at age 17 recalls his days in boot camp.

These films are not only examples of translation, adaptation, and mimicry, but also the director's self-conscious expressions to overcome a one-sided reception of the American war film tradition. *Diary of*



Figure 30. The narrator's fainting in *Diary of Three Sailors* (1955c)

Three Sailors well reflects the humorous and lively mood in American educational documentaries. In one unusual sequence, while sailors are undergoing metalwork training on a battleship, oblique-angle moving shots, high tension amplifying background music, and high-contrast lighting all call attention to a critical situation. The narrator's fainting spell could be calculated to make the audience perceive the event as an accident (see Figure 30).

However, this tension quickly disappears, and the film moves on to its next sequence using a stable long shot of the battleship against peaceful music. This urgent sequence is a signature found in Kim's later works, *Housemaid* (1960) and *Goryeojang* (1963). This sequence is in effect a self-conscious moment when the director refuses to be identified as merely a successor to American war

documentaries. Such intriguing subjectivation is made possible by accepting a stranger's worldview. When Kim rejects the label "Expressionist," he defined his works as "Freudian" (Yi Hyo-in, 1994: 368-371). In other words, his fondness for high-contrast lighting and extreme angles expresses certain mental states found in Freudian psychology. Regardless of whether this interview forty years later explains the film's original meaning or not, the stylistic unexpectedness of such a sequence shows a definite connection to European auteurism in which a subject tries to break free from the fixed conventions of typical U.S. public information films.



Figure 31. A talking truck in *I Am A Truck* (1954)

I Am a Truck also shows auteurship. While *Autobiography of a Jeep* creates an intimacy between the military vehicle and the audience, this Korean film is more like a horror movie.

After the sound of a car crash, the narration starts with scenes of a UN Army cemetery and a junkyard, which is "a cemetery of the dead cars." The narrator is an old truck dumped in this yard (see Figure 31). After passing through the ROK Army's recycling factory, this truck will emerge as a useful vehicle. Lines like "My rusty body showed much damage when it was disassembled," "At the end of that first day, I was

completely taken apart,” “I am now disassembled into tiny pieces,” “I was worried that I would not be rebuilt at all” are juxtaposed with the dark interior scenes of the factory, high-contrast lightings, heavy factory machines, and dismal background music. The narrator’s description of dismemberment is grotesque and far from the usual cheerfulness of children books.

These two cases demonstrate the gloomy sentiment during the reconstruction period using the stylistic legacies from American war documentaries. At the same time, it reveals a filmmaker who was conscious of the European ‘film auteur.’⁴⁰

3. ‘Auteurism’ and the Discourses of Korean Cinema in the ‘Germinating Period of Korean Cinema’

The years from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s are considered “the Golden Age of Korean cinema” (Yi Yǒng-il, 2004: 27). Korean academia did not offer film historical studies until 1969, when Yi Yǒng-il published *Han’guk yǒnghwa chǒnsa [The History of Korean Cinema]*. According to Yi Hyo-in and Yi Sun-chin, Yi Yǒng-il’s writing offered “the completion of the gigantic history of

⁴⁰ In interviews, Kim says that he was highly keen on the new aesthetics of the world cinema and always tried to catch up on the new trends. He also frequently talks about the influence of Italian neo-realism during the 1950s (Yi Yǒn-ho, 2007; Yu Chi-hyǒng, 2006: 19-38).

Korean cinema” covering “the entirety of Korean cinema” (Yi Sun-chin, 2004). Yi Yǒng-il argued that this Golden Age was when Korean cinema as established came into its own as an industry and an art form. According to him, Kim Ki-yǒng, Sin Sang-ok, Yu Hyǒn-mok and Yi Man-hŭi were the leading directors of the Golden Age and beforehand had achieved the aesthetics of national cinema in the “Germinating Period of the Korean Cinema” (Yi Yǒng-il, 2004: 25-27). As Yi Sun-chin explains, since 1969 “the critical discourses on Korean film history have mainly been generated by two thematic impulses-- realism and authorship” (Yi Sun-chin, 2004). In the center of this group of auteurs were those directors who had been highly exposed to Hollywood and the European cinematic aesthetics. Kim Ki-yǒng, who started his film career as a USIS-Korea member, and Sin Sang-ok, who learned film from the USIS-Korea’s outsourcing of production, makes us further deliberate the role of that American public information agency.

Kim’s first feature film, *Boxes of Death* [*Chug-ǒm-ŭi sangja*] (1955),⁴¹ is noteworthy in terms of this auteurist historiography. However, Kim’s first full-length commercial film, *Boxes of Death*, rather resembles the complicated aspects that his early short films revealed; it is more complex. *Boxes of Death*

⁴¹ Some secondary sources have recorded the film’s Korean title as *Chu-gǒm-ŭi sangja* [*Box of Corpse*] or *Chug-ŭm-ŭi sangja* [*Box of Death*], and its English title as *Box of Death*. However, its official titles both in Korean and English are *Chug-ǒm-ŭi sangja* and *Boxes of Death* (USIS-Korea, 1964: 151). This film had been assumed to be missing until the author found all nine reels of negatives in the NARA in July of 2010; however, the film still lacks sound.

was approved for screening on June 11, 1955 and released around July 1 (Hö Paek-nyön, Jul.1, 1955). There are only a few cases that show the direct link between the USIS-Korea and the Korean commercial film scene, including *Bird of a Feather [Ökchi pong jabi]* (1961), starring the famous comedic actor, Kim Hŭi-kap. Therefore, *Boxes of Death* occupies a unique position in the film production of USIS-Korea and builds interesting, even unique, bridges between USIS-Korea and Korean commercial film market.

According to Ridgeway, this film's script was a product of the collaboration between Kim and him to show "a different approach in anti-Communist propaganda" from that of the ROK Government's naïve propaganda films depicting "the communist as a bloodthirsty monster" (William G. Ridgeway, Feb. 28, 1989). While the film sound is missing in NARA, the analogical synopsis reconstructed from its available film images and news reviews published at that time is as follows (Kim Chong-mun, Jul. 24, 1955; O Yöng-chin, Aug. 4, 1955):

The mother and sister of a South Korean soldier, Kim, who was killed in the Korean War, have been holding memorial rites in preparation for the Great Funeral in the third year. One day, a North Korean partisan army officer, Pak Ch'i-sam, visits this house and pretends that he was Kim's comrade, telling them that he is a discharged South Korean soldier and that Kim is still alive in North Korea, having converted to communism. This helps him to use the house as a strategic position for his covert action. He persuades his comrades, who are staying in their hideout among the mountains, not to use armed force but to concentrate on political maneuvering like disturbing the hearts of people, manipulating prices and

interrupting the local elections. Along the way, Cho Sun-t'aek, a police officer and boyfriend of Kim's sister Chŏng-hŭi, happens to meet a discharged soldier who brings Kim's ashes in a box. Realizing this, Pak attacks them in order to escape detection. He holds Cho at gunpoint and drags him to hideout. In the process, Cho secretly switches the ash box with a bomb. Finally, Cho blows up the hideout and the partisan soldiers, along with himself. After this heroic death, the bereaved mother and sister hold another memorial rite with the returned ash box.



Figure 32. Pak Ch'i-sam's first appearance in *Boxes of Death* (1955)

The plot reflects the traditional anti-Communist narrative. However, this film also includes unnecessary cinematic expressions which can be seen as the auteur's signature. For

instance, in the sequence of Pak Ch'i-sam's first appearance, he helps Chŏng-hŭi to cut a hen's throat and, at this moment, the camera takes a close-up of his face underlit to illustrate Pak's insidiousness (see Figure 32). This kind of lighting also appears in the night scene when Chŏng-hŭi goes for a walk with her lover, Cho (see Figure 33). That outdoor scene contrasts light and dark with a candle held by the actress, seeming to convey her mental states. Kim Ki-yŏng states in the interview that he devised this high-contrast lighting after a brief demonstration by a lighting technician who had worked for the Toho Company (Yi Yŏn-ho, 2007: 129). However, the use of that signature was not unique to



Figure 33. A candle light scene in *Boxes of Death*

Kim. Film critics like Yu Tu-yŏn, who played a leading role in the discourse on cinema, introduced European aesthetic trends like Neo-realism and indeed

described “the spirit of a

film auteur” (Yu Tu-yŏn, May 10, 1954). This tendency influenced the nation-building discourse during the reconstruction of Korea (Pak Chi-yŏng, 2010), in that such spirit of a film auteur was understood to require a clear recognition of “the urgent social situation in the postwar era” (Yu Tu-yŏn, May 10, 1954).

Although it was intended as an anti-Communist film, the main issue with this film for critics was its entertainment value. In a review on July 24, 1955, the film received bitter criticism from the poet Kim Chong-mun, who said that the grotesque representation of the enemies and the use of Communist figures were only employed to stimulate curiosity (Kim Chong-mun, Jul. 24, 1955). He concluded that it was a sensationalistic entertainment movie thus “dimming the prestige of the sixteen allies” and that the work was “a big shame since it was produced by Liberty Production.” He added that “For the sake of Liberty Production and in order to deliver our truth outside, I hope that this kind of work will emerge no more and filmmakers will engage themselves in the creation

business with much higher self-consciousness” (Kim Chong-mun, Jul. 24, 1955).

In other words, Kim Chong-mun was defining South Korea’s geopolitical status in the Cold War system.

Today, all the cultural activities we conduct must contribute to the fulfillment of a worldwide mission: anti-communism. It is because all the cultural and artistic activities are the 'resistance' against the lack of freedom, which must be based on actual life, and because our national aim, furthermore the aim of all mankind, is summarized in a single thesis: anti-Communism in the name of the liberty. Therefore, under our special geographical condition that we are confronting the Communist forces on the opposite sides of the demarcation line, there is no doubt that our cultural activities must be built on a strong anti-communist foundation (Kim Chong-mun, Jul. 24, 1955).

For Kim, anti-Communist films had an important mission to extol the honor of the sixteen allies, and Liberty Production was to be admired for its commitment to that mission.

Against this criticism, the scriptwriter, O Yǒng-chin, offered a counterargument on August 3 and 4 (O Yǒng-chin, Aug. 3, 1955; Aug. 4, 1955). He identified four categories of anti-Communist films, using examples from American cinema, namely, polished satires such as *Ninotchka* (Ernst Lubitsch, 1939); action dramas like *State Secret* (Sidney Gilliat, 1950); realistic docudramas like *Man on a Tightrope* (Elia Kazan, 1953); and war films like *The Bridges at Toko-Ri* (Mark Robson, 1954). Through this array, he argued that the entertainment value of anti-Communist film did not compromise its worth as a tool of enlightenment. For him, *Boxes of Death* was an attempt to “pioneer

another ‘type’ of anti-Communist film” which could not be seen in foreign cinema since “they have only a small number of such films and the variety of certain types is poor” (O Yǒng-chin, Aug. 4, 1955). Nevertheless, there was an underlying geopolitical argument, namely, that Korean cinema should be experimental since it is located on the true front lines against global Communism. It is interesting that American films were also presented as universal. Thus, this controversy shows how producers of the discourse in Korean cinema recognized Korean cinema’s geopolitical location, and how it made these individuals take a certain position regarding their aim.

Kim Chong-mun’s criticism of *Boxes of Death* was similar to that of Hollywood films. Cho Sun-t’aek’s chase scene follows Hollywood conventions, and Pak Ch’i-sam’s portrayal of the Communist spy is similar to that of Cold War spies in Hollywood films. Hence, his insistence on using certain expressions reflects Hollywood’s influence. At the same time, this film shows the general characteristics of U.S. propaganda films. The way in which it calls attention to external enemies infiltrating a peaceful village is shared by many films produced by USIA, the homeland umbrella organization of each local USIS branch.

However *Boxes of Death* also shows a connection with the tradition outside Hollywood and USIS-Korea. As discussed in Kim Ki-yǒng’s filmography, this film is a “psychological thriller” (Yi Yǒng-il, 2004: 247-248),

which borrows from the stylistic features of 1920s' German Expressionist films. In several scenes that show Ch'i-sam's infiltration and convert actions, he and other characters and their states of mind are magnified by high-contrast lightening, distinctive camera angles, and unexpected actions. By the same token, these characteristics can be understood as results of a theatrical influence. In a documentary about Kim, he says that frequent use of provocative scenes in his films was an outgrowth of his theatrical engagement during his school days:

When I was a college student, I looked through many theatrical plays. From old Greek plays through Ibsen and Eugene O'Neill, I searched a lot. So, if you read my scenarios, there is a great deal of desperate scenes (KOFA, 1997).

Several outside scenes using real locations also display stylistic influences from Italian neo-realism (see Figure 34). Kim remembers that there were certain social conditions in postwar South Korea that were similar to



Figure 34. Ch'i-sam's maneuvering in the market area

those using Italian neo-realism after 1945: "They were all like that at the time" (Hong-joon Kim, 2006: 69). However, the intellectual concerns of filmmakers at that time also seem to have influenced these stylistic attempts. In 1954, neo-realism was a hot topic of Korean film criticism (Yu Tu-yŏn, May 10, 1954).

The remnants of Japanese colonialism are also noticeable. The portrait of Chǒng-hŭi's dead brother is said to have been prepared for the third year of the *taesang* [Great Funeral], while a news article at that time points out that such a long funeral was extremely rare in Korean custom (O Yǒng-chin, Aug. 4, 1955). It reminds us of the Japanese home memorial, *kamidana* or *butsudan*, or the first scene of the wartime colonial Korean film, *Straits of Chosŏn* (1943), depicting a portrait of a dead soldier. Moreover, the ending in which the officer Sun-t'aek sacrifices himself and destroys the enemies' hiding place evokes the images of *junshoku* [death in the line of duty] films that were frequently produced in Japan during the Pacific War (Peter B. High, 2003: 381-421). While the former elements are linked to the auteurist consciousness, the latter show continuity between a colony and a postcolonial society.

Still, the most important point is the lasting presence of America and USIS-Korea in the work of Kim Ki-yǒng. As Kim Chong-mun points out, the film is a product of Liberty Production, a part of a local branch of USIA, and this fact is significant among the discourses on Korean cinema. The same framework was shared by his rival, O Yǒng-chin, who supported this film based on the logic that it produced a remarkable achievement which even the headquarters in the U.S. had been unable to accomplish. This film was understood to have a mission — support the allies of the “Free World.” It was a geopolitical recognition that entered the narratives of postwar Korean national cinema.

Such geopolitical self-identification when constituting the national cinema was caused by Korean filmmakers' self-awareness as being actual military units on the frontlines of the global Cold War and also the local 'hot' one. At the same time, however, it was directly influenced by the strategic plans of the "Free World" and its bloc-building agencies, on which the filmmakers depended both technically and financially. According to the *Country Plan for Korea*, a report by the American Embassy in Pusan to the U.S. State Department in February 1953, Korea became "the vivid symbol of willingness to act knowing that forfeit to Communism in even remote lands promotes the Soviet technique of world conquest" (J.R. Higgins, May 12, 1953). According to that report, "a campaign of positive propaganda production in Korea for use throughout the world and, of course, in Korea" is necessary, and USIS-Korea "should lay out a master production schedule and systematically begin production." At this point, especially for motion pictures, "extra manpower" was needed (J.R. Higgins, May 12, 1953). The plan to obtain extra manpower shows the conditions that allowed the Liberty Production and its filmmakers to build the system. It also means that other propaganda activities in South Korea were made possible by their role in the strategic plans of the U.S.

Seen in this light, Kim Ki-yŏng, who was preparing for his debut as a commercial director in the Korean film market, found himself in a difficult position. He was a Korean who had to speak for America. He wanted, however, to choose his own position in the competition between nation-building

and bloc-building. He was one of those filmmakers who had been exposed to American film styles, but at the same time he was an auteur who wanted to modify the Hollywood and USIS conventions by drawing from European and theatrical aesthetics. Above all, he was eager to escape from such dilemmas. Therefore his USIS-Korea films were a result of intense competition among those very complex identities. As we have seen, Kim's early career in association with the U.S. public information agency was instrumental in forming his later identity as an auteur. This realization raises the need for further investigation into his later works to trace a possible continuity and full coherence.

Korean filmmakers' deep involvement in U.S. propaganda activities during the years of reconstruction is not only found in the particular case of Kim Ki-yŏng. External agencies like USIS-Korea and UNKRA intervened in the work of Korean filmmakers to deliver bloc-building, and those filmmakers availed themselves of the resources of those agencies. The hybridity of subject formation in Korean national cinema was a shared characteristic of many filmmakers at that time.

4. Disharmony between Motion Picture Unit Filmmakers and UNKRA Officials

There is another interesting case that shows the filmmakers' failure of self-identifying with the aim of the propaganda agencies during the Korean War and the postwar period. The UNKRA Film Unit's other major objective was to produce one 24-minute film for world distribution (Don Pryor, Jun. 26, 1952). It was a semi-documentary designated "to show what has happened to the people of South Korea, what can be done to help them, and tell why it must be done" (Pat Frank, 1953: 22-24). The film's working title was *Ko-Chip*, later changed to *The Long Journey* (Theodore Conant, Apr. 14, 2010). It was a story about a child, who was head of a household with his two sisters in wartime Seoul (Pat Frank, 1953: 117-120). The project was led by Alfred Wagg, the head of the Film Unit, and shot by the cinematographer, Richard Bagley.

However, Wagg and Bagley had to leave the unit as early as in December, 1952, and Conant took charge of the project thereafter. First, Bagley was fired by Wagg, and then Wagg had to leave the team because of a conflict with UN officials (Don Pryor, Jun. 9, 1953). According to Conant, the disharmony between the UN officials and the unit filmmakers was mainly caused by their different attitudes about filmmaking (Theodore Conant, Oct. 1, 2010). While filmmakers, like Bagley who was influenced by Italian neo-realism, were interested in the film's artistic value, the UN officials were more

into delivering propaganda. Don Pryor then approached Conant and Yi Hyŏng-p'yo, and asked them to finish the film (Theodore Conant, Apr. 14, 2010).

While Wagg had originally expected the film project to be completed between October 26 and November 1, 1952 (Alfred Wagg, Oct. 8, 1952), it was inevitable that the project would go adrift until Conant and Yi completed the film around July, 1953 (Bill Reiche, Jul. 10, 1953).

However, the film was still not accepted by the UN officials even after Conant's direction. It seems that the understanding of the project's main purpose still produced an unbridgeable gap between the filmmakers and the agency. In a letter to Sir. Arthur Rucker, Chief of the UNKRA's European Regional Office on March 2, 1954, Norman Michie, a public information officer of UNKRA in New York, criticized Conant's version because it did not "lend itself to lecture treatment," so it was regarded unusable for Rucker's purpose of talks in Europe (Norman Michie, Mar. 2, 1954). Bill Reiche, Chief of the Division of Public Information in UNKRA's New York Headquarters, even stated that *Ko-Chip* had been originally planned not necessarily for worldwide distribution, but mainly to train Korean film personnel (Bill Reiche, Jul. 10, 1953). It was a completely different point of view than that of the filmmakers, who had believed and told the American Broadcasting Company that the completed film would "soon be ready for distribution" (Bill Reiche, Jul. 10, 1953).

Meanwhile, after leaving the Film Unit, Bagley completed his own documentary, *Encounter in Korea*, the working title of which was *The Hill of the Phoenix* (Bill Reiche, Dec. 12, 1952; Jun. 25, 1953). It was first started as Bagley's personal effort, but after watching a rough cut of the film, Pryor decided to support the film as a UNKRA project (Don Pryor, Jan. 14, 1953). While both Conant and Yi thought of Wagg as rather aspirational, Bagley was considered an art-for-art figure (Yi Hyöng-p'yo, Dec. 6, 2005; Theodore Conant, Apr. 14, 2010). Connant's comment on Bagley was as follows:

Conant: It tells the... shows the one detail is that Bagley had very different ideas about the kind of film that should be made, and he hoped that Wagg wouldn't gig in some other gloriote he didn't care about that. He just wanted to just make a good film. And his, his ideas (to) some extent are included by, in the film he made of his own, after Wagg was fired. [...] Don Pryor, the former television and film maker who was in charge of films for UNKRA, wanted is a kind of publicity. And Bagley was interested in so much, is really in making good films. And they began really arguing about that. And... Wagg almost fired Bagley (Theodore Conant, Apr. 14, 2010).

Therefore, Bagley's making of *Encounter in Korea*, written and produced entirely by himself before Pryor's decision, resulted from a kind of auteurist intention to create a fine film. After returning to his home country, Bagley joined a documentary team to shoot *On the Bowery* (1956) as cinematographer (Kenneth Turan, 2011).

These cases illustrate the whole atmosphere of the Film Unit at that time. In the same vein, it is worthy of notice that Yi Hyöng-p'yo emphasizes the

importance of the American documentary filmmaker, Robert J. Flaherty, in a part of his oral history where he narrates the influence he received from Conant and the UNKRA (Yi Hyöng-p‘yo, Dec. 6, 2005). Conant learned from Flaherty when he was a high school student at the Putney School in Vermont (Hee-bok Shin, 2012). Bagley’s next film, *On the Bowery*, is considered a film “in line with Flaherty's earlier work” (Kenneth Turan, 2011). Erik Barnouw compares Flaherty to the Scottish documentary maker, John Grierson, and explains that they are the origins of two contrasting attitudes in documentary film making (Erik Barnouw, 1993: 85-138). This contrast reminds one of the lack of consensus between the UNKRA and filmmakers. Grierson thought that documentary makers should be propagandists, and art should not be an end, but a means, while his target of criticism, Flaherty, emphasized instead ethnographical approaches and the filmmakers’ role, which was to document. Then Flaherty’s attitude toward the documentary encountered and mingled with the flow of ‘direct cinema,’ including *On the Bowery*, in the late 1950s and early 1960s (Erik Barnouw, 1993: 33-50, 85-138, 231-252). It was an attitude that stressed the role of documentary makers as observers and auteurs. Yi Hyöng-p‘yo’s reminiscence shows how such an attitude did influence the formation of his identity:

Yi: Even after I had made fiction films quite a long time, I still thought, “This is not true cinema, documentary is true all the time,” in my mind I had, yes. It was closer to, so to speak, perfect art. And fiction films were, in some wise, decadent to me. Something like cheating, a little,

anyway, it was a fancy world, and secular. But documentary was not that secular (Yi Hyŏng-p'yo, Dec. 13, 2005).

It is important also to note that this influence was exerted on him at that point of time when he personally had experienced the conflicts between these two different attitudes toward documentary filmmaking.

Chapter 7. Who Watches Whom?: Repetitive Self-Gazing and the Ethnographic Other

In this chapter, a specific form of spectatorship during the reconstruction period is examined as one aspect of propaganda film reception. It suggests that a certain discipline might be conducted in the process through which viewers looked at themselves in training and education. This study calls that process the mechanism of ‘Self-gazing’ for the production of the Self. While the Lacanian definition of the gaze implies the act of seeing the Self in itself (Chu Ũn-u, 2003: 77-96), this term is coined to put more emphasis on the conscious arrangement of the audiences in a mechanism that was invented for propaganda purposes. The assumption is that it was the process of defining the ideal Self,⁴² as well as constructing the Other, using the procedures of identification with the modernized and civilized bodies, and the Otherization of those undisciplined bodies as projected on the screen.

In the latter half of this chapter, an interplay of the gazes in the documentary on the goodwill mission performance in Southeast Asia reminds one of Foucault’s analyses on the painting, *Las Meninas* (1656) (Michel Foucault, 1970: 3-16; Chu Ũn-u, 2003: 326-340). It is examined in terms of the

⁴² The analytical method used here, which places the definition of ‘ideal Self’ and the projection of ‘a contemporary critique of self onto a constructed Other,’ was taken from Eric Rentschler’s analysis of the stereotypical images of Jews in Nazi German films (Eric Rentschler, 1996: 149-169).

institutionalized gazes found in the ethnographic films and the production of cultural hierarchy in Cold War Asia. The recognition of cultural peculiarities in South Korea and the creation of the ethnographic Other in Korean cultural films by USIS-Korea pose a serious problem for the gaze both in and out of these films.

1. Spectators of Rehabilitation Films and Their Self-Gazing

Child relief and rehabilitation was a good means to provide that dichotomy between the modern Self and the Other. This study compares a film from the colonial period to one of the USIS-Korea's reconstruction films to investigate that continuity.

1) *Angels on the Street*: Who watches whom?

Until discovered after a long missing hiatus, *Angels on the Street* [*Chip ōmnŭn ch'ōnsa*] (1941) had been regarded as an early model of 'national' realist films. Its rediscovery in 2005 was an event that placed this film right in the center of the controversy over Pro-Japaneseness since people could see that it contains a scene on "*hwangguk sinmin sōsa* [the Pledge of the Imperial Subjects]" in its last sequence. However, the more the debate went forward, the more the

broader ideas were expanded regarding concerns about heterogeneity in the text and the historical context surrounding the production of this film. The central concern is the historical fact that the exportation of this film to Japan was stopped in 1941. Recent academic approaches show a tendency to trace its compositive or decolonial elements by presuming the grounds by which this film was reversed the original decision of recommendation from the Monbusho [Ministry of Education and Culture] of Japan and eliminated some sequences due to censorship. Chu Ch'ang-kyu argues that this film is a work of transition from popular cinema to collaborative propaganda, and the heterogeneous combination of Korea's popular attraction style and the political direction of *Naisen Ittai* [Japan and Korea are one] indeed resulted in the friction that led to the failure of its exportation (Chu Ch'ang-kyu, 2010). Yi Yŏng-chaе interprets the orphanage, which is the main setting of this film, as an unstable utopia led by Korean male intellectuals so that the colonial authorities might feel it as uncomfortable (Yi Yŏng-chaе, 2008: 155-205), and Yi Hyo-in reveals the possibility of a decolonial intention of the Director Ch'oe In-kyu by comparing the original story of the real orphanage, the politically adapted script written by Motosada Nishigame, and the film text twisted again by Ch'oe (Yi Hyo-in, 2010). The concept of Self-gazing adds another point of view that connects general characteristics of propaganda film viewing and post/colonial particularity in terms of both 'exhibition' and 'spectatorship.'

Angels on the Street, which is based on an original story of an existing

orphanage Hyangninwŏn and its founder, Pang Su-wŏn, seemingly tells the story of a social worker relieving poor children with conviction. Pastor Pang opens the orphanage in a suburban farm with the help of his brother-in-law, An In-Kyu, who is a medical doctor. Pang gathers street children and tries to guide them to self-reliance by teaching cooperation and vocational skills like noodle-making. The children at first complain, but gradually adjust themselves to this way of life.

The crucial mechanism of the self-relief described in this film is a ‘discipline of bodies.’ Discipline, regulation and enforced labor make their bodies useful enough to relieve themselves. Several child labor scenes in the film show the



Figure 35. A child labor scene in *Angels on the Street* (1941)

aestheticization of discipline and orderly action (see Figure 35). By instrumentalizing bodies, this exhibition of bodies in the film seems to have attracted viewers. Then “who” was expected to see this propaganda film? And “whose” bodies were exhibited in the cinematic attractions with an aestheticized machinelike motion?

Such aestheticization of collective body motions is also observable in other propaganda films of the time. *Ilbon sillok [Japanese chronicles]* (c1943), a newsreel series during the Pacific War, shows a training camp for ‘volunteer’

soldiers from colonial Korea. This film shows the rhythmical collective motions of the troops, their well-organized way of life, and their disciplined



Figure 36. Orderly motions in *Ilbon sillok*

bodies (see Figure 36). It is obvious that those who were expected to watch this film were those to-be-organized soldiers either at the battle front or on the home front. In other words, the soldiers in the film were a pre-

accomplished ideal goal, which many of the audiences would become equated with in the end.

However, it might not be easy for the audiences to identify with the owners of the bodies in *Angels on the Street*, who were street urchins and regarded as abnormal. This might create a problem for the characters being identified as the ideal Self. One solution was, as found by Yi Hyo-in, their hardships, ingenuousness and pure heart displayed in the narrative of this film. This characteristic enables one to blur the line between the Self and the Other. In other words, the immaturity of those urchins becomes understood as the Nation's sorrowful past, the 'pre-modern' Self. This theme might remind audiences of a collective loss, as they were to watch themselves in the film. Within this mechanism, the Japanese Self is outside the flow of Self-gazing. Therefore, the failure of exportation to Japan was predetermined.

2) *The Lighthouse on the Street: Infiltrating Screens and Repetitive Self-gazing*

The Lighthouse on the Street (1955) was sponsored by Taehan Sonyŏn Munhwawŏn [Korean Youth Cultural Institute] in Masan and produced by the USIS-Korea's Sangnam Production. The director of the film was Kim Yŏng-gwŏn (Masan Sisa, 1985: 858). The film is a reenactment of the rehabilitation of war orphans and teen-headed households in the Korean Youth Cultural Institute, a private school established by Lt. Pak Tŏk-chung for himself. The story centers on a 13-year old boy, An Hong-sik, who lost his father in the war and fled to Masan with his mother and sister. The boy has to overcome multiple difficulties by himself, sleeping on the floor of Masan Station, begging for money, and then stealing to survive. At last, Lt. Pak and his institute save the boy, leading him to the road to rehabilitation. Hong-sik stops begging and stealing, and begins to learn. He learns from other students how to shine shoes as job training and then becomes reborn as "a young professional." Like its colonial precursor, this film shows the logic of self-relief, namely, internalization of labor and discipline. Children like Hong-sik must learn vocational skills and earn money by themselves on the street. This wartime film tries to show how such logic is a natural progression.

They study in the yard with no ceiling, with pencils made from twigs and notebooks from sandy ground. Lt. Pak provides their education out of his own pocket, similar to the colonial social entrepreneur depicted in *Angels on the Street*. However his character has more complexity. As a ROK Army lieutenant who seeks to rebuild his country, he forges a certain relationship with the U.S. agencies,⁴³ which differs from the relationship between the Korean intellectuals and the Japanese colonial authorities.

In the film, there is a scene with mobile film screening conducted by the USIS-Korea for the children of the Youth Cultural Institute (see Figure 37):



Figure 37. A mobile screening scene in *The Lighthouse on the Street* (1955)

“When the mobile projection vehicle visited the school, kids were excited to see the movies. They liked watching movies, but they could not afford the tickets. However, the USIS-Korea provided news from all over the world and various cultural films for free. Hong-sik and Chŏng-sun never failed to watch this. In this kind of event, there were usually over a thousand spectators, including child students in daytime and nighttime classes, and their neighbors. After a brief notice from the teacher, the movie started soon” (The voiceover narration in *The Lighthouse on the Street* [26:55~27:43]).

⁴³ U.S. aid also appears in this film. Lt. Pak starts a class with the USIS-Korea magazine, *Chayu Segye* [*Free World*], and the voice-over narrator adds, “Textbooks are from the USIS-Masan.”

The film shows children watching the USIS-Korea's *Liberty News* in this scene. Interestingly, the film is about students' receiving rehabilitation training in vocational school. It showcases a newsreel report on the rehabilitation schools in front of actual students from a rehabilitation school. As the film inside and outside were made by the same production company, the narrators in both films have the same tones and voices. This kind of feature-long public information film was usually shown in mobile screenings rather than in commercial movie houses, so one can assume that the outside film, *The Lighthouse on the Street*, would have been shown in a similar way. That means that the Liberty Production film, shown in the mobile screening as well, recorded the mobile showcase of the other Liberty Production film. Considering that the film was screened by USIS-Korea, it can be inferred that these rehabilitating students might actually be watching their future Self by joining the screening and then their present Self in the course of rehabilitation would be shown to others. This repetition might blur the line between beginnings and ends and created the circle of Self-gazing. Meanwhile, the students in the film, as well as the student audiences outside the film, gaze at Lt. Pak, who has already rehabilitated himself as an Army officer of a reconstructed nation. This presentation shows the mechanism of gazing in these rehabilitation narratives.

3) Hyangninwŏn: A Crossing between the Colony and the Postcolony

In addition, it should be remembered that the history of mobile screening of educational films is quite long, as stated in Chapter 3. Hyangninwŏn was founded in 1940, and it seems to have expanded its social efforts during the Liberation period. A news article from December 1946 reports that Hyangninwŏn organized its mobile screening team for screening in schools, factories, institutions, and rural areas (*Chayu Sinmun*, Dec. 7, 1946: 2). In September 1947, other news recorded that a juvenile drama company, which consisted of Hyangninwŏn's own inmates, double presented a stage play and a child education film (*Chosŏn Ilbo*, Sep. 19, 1947: 2). It is remarkable that the U.S. XXIV Corps donated a camera to this institution, so they could conduct filmmaking activities as well (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Jan. 31, 1948: 2). In February 1948, they offered a petition to the Seoul Government Office for the movie house to show child educational films in Seoul. They said, "Inferior movies affect emerging of urchins" (*Tonga Ilbo*, Feb. 6, 1948: e2).

It is suggestive that Hyangninwŏn's inmates themselves became touring actors and a mobile screening team. They can be interpreted as the embodiment of circulation, that one is disciplined by gazing at its future Self's disciplined body. The 'real' disciplined bodies of the Hyangninwŏn inmates might be exhibited as a propaganda product while they were showing propaganda imagery besides. 'Urchins' who had gathered in 1940 thus became

the role models who then educated the younger ones.

It is important that USIS-Korea's rehabilitation films repeated this Self-gazing mechanism, and that, in the course of doing so, the U.S. public information agency became a mediator for the mechanism. Liberty Production was there as a mediator that could visualize the 'invisible' future of war orphans and street urchins. They were outside Self-gazing, which means that they were not the Korean Self, but they were able to let Koreans see the future. Between the lines of repeated Self-gazing in *The Lighthouse on the Street*, the U.S. was showing its superiority in visualization.

2. Discovery of Korean Traditional Culture and Cultural Hierarchy in Asia

Another case of USIS-Korea's strategy of visualization and spectatorship under that strategy can be observed in its representations of Korean traditional culture. As Klein defines the idea to explore and exchange cultural peculiarities as "global imagery of integration" during the 1950s (Christina Klein, 2003: 19-60), the USIS was an important tool for integration through mutual understanding. Its representation of local traditional cultures aimed at very mutual understanding. This kind of project to appreciate and learn obscure cultures of other nations can be understood in terms of the strategy of visualization.

In particular, it is necessary to contextualize USIS-Korea's contributions to represent and exhibit Korean traditional culture in relation to the nation-building project for ROK, a newly established postcolonial state. In rebuilding the nation-state, (re)establishment of 'traditional culture,' concealed under colonial rule, was a very important task. For many Asian countries, which had experienced colonial rule and imperialist wars, the process to excavate, assemble, and justify each nation's past was a belated, but urgent, task to accomplish. A nation had to serve as the strong basis for legitimizing the new regime by providing evidence of origin, genealogy, and history. Hence, cultural elements, which would be resources for such a linear model of historiography, had to be unearthed and reorganized in the early period of nation-building. This was not only a process of decolonization that reinstated elements disavowed and disparaged by the colonial power, but inversely, it was also a process of succession which allowed them to reappropriate the pride of a locality given and commercialized by the political economy of a former empire. Therefore, the project of integration driven by the United States in the 1950s needs to be understood as approaching Korean traditional culture so as to interlock that culture with the nation-building project that became South Korea.

1) Kim Paek-pong Live: Recognition of Cultural Peculiarities

An interesting case in point is USIS-Korea's serial filming of the Korean

traditional dancer, Kim Paek-pong (Kim Paik-bong). Kim personified the superiority of the “Free World,” since she had defected to South Korea during the Korean War (*Tonga Ilbo*, November 23, 1954: 2). Her teacher was Ch’oe Sŭng-hŭi, a top star on the colonial dancing scene for her talent and local identity. While Ch’oe had remained in North Korea, Kim became ‘the founder of Korean traditional dance’ (Ch’oe Hae-ri, 2009). USIS-Korea produced live-recorded films of her first recital in South Korea from November 26 to 28, 1954, and her original dance drama, *Story of Our Village* [*Uri maül-ŭi iyagi*], which was shown from April 12 to 16, 1956. The titles were: *Filial Piety* [*Chi-hyo*], *Fan Dance* [*Puch’aech’um*], and *Story of Our Village*.

The stylistic features of the introductory parts of these films are worthy of attention. They all show the credits and titles of the performances at first, freeze-frames capturing playbill pages with the narrator’s brief introduction of the performances in the second place, and then the beginnings of the live performances. This organization bears a close parallel to the style of



Figure 38. *Arturo Toscanini – Hymn of The Nation* (1944, left column) and *Story of Our Village* (1956, right column)

films on Western classical music which had been screened many times since the

Liberation by the U.S. Army and USIS-Korea. *Arturo Toscanini – Hymn of The Nation* (1944), a film which was distributed by DPI before February 1947 (Daniel Noce, Feb. 20, 1947), also starts with a similar style that shows the names of performers, title of the performance, screenshot of the music book, and the playing scene in that order (see Figure 38). The illustrations of the inter-titles produce an image of higher art, and the visualization of music books and playbills delivers educational impressions. Besides this film, U.S. public information agencies introduced many other films to South Korean audiences that showed live performances of Artur Rubinstein, Maria Anderson and Jascha Heifetz and also music festivals such as Tanglewood, and special features on the Toronto Symphony Orchestra (USIS-Seoul, 1958).

This parallel between live recording films of Korean traditional dance and introductory films on Western high art makes one reconsider the very function of Korean dance films. Since they were not parts of newsreels but self-contained documentaries, it is obvious that those films were not merely for reporting. It is probable that similar stylistic features of these live recording films might induce audiences to appreciate Kim Paek-pong's performance in similar conformity to Western classical art. This was a process not only of visualizing Korean cultural peculiarities, but also of showing the prestige of U.S. authority by taking on a role to acknowledge another nation's outstanding characteristics. Thus, this whole process should be understood as the dual work of South Korean nation-building and the establishment of U.S. cultural

hegemony.

2) Korean Cultural Goodwill Mission Southeast Asian Tour and Its USIS Film

Meanwhile, a feud between the Eisenhower Administration and the Yi Sŭng-man Government arose regarding U.S. strategy toward Asia. The U.S. Government's intention to integrate the Asian region economically with Japan as the central state was in discord with the ROK Government's stance to unite militarily with other Asian nations, but excluding Japan (No Ki-yŏng, 2002). The Eisenhower Administration was carrying out its New Look policy, which rhetorically placed an emphasis on 'peaceful coexistence' with the Communist bloc under the mutual deterrents of strategic nuclear weapons and prosecuted economical integration among non-Communist states. The Yi Sŭng-man Government's strong anti-Communist military alliance line was difficult to accept (Pak In-suk, 2005; Cho Mu-hyŏng, 2008). The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL), which later would organize a Korean cultural goodwill mission tour, was established in June 1956 in the midst of this disagreement and led by Yi Sŭng-man. Its first conference was attended by delegates from five governments, including South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand, and South Vietnam, and three regions that included Hong Kong, Macau, and Okinawa. APACL was tinged not only with anti-

Communism but also anti-Japanese sentiments, and was designed to prevent the U.S. strategy of giving Japan a leading role in Asia (No Ki-yŏng, 2002).

However, the U.S. also pushed to create the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in September of the same year, excluding South Korea, Taiwan, and Japan, and in practical terms neutralizing the status of APACL as a regional security alliance (No Ki-yŏng, 2002; Cho Mu-hyŏng, 2008). The Korean goodwill mission Southeast Asian tours in 1957 and 1958 were cultural events held after APACL were incapacitated in international politics. The basic anti-Japanese trend was maintained up to that time, so the two rounds of touring had designated member countries and regions, while excluding Japan.

In spite of the U.S. Government's noncooperation and attempts to neutralize APACL, the mission's tour in 1958 was accompanied and filmed by USIS-Korea. This approach should be understood as focus conducted on a cultural level. In other words, seen from the basic footing of USIS which claimed to support mutual understanding among all 'free people,' it was one of their aims to shoot and record any non-governmental cultural interchange by APACL and promote international friendship in the Asian region.

However, in the film, *Korean Cultural Goodwill Mission to South East Asia [Han'guk yesul sajŏldan tongnama pangmun]* (1958), USIS-Korea's involvement was more than reporting. According to inter-titles in the introduction, the filming was made possible by the 'united endeavors' of every

USIS branch in the visited countries, and all the events were shot by cameramen dispatched by USIS-Korea. That is to say, this film was a product of a transnational network of USIS branches with their own strongholds in major cities in East and Southeast Asia. This collaborative production was also a process of showing off the prestige of U.S. authority in Asia, by confirming its status and its ability to visualize the various cultural peculiarities in each nation and region.

It is useful to investigate the narratives of *Korean Cultural Goodwill Mission to South East Asia*. The mission's first destination was Saigon, South Vietnam. After depicting the welcoming crowd that took to the port, the film shows Vietnamese audiences viewing the Korean Products Exhibition installed in the ROK naval vessel LST-810. The next scene shows mission's audience with President Ngô Đình Diêm, and performance shots at the Dai Nam Theatre follow. Similar sets of takes follow to depict the next destinations: Bangkok, Thailand; Manila, The Philippines; Hong Kong; Taipei, Taiwan; and Ryukyu (Okinawa).

In this development of the narrative, a



Figure 39. *Korean Cultural Goodwill Mission to South East Asia* (1958)

repetitive structure is observed in each sequence depicting each destination:

Map of the destination → encountering the welcoming crowd → sightseeing native cultures and/or visiting local authorities → mission's performance of Korean traditional arts and Western classics (see Figure 39).

This structure mirrors a typical form of tourist films that panoramically exhibit the object region in calculable map images where the object natives represent their ethnicity and then the peculiar characteristics of the object culture. The use of tourist film convention tells that this film was not only a tool to show audiences their nation's diplomatic affairs, but also an opportunity to experience exotic culture in the form of tourism, given to people who did not have enough freedom to take overseas trips.

As seen from the traditional attire of the welcoming crowd and typical tourist attraction sites where the mission visited, authenticity is staged (Dean MacCannell, 1973). These authentic features are refined and re-performed via the procedures for film shooting and editing. Further, it is significant to bear in mind that both visitors and natives were performing their own authenticities to each other at the same time as a form of cultural exchange. The mission's sightseeing scenes are key examples of this tactic. In these scenes, members of the cultural mission are in Korean traditional clothes and strolling through the downtown streets of Bangkok and Manila.

In each ending of this repetitive structure, closing with the mission's performance, three different gazes coming in and out of the film suggest an

interesting composition. First, there is the gaze of Southeast Asian audiences who are watching the Korean performers. Second, the gaze of Korean cinematic audiences who watched the Korean performers, the Southeast Asian audiences and the U.S. authority signature should be considered. Lastly, the camera's gaze as that of U.S. public information agencies heads for the Korean performers as well as the Southeast Asian audiences. This composition of different gazes produces a kind of cultural hierarchy for the Asian region, in terms of the strategy of visualization. While the Southeast Asian gaze identifies Korean authenticity and collects knowledge of it, the Korean gaze recognizes and observes the process as a well-planned showing off of Koreanness.⁴⁴ In this process, Southeast Asians are reverse visualized as objects to be comprehended, and the knowledge of them is collected— How they look; how they live; what their authenticity is; and how they react to Korean authenticity. Nevertheless, this film, as a product of 'united endeavors' of every USIS branch, proves that the gaze of the U.S. authority is located at the highest rung of the hierarchy. In this point, the camera of USIS filmmakers becomes the gaze of the big Other, which "operates effectively because it is not visible" (Chu Ũn-u, 2003: 339). The whole process of Koreans' showing off and Southeast Asian appreciation is thus recognized and collected by the camera

⁴⁴ Korean audiences' gaze into the (re)presentations of Koreanness can also be explained following the discussions about "the third eye" that harasses the border between the viewer and the viewed (Fatimah T. Rony, 1996: 4-13; Paek Mun-im, 2012).

of USIS, as an object of visualization. At the same time, by screening the film at the cinema, USIS is showing off its power to see.



Figure 40. *Kim Paik Bong Dancing in Bangkok* (1958)

A similar structure of seeing is observed in *Kim Paik Bong Dancing in Bangkok* [*Pangk'ok-esö ch'un ch'unün Kim Paek-pong*] (1958), which depicts Kim Paek-pong's performance in Bangkok during the tour. This film takes a film-within-a-film format, containing USIS-Thailand's documentary on the performance. After the Korean movie star, Pok Hye-suk, introduces the content, the title back for USIS-Thailand follows and then the inner film appears (see Figure 40). This organization shows how technically the Korean authenticity is embraced in Thailand, and, at the same time, how the USIS combines and relocates all gazes, as the owner of a transcendental gaze.

This composition points to the remarkable positioning of South Korea between the U.S. and other Southeast Asian countries. The fact that this film was targeted to a Korean audience is important above all. In this exhibition, the Korean people's self-awareness as second-in-command and their sense of superiority over Southeast Asian people are both mediated. Followed by the

U.S., a supranational authority that could recognize and collect each nation's cultural peculiarities, South Korea displays the capability to exhibit its 'recognized' traditional culture and perform Western high culture which was imported and learned through a modern school system. This process corresponds to the Yi Sŭng-man Government's framing to gain leadership in Asia under U.S. hegemony, by leading APACL and excluding Japan (No Ki-yŏng, 2002).

3) Visualization of a Cold War Asia as the Technology of Government

Three focal points for attention are marked in these USIS films: The recognition of cultural peculiarity by a 'supranational' authority; Korea's positioning as second-in-command in the Asian region; and the Korean people's sense of superiority over Southeast Asians. All of these are also observed to have existed in colonial Korea as well. While Japanese colonial authority carried out a strict assimilation policy, colonial Korea's cultural peculiarity was not a target for destruction, but rather an attractive product to sue to display the diverse features of the Japanese Empire. In the mid- to late 1930s when modern tourism combined with Imperial expansion, a large number of propaganda films with tourist narratives were produced and induced colonial audiences to ride on Imperialist's gazes (Kim Han-sang, 2010(a)). Kim Paek-pong's teacher, Ch'oe Sŭng-hŭi, was a star of the Empire who showed local

peculiarity in a tourist propaganda film (*Tonga Ilbo*, Mar. 11, 1938: 2).

Nicholas Thomas paid attention to how the process of internalization and self-government had been followed by a colonial authority strategy to collect and preserve the knowledge of colonies and visualize an invisible indigenous culture (Michel Foucault, 1991; Nicholas Thomas, 1994: 105-142). Prakash also analyzed how the collection and exhibition of scientific knowledge had functioned as a technology of government in colonies (Gyan Prakash, 1999: 17-48). The process, by which cultural peculiarities were discovered and recognized as merchantable knowledge, exhibited after rational classification and then located in a certain cultural hierarchy, can be called ‘the governmentalization of the colonial state.’

In this sense, the second-in-command identity in colonial Korea is of importance in that it resulted from a specific combination of the technology of power and the technology of the Self. A classic example can be found in the representations of natives of Southeast Asia and the South Pacific, who were called ‘Southerners.’ As early as the 1910s when Japan first reached the South Sea Islands, the perception of this Southern region in colonial Korea changed from both a ‘savage and barbarous primitive society’ and ‘fertile and natural lands’ to ‘lands and society which must be cultivated by the Japanese Empire.’ This was a process intended to “schematize the hierarchy of civilizations” (Kim Sŭng-ik, 2009). Korean awareness and interest in the Southern region was

heightened in a concrete way upon Japan's occupation of Singapore in December 1941. Intellectuals in colonial Korea, the oldest colony of Japan, regarded themselves as second-in-command in the Pan-Asian region, and thought that they had a mission to enlighten the Southeast Asian uncivilized races.

According to Kwŏn Myŏng-a, this 'Southern fever' originated from 'a imperialist fantasy that composed themselves as a subject of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, a subject of the Japanese Empire' (Kwŏn Myŏng-a, 2005). In this 'Southern fever,' Southerners were represented as an ethnically and culturally inferior kind. Even when they were represented as 'rivals and cooperators' or perceived as a case of 'misery loves company' like the Taiwanese, 'a certain sense of superiority' was still persisting (Kwŏn Myŏng-a, 2005; Son Chun-sik, 2010). In these hierarchical representations, colonial Koreans were self-defined as subjects who were charged with a mission to civilize and enlighten these Southerners (Kwŏn Myŏng-a, 2005).

There was a similarity between colonial Koreans' self-awareness as second-in-command in the Asian region and that of South Koreans during the Cold War. Especially representations of Southeast Asians and their sense of superiority over them were presumed to result from the legacy of the colonial period. However, as is evident in the feud between the Eisenhower Administration and the Yi Sŭng-man Government, the relationship among South

Korea, the Southeast Asian countries, and the U.S. cannot be inferred from only the colonial experiences, as, by all appearances, each state obviously possessed the status of a sovereign country. Then, how could one define the true nature of this seeming similarity between two deferent periods?

It is probable that Hannah's insight offer a reasonable account of this similarity. He claims that governmentality formed by "colonial regimes of knowledge" has a similar structure to relatively modern "governmental observations in the metropolitan world," that is to say, "even quite *benign* governmentality retains a basically *colonial* structure"— a unilateral, coercive collection of knowledge and a consequent legibility, based on "the rule from a distance" (Matthew Hannah, 2000:113-159). USIS-Korea's one-sidedness in collecting information and its coerciveness of 'power to see' in film shooting can be explained using this structure. In particular, its showing off of U.S. authority through film screening signifies that, during the Cold War, there was indeed governmental power that "differed from panoptic power" in that "the agents of vision traveled to their objects using the same infrastructures available to the objects themselves" (Matthew Hannah, 2000: 128). In other words, the governmentality of Cold War Asia was formed through succeeding in the basic structure established in colonial regimes of knowledge and re-determining the relationship between the newly independent states and the U.S. in the new world order.

Part III. The Translated Self

Part III traces the decline of the American agency and the rise of the ROK Governmental public information agencies between 1958 and 1972. The new Korean Self, however, was rather an invention obtained through a translation of the idealized American Self, accompanied by a negotiation between the self-recognition of Koreanness in the World and the gaze of the Other— the U.S.

As indicated in Chapters 8 and 10, the changed conditions for public information agencies, through the U.S. and UN aids to ROK agencies as well as the political transformation in South Korea, provided an opportunity to institutionalize their activities. However, this shift also served as the starting point for the decline of the USIS film production and the rise of the ROK National Film Production Center (hereinafter NFPC).

Facing such difficulties, USIS-Korea and its affiliated filmmakers tried to identify solutions through several methods as described in Chapter 9, including the pursuing of auteurism in cultural film making, adaptation to a television system, and promotion of loyal intellectual groups. The closure of USIS-Korea film production in 1972, nevertheless, demonstrates the inevitable change in circumstances, including the establishment of the *Yusin* system.

In Chapter 11, as a compiled case, I examined the 1967 NFPC film,

P'aldogansan, which was made by a director and an actor, both of whom were closely related to USIS-Korea. The film's great success as a national icon shows the mechanism of translation and negotiation when defining the Korean idealized Self.

Chapter 8. From Institutionalization to Closure: USIS, 1958-1972



Figure 41. An outdoor screen of USIS-Korea televising the lunar landing of Apollo 11 (*Kyŏngnyang Sinmun*, Jul. 22, 1969: 3)

In July of 1969, when Apollo 11 landed the first humans on the Moon, USIS-Korea set up an outdoor television screen on the Mt. Namsan Park Bandstand and telecast the historic event from the rocket launch on July 16 to the lunar landing on July 20 (*Tonga Ilbo*, Jul. 16, 1969: 3; *Kyŏngnyang Sinmun*, Jul. 21, 1969: 7). On the landing night, crowds of more than 100,000 gathered at the park to watch the televised event (*Kyŏngnyang Sinmun*, Jul. 22, 1969: 3) (see Figure 41). It was also an indoor event. Television sets sold well in every store, and each house with a television attracted neighbors who wanted to watch the landing together (*Tonga Ilbo*, Jul. 17, 1969: 7). Such a glittering media event was made possible, as South Korea had become a member of the International Telecommunications Satellite Organization (INTELSAT), an

intergovernmental consortium of “Free World” countries (*Kyŏngnyang Sinmun*, Jan. 21, 1967: 5). The Apollo 11 moon mission was “the televisual inauguration of an American-led global satellite network” (James Schwoch, 2009: 1).

It should be pointed out that any inauguration of a new medium will be the beginning of the twilight of an old one. For USIS-Korea, which closed its film studio in Sangnam two years before Apollo 11, this pseudo-cinematic event might have meant the opening of the television propaganda age in South Korea.⁴⁵ However, such a shift of the center of audiovisual propaganda was not just caused by the overwhelming attraction of the new medium. Ironically, it also resulted from an overgrowth of the old medium. The significance of film as an effective means of governmental propaganda had been recognized by South Korean political leaders during the past decade, which led them to nurture ROK film production agencies that were fully controlled by the leaders. At the same time, the ‘self-reliance’ of the Korean film industry was achieved during the past decade with considerable support from the U.S. and other foreign agencies, including USIS-Korea and UNKRA. In this changed circumstance, Liberty Production films were not “sufficiently cost-effective” any more (Marks,

⁴⁵ Use of television as a means of propaganda, however, was developed in a different way from that of film. The role of USIS-Korea was limited to a program provider to Korean broadcasting stations (W. Bunce, Jul. 14, 1966). The Motion Picture and Radio-Television Section of USIS-Korea developed a videotape production and distribution program in 1971. The finished productions were placed at each of the branch posts and expected to be distributed through local television stations (Albert Hemsing, Feb. 28, 1972).

Aug. 3, 1966) when in competition with local governmental agencies and private productions in South Korea.

This chapter is about the history of the rise and fall of USIS and Liberty Production in the 1960s and the early 1970s, discussed in chronological order.

1. A Dissonance between *Liberty News* and the ROK Government, 1958 – 1960

Before investigating the general conditions for U.S. film activities in the 1960s, a remarkable event surrounding *Liberty News*, the staple product of Liberty Production, can show the delicate situation of a ‘foreign’ propaganda agency in a ‘recovered’ country. This view is not only linked with the change in political surroundings, but also with the U.S. public information agency’s own status in South Korea. Its unequalled role as the newly built state publicizing machine was questioned in the late 1950s. The ROK counterparts, the OPI, Taehan Film Production, and *Taehan Nyusŭ*, had developed enough to substitute for the U.S. ones, as messengers of ‘general’ information. Therefore, the foreign identity of the U.S. public information agencies was magnified. Controversies on *Liberty News* between the late 1950s and early 1960s reflect these emerging instabilities of U.S. propaganda activities in South Korea.

At first, the Yi Sŭng-man Government and USIS-Korea started with an amicable relationship. In May 1950, Yi delivered a congratulatory address to USIS-Korea on its performance (*Tonga Ilbo*, May 12, 1950: 2). *Liberty News* was shown as regularly in commercial cinemas as ROK OPI's *Taehan Nyusŭ* series was (William L. Grenoble, Sep. 21, 1955; *Tonga Ilbo*, Jan. 22, 1960: 4), since the Yi Sŭng-man Government required mandatory screening of public information documentaries in regular programming (USIS Seoul, Jan. 30, 1961).

While *Liberty News* was privileged with such special environments for distribution in pursuit of pro-American and anti-Communist state-building in the 1950s, the Yi Sŭng-man Government interfered with its own tone and coverage at times. USIS-Korea thoroughly identified itself as an outsider having occasional dissension with the Yi Sŭng-man Government. The Yi Sŭng-man Government was sometimes an opposer, imposing restrictions on USIS-Korea's activities (Chŏng Il-chun, 2003: 35). Especially as news media, Liberty Production became subject to an uncomfortable relationship with the Yi Sŭng-man Government several times after the mid-1950s.

A notable case was the request of the ROK Ministry of Education to cut certain scenes from *Liberty News* No. 164, which contained images of the deceased opposition candidate for President, Sin Ik-hŭi (*Tonga Ilbo*, Jun. 9, 1956: 3). Sin died suddenly on May 5, 1956, during his Presidential campaign, and footage of his successful campaign speech on May 3 was used as file pictures in

Liberty News. The Ministry of Education demanded deletion of those scenes for the reason that the campaign speech had no relation to Sin's death. This request ignited a social debate, and finally concluded with an uncut release and censure of the persons concerned (*Chosŏn Ilbo*, Jun. 13, 1956: e3). This was not only a case of infringement on freedom of the press following the Yi Sŭng-man Government's strategy of "ghettoizing the nation's attention by repressing any competitive and challenging images" (Yi Hwa-chin, 2007), but the case revealed USIS-Korea's privileged status, which the ROK Government could not fully control because of its identity as U.S. Government agency.

Two years later, in May 1958, there was another case tied to censorship over the same newsreel series. The Ministry of Education pointed out that news coverage in *Liberty News* No. 253 of the joint lecture by municipal electoral candidates of the Democratic Party on April 31 was "unfair since it contained only one party's lecture scene," and it requested it be cut out. This time USIS-Korea deleted the discussed scene, but they emphasized that it was carried out "from their own decision" after reviewing the Ministry of Education's suggestion (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, May 16, 1958: 2). This circumstance can be understood as a declaration that the final arbiter of such action was not the ROK Government, but USIS-Korea itself.

Then, a case of much severer conflict happened at the beginning of 1959. After December 24, 1958 when the Yi Sŭng-man Government and the ruling

party had rushed through the third revised bill of the National Security Law (hereinafter NSL), the “NSL Scandal” followed and lasted (see Figure 42). On January 13, 1959, a USIS-affiliated Korean cinematographer was chased by Korean police officers for filming protesters of the opposition party (*Kyŏngnyang Sinmun*, Jan. 15, 1959: 1). Since the officers had tried to violate the American embassy building to arrest the cinematographer, the embassy made a formal complaint against the ROK Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Tonga Ilbo*, Jan. 15, 1959: 1).



**Figure 42. USIS-Korea's
footage of NSL Scandal**

This complaint basically resulted from the Eisenhower Administration's continuous criticism of the Yi Sŭng-man Government's suppression of political opponents, and President Yi's discontent about it (Hyŏn Sŭng-hŭi, 2000; Yi Ch'ŏl-sun, 2007). However, in terms of the social status of USIS-Korea's film unit, it was a result of an ambivalent identity: A whistle-blower who filmed and disclosed Korean political reality and an outsider who had extraterritoriality to protect his employees. As discussed in Chapter 6, Korean filmmakers were exposed to hybridity in their subject formation, identifying themselves as both nation-builders and “Free World” bloc-builders under the umbrella of the United States during the post-Korean War period. In the ‘NSL Scandal,’ the Korean

cinematographer's identity as "a whistle-blower who belonged to the outside" was a re-enactment and indeed a clear example of this hybrid subjectivity.

Because of this string of troubles, USIS-Korea and Liberty Production was recognized by the Korean press as a media organization with an emphasis on its criticism of the Yi Sŭng-man Government from the perspective of being an opposition (*Chosŏn Ilbo*, Dec. 26, 1960: e4). This definition seems to have raised certain hopes among the Korean public that *Liberty News* and USIS-Korea would contribute to democratization after President Yi's resignation in April of 1960. For instance, one Korean newspaper criticized *Liberty News* three times in November and December, 1960, for not taking an active role in relevant social criticism. The paper pointed out that the newsreel had been considerably critical of the Yi Sŭng-man Government, but became more bureaucratic after his resignation (*Chosŏn Ilbo*, Nov. 5, 1960: e4; Dec. 19, 1960: e4; Dec. 26, 1960: e4). Around the end of 1960 and the beginning of 1961, with the Presidential election in the States, USIS-Korea started to educate democracy in its films, including *Ideal Citizen* and *Screen Magazine No.2* (USIS Seoul, Jan. 30, 1961). This scenario is discussed in Chapter 9.

2. Institutionalization of Public Information Film Activities, 1961 – 1968

USIS-Korea had registered its film unit as a subsidiary film company in South Korea in 1948 (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Oct. 26, 1948: 3). However, the legal status of its film propaganda activities was unprescribed until the enactment of the Motion Pictures Act in 1962 and its revision in 1963. For instance, as of 1955, USIS-Korea's newsreels and documentaries were utilized by approximately 80 commercial theaters in South Korea (William L. Grenoble, Sep. 21, 1955), but it was not legally guaranteed that business.

After the coup in May of 1961, the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction (hereinafter SCNR), as a military junta led by Pak Chŏng-hŭi until his Presidential inauguration in December 1963, started to legalize cultural activities, including music, performance, broadcasting, publication, and cinema (Pak Chi-yŏn, 2008). In its course, the Motion Pictures Act was enacted on January 20, 1962. This was the moment that public information film activists were guaranteed through legislation. The new law defined 'munhwa yŏnghwa [cultural films]' as "films produced mainly with factual records to describe educational, cultural effects or social customs from social, economic and cultural phenomena." It made "screening of cultural films prior to screening of any films" compulsory (Act No.995, Jan. 20, 1962). The first revised bill in March 12, 1963 included newsreels as mandatory cofeatures (Act No.1305, Mar. 12, 1963). With this act, *Liberty News* and other Liberty Production films could be

shown in theaters obligatorily. This change was made possible under the firm state supervision of the film industry, including imposition of pre-censorship, strengthened registration requirement for film companies, and a strict import quota system (Pak Chi-yŏn, 2008).

Not only the surrounding environment was institutionalized; the film unit's own system also was. According to the inspection report for the activities of USIS-Korea in the 1961 fiscal year, Liberty Production consisted of 2 Americans and about 70 local employees. Of them, 60% were engaged in production and 40% in distribution, including 12 mobile units. The whole budget for a single fiscal year was approximately 65,580 USD. *Liberty News* was produced once a week, 10 other 10-30 minute documentaries were made, and 11 USIA films were imported and adapted to be Korean language versions. Liberty Production films reached 313 commercial theaters or about three quarters of the total 420 theaters in South Korea. The aggregate attendance in the 1961 fiscal year was 76,572,278, including 53,956,128 for *Liberty News* (52 issues) and 22,616,250 for other 218 films. USIS-Korea-owned film prints were also distributed through 5 film libraries in Seoul, Taegu, Pusan and Kwangju branches. Total print holdings of the libraries were 5,997, and 12 out of 17 mobile units assigned to the branches were used for regular tours. Mobile units showed films to a total of 1,472,708 audiences, USIS-Korea's own projection of 321,922, and library loans of 18,930,165 in the 1961 fiscal year (James L. Meader, Nov. 24, 1961).

After 13 years' service in Korea, William G. Ridgeway moved to the Philippines in 1958, and Lorin G. Reeder, his assistant, became the new Motion Picture Officer in charge of production in Sangnam (William G. Ridgeway, Feb. 28, 1989). Reeder relocated from Manila to Seoul on July 23, 1951, and worked as a photographic technician (U.S. Department of State, 1951: 75). He was not a film expert according to Kim Hyōng-kūn (Kim Hyōng-kūn, Mar. 30, 2012), but took the chief role at Sangnam Production until its closure in 1967.⁴⁶ There were also a couple of Motion Picture Officers in Seoul at the same time in charge of "distribution and the rest of the motion picture end of the program" (Isabel Cumming, Jan. 15, 1990). Niels Bonnesen was assigned to the Seoul Center from 1954 to 1961, and Humphrey W. Leynse from 1959 to 1966 (U.S. Department of State, 1954: 43; 1959: 48; 1961: 51-52; MASC, 2010).

However, institutionalization of USIS-Korea's film activities signified that its role in the Korean film industry was more specialized and separate. SCNR's systematization of 'cultural film' making and distribution promoted the growth of ROK public information activities. The Ministry of Public Information established its affiliated film production, the NFPC, in June, 1961 (*Kyōnghyang Sinmun*, Jun. 23, 1961: 1). Many of the NFPC's key personnel were trained through U.S. and UN agencies. Yi Hyōng-p'yo, who had been

⁴⁶ When USIS-Korea closed its studios in Sangnam in 1967, filmmakers made a documentary called *The Reederers of Sangnam* to show their gratitude to Reeder for his 11 years of service in Sangnam.

trained in the USIS-Korea and UNKRA Film Unit, became the office manager of the OPI's Daehan Film Production in 1955 and contributed to the establishment of NFPC (Yi Hyöng-p'yo, Dec. 6, 2005). Pae Sök-in, who had moved from the USIS-Korea to the OPI in 1958, became one of the leading directors of NFPC and educated other filmmakers at the center (KOFA, 2009). Film musician, Chöng Yun-chu, announcer, Kim Yöng-gwön, and animator, Chöng To-pin, had been trained in Sangnam studios in the 1950s and were absorbed into NFPC as skilled manpower (KOFA, 2006: 245-292; Kim Hyöng-kün, Mar. 30, 2012). Many other filmmakers, including Yang Chong-hae, received the opportunity to learn advanced filmmaking techniques with support from ICA and the United States Operations Mission to Korea (hereinafter USOM) in 1959 ([Anonymous], Apr. 8, 1959). All of these innovations in system and manpower further developed and modernized the ROK Governmental propaganda within a short period of time and made USIS-Korea lose further ground gradually. Their role as the leading propagator of the 'Free World' in the country was brought into question, and the rise of their ROK counterpart only deepened that crisis.

The Liberty Production Sangnam studios were closed on May 30, 1967 following the policy of the U.S. State Department, and all production activities were conducted in Seoul afterwards (*Maeilgyöngje*, Jun. 2, 1967: 3). The USIS-Korea Sangnam period was the core of its film production, so the closure of these studios signified a reduction of the whole scale of motion picture

activities in Korea.

3. Changing Surroundings: The Nixon Doctrine, and the *Yusin* Regime in South Korea, 1969 – 1973

The relationship between the Pak Chŏng-hŭi Government and the United States was in large part close and stable during the 1960s, solidified and guaranteed by the deployment of South Korean troops to Vietnam beginning in 1964. There was also a normalization of diplomatic relations between South Korea and Japan in 1965, promoted as part of the U.S. strategy toward Asia (Sin Chong-tae, 2009). Under these conditions, USIS-Korea's public information activities in South Korea, including Liberty Production filmmaking and distribution, also stabilized during the 1960s.

However, the war situation in Vietnam in the late 1960s and the unavoidable change in U.S. policy toward Asia in conjunction with the inauguration of U.S. President Richard Nixon in 1969 transformed the ongoing picture. The key point of this change was stressed in the Nixon Doctrine, which was deliberated on July 25, 1969 in Guam and basically indicated new military policy in Asia (Richard M. Nixon, 1970: 53-62). Its concept of Asian self-reliance did not pertain only in defense issues. According to Morton S.

Smith who became Director of USIS-Korea in 1971, the Nixon Doctrine played an important role on academic and cultural exchange, accompanying changes in the methods that USIS-Korea would choose for public information activities.

Smith emphasized that USIS-Korea new programs would encourage the Korean citizens more personal understanding of American foreign policy by increasing face-to-face opportunities, such as seminars, conferences and lectures

(*Kyŏngnyang Sinmun*, Jun. 15, 1971: 5). This was in reality a paradigm shift in public information activities, in that the activities began to put more emphasis on intellectual audiences who were active enough to participate in the events voluntarily, rather than anonymous citizens exposed to the distributed information at random.

The new U.S. strategy toward Asia directly affected the political situations in South Korea. Although the Nixon Administration promised to provide aid for modernization of the Korean military, the decision to withdraw 20,000 U.S. troops from South Korea raised a sense of menace within the Pak Government (Hong Sŏk-ryul, 2006). This worry became their justification for a total security posture and a convenient shield for the constitutional change that allowed Pak to run for a third term (Sin Chong-tae, 2009). While the Nixon Doctrine was a means of relaxing international tensions for the U.S. Government and also conclude the hardship in Vietnam, the Pak Government did not consider the change to be an opportunity for a South-North dialogue to bring peace, but rather as a crisis caused by a lack of foresight. Therefore, with that pretext, the

establishment of the *Yusin* [Revitalizing Reforms] Regime, which enabled President Pak to seize power permanently and exert unlimited authority, became possible (Hong Sök-ryul, 2006).

In February of 1973, the Pak Government announced a complete amendment of the Motion Picture Act. The revised law included a new legal obligation in the filmmaking business: “One who wishes to make a business of film production must obtain permission of the Minister of Culture and Public Information” (Act No.2536, Feb. 16, 1973). Film production companies only had had to register their businesses until then, but this new revision inaugurated a permit system and attached complicated qualifications to gain permission, including certification of capitalization at 50 million wŏn. This criterion made it difficult for smaller production companies to maintain their businesses (Pak Chi-yŏn, 2004). Further, the revised act tightened up the pre-censorship of films and scripts (Act No.2536, Feb. 16, 1973).

Moreover, the tone of the USIS-Korea films was not that of such a faithful cooperator that the Pak Government would employ an exceptional clause for its production company. Under the Pak Government, USIS-Korea kept all media content “out of the Korean political context” and “newsreel coverage was confined to straight, factual reporting” (William Phipps, c1964). However, these reports focused exclusively on “USAID and its service to Korea” (William Phipps, Jun. 4, 1965) in any *Liberty News* and *Screen Report* newsreels that

might have displeased the Pak Government.

All these changed surroundings, including television's encroachment on the film market in the 1970s (Yi Yǒng-il, 1988: 451-452), made USIS-Korea decide to close its film production. According to Alan C. Heyman, the film composer of several Liberty Production films in the 1960s, USIS-Korea dismantled the Motion Picture Section in the early 1970s.⁴⁷ As *Screen Report*, the follow-up newsreel series of *Liberty News* since 1968, completed shooting in 1972 with its 31st issue,⁴⁸ it is highly probable that USIS-Korea's film production was actually closed at the time when the revised Motion Picture Act took effect.

⁴⁷ Refer to the interview with Alan C. Heyman below (Alan C. Heyman, Jan. 12, 2012):

Interviewer: Didn't the USIS-Korea make films in the 1970s?

Heyman: No, they didn't. The Motion Picture Section was closed at that time.

Interviewer: Do you remember when it was?

Heyman: My memory... is not accurate, but maybe around 1970.

Interviewer: Around 1970? Oh, then, did all of your colleagues become engaged in setting up independent productions?

Heyman: Yes, yes, but not many. Then, only a few of them.

⁴⁸ NARA houses total 31 issues of *Screen Report* series, under the record group 306-SCRIP.

Chapter 9. Escapeways: Democracy Education and Expert Systems

In July 1966, USIS-Korea requested the Regional Research Center of USIS-Manila to undertake a study on *Liberty News* and compare it with the ROK governmental newsreel, *Taehan Nyusŭ* (L. Slaton Jr., Jul. 1, 1966). It was a pressing task for USIS-Korea since they were threatened with a curtailment in their budget for newsreel production by Congress (Marks, Aug. 3, 1966; Gordon Connelly, Mar. 24, 1967). A survey was conducted in 10 South Korean cities, interviewing 2,074 moviegoers age 16 and over until October 1966 (USIS-Manila, 1967: 2). Being conscious of Congress, the survey reporter suggested that “*Liberty News* be continued and strengthened,” in a summary of the report (USIS-Manila, 1967: i). However, a detailed research result clearly indicates that *Liberty News* did not arouse audience interest as differentiated from *Taehan Nyusŭ*:

“Relatively few moviegoers were able to articulate perceived differences between *Liberty* and *Taehan*. The most frequent comment, made by 15% of the moviegoers, was that *Liberty News* had more news from overseas while *Taehan* had primarily domestic news. When asked which of the two newsreels they like better, only 30% of moviegoers expressed a preference for one or the other. Among these more discriminating moviegoers, *Liberty* was somewhat more popular than *Taehan* (18% vs. 12%). But the national figures are misleading. In the largest cities, *Liberty* is preferred over *Taehan* by two to one; in medium size cities, *Liberty* and *Taehan* are about equally well liked; and in the smaller cities *Taehan* is more popular.” (USIS-Manila, 1967: 9).

Since the argument that *Liberty* could be unnecessarily immersed in an

awareness of the ROK governmental newsreel, this result does not seem to have justified the reason for the existence of the long-standing weekly film series.

Hence, despite the positive evaluation in the summary, it is highly probable that this report was an unfavorable factor for the retention of *Liberty News*. The series officially ended on June 1, 1967, with No. 721 as its last release (*Han'gug Ilbo*, May 28, 1967: 7).

This story of *Liberty News* shows the delicate situation of Liberty Production in the late 1960s. Its Korean counterpart, NFPC, had become equal or even superior to Liberty Production in terms of leverage and productivity. The South Korean film industry also had matured during the last decade and produced over 100 feature films annually in the 1960s (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Jul. 19, 1965: 5). Liberty Production films were not anymore able to take an advantageous position in the newsreel and cultural markets based on a technical and technological superiority over South Korean film productions.

Therefore, Liberty Production films in the 1960s demonstrate the foreign agency's struggle to gain its *raison d'être*. This chapter investigates such attempts to justify the social role of USIS-Korea film production to its sponsor, its audiences, and the affiliated-filmmakers themselves.

1. Democracy Education and the Strategy of Visualization

As the two newsreel series gathered more experience, *Liberty News* and *Taehan Nyusŭ* became in rivals in the late 1950s. The press frequently offered comments on both newsreel series and compared them (*Chosŏn Ilbo*, Dec. 19, 1960: e4; Dec. 26, 1960: e4). According to Theodore Conant, who was residing in Seoul and worked for several agencies as a free-lance filmmaker when Eisenhower visited Korea, there was competition between OPI and USIS-Korea to obtain footage of the U.S. President:

Conant: Before Eisenhower came, uh..., CBS [...] they did a program of Eisenhower. And I got a, uh, they sent me a 16mm print of that. And then I took that 16mm print to OPI. Eisenhower was coming in about 10 days, something like that. And we made, we blew it up to 35. And we, and we, they listened to the English and made Korean films in Korean, Korean subs... And they put it in the newsreel. And the USIS was furious. USIS didn't have any material on Eisenhower. Here, the government newsreel had it. "How did they get it?" (Theodore Conant, Mar. 25, 2012)

This scenario shows that the creators of both newsreel series were significantly conscious of each other. It is interesting that the two agencies were representing two different countries separately, but still competed with each other for hegemony over publicity in one country.

According to USIS-Seoul's assessment, *Taehan Nyusŭ* during the Yi Government impaired its popularity "by concentration on furthering interests of the party and President Yi." However, it improved greatly after the April

Revolution (USIS Seoul, Jan. 30, 1961). After the convulsion of April in 1960, USIS-Korea and Liberty Production faced demands for making a contribution to democratic change.⁴⁹ As stated above, the critical attitude of *Liberty News* toward the Yi Government gave the Korean public the impression that it opposed the undemocratic regime. Several precedent studies points out that this was a stand taken to preserve the dignity of the U.S. in South Korea, “a showcase for democracy,” by settling down a conservative two-party system and succeeding in a change of leadership (Yi Ch’öl-sun, 2007; Yi Wan-pöm, 2007; Hyön Sŭng-hŭi, 2000).

In response to the demands of Korean society, as well the changing political environment in the U.S., USIS-Korea began to make films on democracy and American political traditions. President Eisenhower’s visit to Korea in June of 1960 was a big event that attracted a great number of people to come out and welcome the “Freedom Fighter.” The newsflash edition of *Liberty News, Eisenhower’s Visit to Korea [Eisenhower taet’ongnyöng han’guk*

⁴⁹ Still, it is obvious that USIS officials were confident of their superiority over OPI at the end of 1961, in accordance with an inspection report on USIS-Korea’s activities:

“While unattributed, the Liberty newsreel is well-known as an American presentation. It is better in country-wide coverage than the government’s newsreel, which lacks cameramen permanently stationed outside of Seoul. The government’s newsreel includes only about three international items in each issue (acquired from Movietone), and has a fairly heavy diet of ‘official’ material depicting the movement of government leaders, etc. It reaches only about half of the country’s theaters – 25% less than USIS coverage. A certain amount of duplication between the government and the USIS newsreels is inevitable. Coverage plans are exchanged weekly, however, to permit avoiding overlap when desired.” (James L. Meader, Nov. 24, 1961)

pangmun] (1960) shows how the passion of the April Revolution was combined with the enthusiasm for the U.S. President (see Figure 43). In the film, instead of Yi Sŭng-man, Prime Minister Hŏ Chŏng welcomes Eisenhower, and the crowd waves placards saying, “We Welcome Ike, Freedom Fighter!” and “Students of the April Revolution Welcome President Eisenhower.” In a report on USIS-Korea’s project to develop democratic concepts and practices in Korea in January, 1961, President Eisenhower’s visit is assessed as having been “used to convey basic democratic concepts” (USIS Seoul, Jan. 30, 1961).



Figure 43. A newsflash of Liberty News: *Eisenhower's Visit to Korea* (1960)

The U.S. presidential election in the same year also served as a means of publicizing the American ideal of democracy. *Korean Screen Magazine* #2 [*Han'guk yŏnghwa chapchi che2ho*] (1960), an 18-minute news magazine film, was made and released in December, 1960 (USIS Seoul, Jan. 30, 1961). Similar to *Tuesday in November*, which shows each procedure of the U.S. Presidential election through the example of 1944, this film narrates American elective democracy by depicting John F. Kennedy’s election campaign and victory.

Another 1960 film, *The Ideal Citizen*, gives the impression that its creators might have concern about the localization of the film's setting. The film starts with a couple of illustrations that remind one of the Chosŏn Dynasty and traditional Korean style background music composed by Kim Tong-chin (see Figure 44). Despite all the strong points of the "land of the morning calm"



Figure 44. *The Ideal Citizen* (1960)

that it praises, the film emphasizes that "a democratic type of government" should be established to achieve peace, freedom and happiness. Citizens should be able to "govern themselves," and "freedom of discussion, and freedom of speech" must be guaranteed. The film does not directly present America as a role model; however, the "Liberty Bell" title back graphics are easily recognizable. By emphasizing the importance of the right to vote, this film reflects the atmosphere present after the April Revolution, caused by the Yi Sŭng-man Government's election frauds.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the U.S. public information agencies' role as an educator of democracy was set up as early as 1946 and maintained almost 15 years to 1961. Thus USIS-Korea's democracy education during the anti-authoritarian period looks rather unaffected by the new political environment.

However, another aspect should be considered for this “strategy of visualization” (Nicholas Thomas 1994: 105-142). The Korean public’s expectations that USIS-Korea would contribute to building a democratic government after Yi Sŭng-man might have been caused by the experience of witnessing its power to disclose domains concealed by the sovereign state. When the opposition candidate’s election campaign scene in *Liberty News No.164* became a political concern for the Yi Sŭng-man Government in May, 1956, the controversy maximized the promotion effects of the newsreel as credible journalism:

“Had it been released calmly, only reachable audiences might have seen it. However, after a nationwide ‘advance announcement’ for several days, it became the talk in every corner of the country. Hence, people rushed in theaters with curiosity in Seoul, and local villagers gathered to see the crowd of the campaign rally in the film. This number left a behind story that even those who go to the movies once in a year or less saw this film. So this number recorded an unprecedented attendance among the whole series and, frankly speaking, served as a momentum to make a big name for *Liberty News* through the entire country” (Kim Wŏn-sik, Jul., 1967).

For the audiences who had rushed into theaters to watch the ‘uncut’ *Liberty News*, its creators might be seen as possessing the power to reveal the absurdity of their government, namely, the power of visualization.

While the uncut *Liberty News* was a tool for showing Korean audiences USIS-Korea’s status, production of such films was also a way of securing visual evidence for whether the Yi Sŭng-man Government corresponded to the “Free

World” order led by the United States. USIS was a network of agencies that were not only in charge of distributing the U.S. Government’s public information, but also had a duty to collect and relocate the information from overseas. USIS-Korea visualization of the undemocratic political situation in South Korea, therefore, signified that such news was collected as comprehensible information and accumulated as useful knowledge by the U.S. Government.

2. Film Festivals and Auteurism in Cultural Film Production

Even though film was discussed in Chapter 5 to show the characteristics of the reconstruction films of the 1950s, it would be clear to say that *Korean Educational System* (1958) was one of the films resting on the border between the two different attitudes of USIS-Korea film production before and after 1958. Screenwriter Yi Ch’ōng-ki pointed out the difference of this film compared to previous cultural films:

The other significance is that this film, even though it is a work of the USIS, shows promise and a good sign of our documentary cultural film scene which has been remained a big hollow wall. Documentary cultural films do not just represent our everyday life on the screen, but dramatize a theme which has been brought into being through the representation in order to criticize, argue and create our living. They are living educational readers which make a great contribution to improving social welfare and culture, and to beautifying our living both materially and morally. Unfortunately,

except some governmental works of the Office of Public Information, there have been no documentary activities to speak of in our country. We have even lost any will to revive what we are missing. Consequentially, our people remain unlucky not to enjoy all the cultural and creative influences that documentaries can give to them. That is, in a sense, their functions of creating our living and society are paralyzed, and there is lack of the modern sense (Yi Ch'öng-ki, Apr. 30, 1958: 6).

This review raised the issue of documentary film making, which was not established as a separate field in South Korean cinema at that time. It was the vague definition of cultural films, in a manner of speaking, as Yi used an unusual term “kirok munhwa yöngghwa [documentary cultural film]” in this review. The category of cultural film embraced documentaries as an umbrella notion, but at the same time such categorization placed the potential of documentary film making limitedly under the educational function. For this reason, cultural films, consisting mainly of documentaries and semi-documentaries, were regarded as products that were monopolized by public information agencies, such as OPI and USIS-Korea (*Tonga Ilbo*, Aug. 5, 1962). Even though Yi did emphasize their educational function by defining documentary cultural films as ‘educational readers,’ what he found in *Korean Educational System* was the potential of a documentary film that such government-made cultural films could not demonstrate. His limitation for diagnosing the documentary scene in South Korea was that he still could not split the notion of documentary and its meaning off from that of a cultural film.

This point reminds one of Yi Hyöng-p‘yo’s awakening to documentary

filmmaking (see Chapter 6). What he learned from Theodore Conant and Richard Bagley during the training period of the UNKRA Film Unit, and mentioned in an oral history interview as “true cinema” and “perfect art,” was a kind of auteurist or romanticist intent wherein the documentary filmmaker expresses his/her own artistic point of view, regardless of the employer’s aim for publicity (Yi Hyōng-p‘yo, Dec. 13, 2005; Theodore Conant, Apr. 14, 2010). As seen also in the contrast between Grierson and Flaherty stated above, the documentary filmmakers’ role as propagandist sometimes was at odds with the role of serious observer or ethnographer. In public information documentary-making, distinct assertiveness of the former was recommended and mostly welcomed, while vagueness and indirectness of the latter were frequently regarded as inappropriate. What Bagley and Conant, and Yi Hyōng-p‘yo, could not compromise on regarding UNKRA’s criteria for making *Ko-Chip*, seems to relate to the sense of their role as observer-auteurist, clearly in line with Flaherty.

Further, the difference that *Korean Educational System* made in terms of documentary filmmaking related to just such a role. An obvious distinction between this film and previous USIS-Korea cultural films was the presence of the filmmakers in the film. Before 1958, USIS-Korea films did not contain lists of filmmakers on the opening credits, except for some USIA-made films and the feature film, *Boxes of Death*. In contrast, *Korean Educational System* started to show the lists in detail, even including film assistants (see Figure 45). Other

USIS-Korea documentaries made after this film, including *With Hand and Heart* [*Tasi sanŭn kil*] (1960), *Coal* [*Sŏkt'an*] (1961), *Litany of Hope* [*Hwangt'o kil*] (1962), *Tank* [*T'aengk'ŭbyŏng*] (1963), *The Inn* [*Sarangbang*] (1964), *The Island* [*Sae ilt'ŏ*] (1965) and *A Legacy* [*Charang sŭrŏun yusan*] (1965), also included such opening credits, thus



Figure 45. The opening credit of *Korean Educational System*

identifying the production staffs. These credits clarified who were responsible for each part of filmmaking, at the same time, bore signatures of the staffs and indicated their identity as creators. Considering that most commercial feature films had naturally adopted the staff listing practice for their opening credits, the absence of such listings in documentary films meant that these films were presented not as the works of filmmakers, but as products of their employers, that is, the public information agencies. In other words, the emergence of staff listings in the later documentary films signified the onset of the filmmakers' self awareness as documentarists.

The other noticeable characteristic of *Korean Educational System* is that film's verisimilitude. It starts with a long-take that shows children playing with sounds collected through real-time recording. This technique was unique in terms of sound-recording conventions in South Korea at the time. Both in the commercial and government fields, real-time recording was an unaccustomed

technique largely because of a lack of equipment and technology (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Sep. 27, 1958: 1). As Kim Ki-yŏng's *Boxes of Death* was the first sound shooting film made in South Korea, made possible by the Mitchell camera, USIS-Korea's rich resources were a good opportunity for Korean innovators in filmmaking. However, most of the USIS-Korea documentary films before this one, e.g., *Lighthouse on the Street*, *Building Together*, or *Diary of Three Soldiers*, had not made the most of this specialty. Real sounds were not tried or were merely set as background noises behind post-synchronized narrations and sound effects. The opening long-take scene in *Korean Educational System* is in that sense an original attempt to bring verisimilar moments to audiences. The film contains several sets of raw footage and sound that depict scenes at the schools in a convincing way. While there are still structuralized narratives and staged images blended with these raw elements to maximize the aim of publicity, this film does not move forward the existence of individual filmmakers and their artistic attempts, which cannot be just explained as governmental public information activities.

This film's Director, Yang Sŭng-ryong (Yang Seung-ryong), had worked as a recordist and Assistant Director for Manchukuo Film Association Ltd. during the colonial period (Sim Hye-kyŏng, 2011) and later became the recordist of *Boxes of Death* in 1955. The Cinematographer of *Korean Educational System*, Chŏn Sŏn-myŏng (Chun Sun-myung), had been at first employed as a guard at the Sangnam studios, and then became the Assistant Cinematographer

of *Boxes of Death* (Kim Hyöng-kün, Mar. 30, 2012).

Both of the individuals had not been leading players among production staffs until senior directors and cinematographers left USIS-Korea to work in the Korean film industry. Many of the filmmakers who replaced the first generation during the relocation of film studios to Sangnam between 1951 and 1953, including Kim Ki-yöng, Kim Yöng-gwön, Kim Hyöng-kün and Pae Sök-in, left Sangnam before and around 1958.⁵⁰ As their seniors had done earlier, these third-generation filmmakers, including Yang and Chön, began to replace the former leading players after 1958 and became directors and chief cinematographers.⁵¹ For newcomers like Chön, the USIS-Korea film production system was a means of attaining a vocational education. However, the third-generation filmmakers did not have such helpful connections with the

⁵⁰ Kim Ki-yöng immediately left USIS-Korea after the release of *Boxes of Death* and started *Yangsando* (1955) (Kim Han-sang, 2011(a)). Kim Hyöng-kün was one of six Korean filmmakers who left USIS-Korea and established an independent film production in Chinhae in 1951. However, in 1953, he decided to return to USIS-Korea since he wanted to learn the new equipment available in Sangnam. In 1957, he finally left USIS-Korea to work as the technical manager for Chöngnūng film studios of the Han'guk Yöngghwa Munhwa Hyöp'oe [Korean Association for Film Culture] (Kim Hyöng-kün, Mar. 30, 2012). Kim Yöng-gwön had been an anchor on a television station before his career at USIS-Korea. He directed *The Lighthouse on the Street* (1955) and seems to have moved to OPI between 1955 and 1959. In 1959, he directed an OPI-made animation *Chwi rül chapcha [Let's Catch Mice]* (National Film Production Center, 1994: 30). Pae Sök-in began his film making career at USIS-Korea in 1955 and moved to OPI in 1958 (KOFA, 2009).

⁵¹ Yang's filmography continued with *Hands that Moved the Sea* (1958), *My 4-H Project Diary* (1958c), *With Hand and Heart* (1960), *Birds of a Feather* (1961), *Coal* (1961), *Litany of Hope* (1962), *Tank* (1963), *The Mountain* (1963c), *The Inn* (1964), *A Legacy* (1965), *Our Wings Grow Stronger* (1966c), and *The High Hill* (1968c). Chön also later became the director of several documentaries including *The Mighty Han* (1963), *The Lighthouse* (1963c), *Shipmates* (1964c), *The Island Doctor* (1965), *Bright Future* (1967), and *Boom Town* (1968).

Korean film industry (Kim Hyöng-kün, Mar. 30, 2012). While their seniors were absorbed into the Korean film market and the ROK Governmental agencies, the third-generation filmmakers decided to remain in Sangnam.

This shift in generations indicates that Liberty Production was the place for self-realization of USIS-affiliated filmmakers from the new generation. The conditions that had allowed Kim Ki-yöng to enter the commercial film world immediately after the success of *Boxes of Death* were the technical and technological superiority of Liberty Production over the Korean film industry. Such conditions, however, did not last until the late 1950s when Korean cinema saw tremendous growth. The effort to make films with a polished style and a variety of topics in the late 1950s and the 1960s at Liberty Production seems to have originated with this changed industrial environment. As seen in *Korean Educational System*, it is distinctive that the films from this period were produced in the pursuit of completeness as documentaries. Yang's other works, including *Coal*, *Litany of Hope*, and *A Legacy*, show his own coherent style, which were an elaborate combination of verisimilitude in documentary scenes, re-enacted historical events and fictional situations. For instance, the opening footage of *A Legacy* shows a unique editing style that directly and effectively connects the documentary footage of a noisy and lively local market in contemporary Japan to the re-enactment of a sixteenth century Korean-Japanese pottery school. Between the two scenes and their very different time settings, the opening credits appear with the film title and the list of staff and performers

(see Figure 46).



Figure 46. The opening of *A Legacy*

This stylistic improvement corresponded with the emergence of the film festival culture. The first Asian Film Festival was held in Tokyo in 1954, and South Korea was included in its membership in 1957 (Sangjoon Lee, 2011: 165-221). Since the festival offered Best Documentary award, the lack of documentary film making in Korea became a conversation topic. Yi Pyŏng-il (Lee Byung-il), a Board member of the Asian Film Festival in 1959, expressed his feelings of regret that there was no entry in the documentary section from South Korea:

Although I always feel it necessary when we submit entries every year and I go abroad to join film festivals, the plan to send ‘documentary films’ from our private productions seems to be thwarted again this year. There is almost no country except Korea who submits feature films without any documentaries, and countries who even cannot send features at least submit some documentaries. Considering this, I would like to bring two or three pieces with the support from either the Association of Film Producers or the government, if individual submission is impossible. In my view, it would be good if we could select a couple of works from the OPI production (Yi Pyŏng-il, Mar. 6, 1959).

As he suggests, OPI directors Yi Hyŏng-p‘yo and Yang Chong-hae did

submit their documentaries as Korean entries to the sixth Asian Film Festival in Kuala Lumpur, Malaya for the first time that year (Yi Ha-na, 2010). As the establishment of the OPI film studios in 1958 was regarded as a chance to “develop the ‘lost territory’ of documentaries” (*Tonga Ilbo*, Jan. 21, 1959: 4), OPI’s official participation in the Asian Film Festival was a felicitous choice to encourage documentary film making. Falling a step behind, however, Liberty Production also participated in the festival beginning in 1962. Yang Sŭng-ryong submitted his films four years in a row, and was awarded two prizes in 1962 and 1964 (see Table 7). Chŏn Sŏn-myŏng also entered his color film, *The Island Doctor*, in the 12th Asian Film Festival in 1965 (*Tonga Ilbo*, Apr. 20, 1965: 6).

Table 7. Liberty Production Films Submitted to the Asian Film Festival (Yi Ha-na, 2010; *Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, May 16, 1962: 3; *Tonga Ilbo*, Apr. 20, 1965: 6)

Ord.	Year	Venue	Title	Director	Note
9th	1962	Seoul, Korea	<i>With Hand and Heart</i>	Yang Sŭng-ryong	B/W Shooting Prize
10th	1963	Tokyo, Japan	<i>Litany of Hope</i>	Yang Sŭng-ryong	
11th	1964	Taipei, Taiwan	<i>The Inn</i>	Yang Sŭng-ryong	Participation Prize
12th	1965	Tokyo, Japan	<i>The Mountain</i>	Yang Sŭng-ryong	
			<i>The Island Doctor</i>	Chŏn Sŏn-myŏng	

The political conditions in the early 1960s also improved the environment of documentary film making. SCNR and later the Pak Chŏng-hŭi Government fostered and encouraged production and distribution of ‘cultural films’ as a way to legislate and compel double-feature playing of these films in

commercial cinemas and establish NFPC under the Ministry of Public Information (*Tonga Ilbo*, Aug. 5, 1962: 4). The Ministry also created a new section on cultural films for its annual film awards in 1962, when the award was renamed Taejongsang (*Tonga Ilbo*, Mar. 31, 1962: 3). In the majority of cases, these Cultural Film Prizes were won by NFPC directors (Yi Ha-na, 2010). However, it seems that Liberty Production films were also submitted to the evaluation committee, as, for instance, Yang's *Litany of Hope*, which won the Achievement Award in 1963 (*Tonga Ilbo*, Mar. 9, 1963: 5).

The film festival culture apparently encouraged filmmakers in public information agencies to improve their film making styles and develop artistic presentations. The NFPC filmmakers made cultural films targeting the Asian Film Festival prizes (Yi Ha-na, 2010). Also, it is highly probable that both filmmaker groups in NFPC and Liberty Production competed with each other in evaluating the artistic value of cultural films and awarding prizes. However, it should be also noted that such film festival culture and the improved surroundings for documentary film making were actually the fruit of governmental accentuation of propaganda activities. The Pak Chŏng-hŭi Government was remarkably active in organizing cultural events to promote positive images of their government, and hosting the Asian Film Festival in 1962

and 1966 was one of the key examples (Yi Ha-na, 2010).⁵² The NFPC filmmakers were highly encouraged by the new political power they had to develop their artistic capabilities and actively participate in domestic and international film awards.

The filmmakers of USIS-Korea, who remained after many who were seniors left, were, thus, driven to compete with the NFPC staff under these new conditions. Many NFPC staff members were former USIS-affiliated filmmakers and included Yi Hyŏng-p'yo, Kim Yŏng-gwŏn, Pae Sŏk-in and Chŏng Yun-chu. Other senior filmmakers, such as Kim Ki-yŏng, Kim Hyŏng-kŭn and later Yi Hyŏng-p'yo, entered the commercial film industry and used their creativity with less constraint. The last choice that the remaining USIS filmmakers had was, so to speak, to engage in 'auteurism in cultural film making.' That is, they were not able to become full auteurs in documentary filmmaking, but rather had to negotiate to find their identity which lay between documentarists and public information officials. Their experiments in film style, such as with *A Legacy*, seem to have been in a way art for art's sake, but such stylistic improvements could not include any sharp criticism of the socio-

⁵² The 9th Asian Film Festival in 1962, which was the first one that South Korea hosted, seems to have been an unintended gift for the leaders of the coup (*Tonga Ilbo*, Jul. 31, 1961: 4), but they also knew how to maximize the effect of hosting the renowned international event. The festival was held from May 12 to May 16, 1962, and the closing ceremony on May 16 was a part of the serial ceremony honoring the first anniversary of the military coup (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, May 15, 1962: 3). The next hosting of the Asian Film Festival in Seoul in 1966 was understood by government officials as an opportunity to placate critics of the 1965 Korea-Japan treaty and the decision to send troops to Vietnam (Yi Ha-na, 2010).

political characteristics of their topics. Their counterpart, the NFPC filmmakers, were working in similar conditions, and even filmmakers outside the governmental bodies could not overcome the dilemma since there was no free environment for independent documentary filmmaking in South Korea at that time. Therefore, directors like Yi Hyŏng-p'yo were absorbed into the commercial feature film industry even though they longed for documentary filmmaking (Yi Hyŏng-p'yo, Dec. 6, 2005). Further, the negotiation of identity in documentary filmmaking was a kind of ironic fate for those filmmakers affiliated with public information agencies on a global level, as seen in the cases of the USIA filmmakers under the Kennedy Administration (Nicholas Cull, 1998).

3. Fostering Korean Expertise on America and Being American Experts on Korea

Some USIS-Korea films in the late 1960s and the early 1970s present interesting self-reflections on the U.S. strategies to foster mutual understanding between South Korea and the United States at that time. In comparison with the activities to encourage the mutual understanding as depicted in the 1950s films, it is remarkable that these films place emphasis on expertise and extensive understanding of each other. This development corresponded to the subsequent

change in the U.S. strategy toward Asia within the Nixon Doctrine, which concluded in the emphasis on Korean citizens' "personal understanding of American foreign policy by increasing face-to-face opportunities" in public information activities (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Jun. 15, 1971: 5).

The 1968 film, *American Cultural Centers and the Community*, provides a good example of such face-to-face opportunities. It introduces four American cultural centers in Seoul, Pusan, Taegu, and Kwangju.⁵³ Those centers were equipped with book and film libraries, assembly halls, and meeting rooms (*Tonga Ilbo*, Feb. 1, 1971: 5). These centers had changed their main scope of activity from direct and popular events to "indirect practices toward individuals and groups who could exercise influence on the public" (*Tonga Ilbo*, Jul. 11, 1978: 5).



Figure 47. Academic events and mutual understanding activities depicted in *American Cultural Centers and the Community* (1968)

The film shows the location of a new center of gravity within the social

⁵³ American cultural centers were originally called USIS Information Centers but the name was changed in 1953 to give the "most desirable" impression to the Korean public by pointing to "the cultural aspect of branch activity" (J.R. Higgins, Apr. 7, 1953).

sphere. When depicting academic events, such as the Second Americana Symposium, the camera captures the serious expressions among the attendees who seem to be students and intellectuals (see Figure 47). A scene involving American students who sing Korean songs provides the impression that the American cultural center is a place at which to make connections with those foreign visitors by developing expertise, including proficiency in the English language.

In designating the target audience of film screenings, it appears that more emphasis was placed on intellectuals and opinion leaders than previously. In August 1968, *Tonga Ilbo* and USIS-Korea



Figure 48. Morton S. Smith and Chŏng Chu-yŏng after watching *To Touch a Child* (1962) in August 1968 (O Chae-kyŏng, 2009).

co-sponsored an international conference titled “Community Action in a Changing World,” during which was shown an American documentary, *To Touch a Child* (1962), which was about the community school movement in Flint, Michigan (O Chae-kyŏng, 2009). After the successful screening of the film, there was another show in the house of Morton S. Smith, Deputy Director

of USIS-Korea at the time, at the request of participants of the conference who wanted to invite eminent persons from various circles (O Chae-kyŏng, 2009). With this screening as momentum, the Korea Association of Supporters for Community School was organized in January 1969 and Chŏng Chu-yŏng, who was the founder of the Hyundai Group and in attendance at the screening, was selected as the first president (KACE, n.d.; O Chae-kyŏng, 2009) (see Figure 48). This case shows the direct influence of USIS-Korea film activities on opinion leaders of South Korea.

In 1973, USIS-Korea started a retrospective screening event on avant-garde films made by American college students from January 17 to February 7 (*Tonga Ilbo*, Jan. 20, 1973: 5). Considering that avant-garde films are commonly regarded to as “the art of the intellectual élite” (Noël Carroll, 1998: 18), this event appears to be targeted to a small population who had the knowledge and intellect to understand the films. After the closure of film production, this symbolic event showed the significant change of USIS-Korea film activities, shifting the object from the general public to intellectuals.

Another interesting project that embodied the U.S. strategy to increase “face-to-face opportunities” in South Korea in the late 1960s and the early 1970s is observed in the USIS-Korea film, *Bridge for Peace* (c1970-72). This film was sponsored by the Peace Corps to show the activities of the Peace Corps volunteers in Korea. The Peace Corps was established by U.S. President John

F. Kennedy in 1961, as an organized group of volunteers who would be sent to “countries of the developing world” for two years to help “the people of interested countries in meeting their need for trained men and women, . . . promote a better understanding of Americans on the part of the peoples served . . . [and] promote a better understanding of other peoples on the part of Americans” (Peace Corps, Jul. 16, 2012). While South Korea was not included in the initial destination countries, an agreement on the Peace Corps was arranged between Korea and America on September 14, 1966, and the first 98 members arrived in Seoul on September 16 of the same year (*Tonga Ilbo*, Sep. 15, 1966: 1; *Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Sep. 17, 1966: 7).⁵⁴

The film shows the activities of the volunteer members. They were assigned to various sectors in Korea that needed professional help, including teaching students English, providing medical service in public health centers, developing indigenous products for rural villages, and volunteering at institutes for the disabled. The authorities of two countries, who are depicted in the film, evaluate the past activities of the Peace Corps to be very successful, having achieved outstanding results.

One notable point is that these volunteer members were not just providers of expertise. As *Bridge for Peace* starts with a scene that depicts a

⁵⁴ One of the members of the first group of volunteers who came to Korea, Edward J. Baker, states that the Peace Corps program in Korea was set up as “partial compensation for the dispatch of ROK troops to Vietnam” (Park Tae-Gyun, 2008).

Peace Corps member's performance of *kayagŭm*, a traditional Korean instrument, they were also recipients of unique knowledge which was only obtainable in Korea. The film shows Peace Corps members who became able to speak fluent



Figure 49. Peace Corps members and Korean students in *Bridge for Peace*

Korean after a couple of years' service in Korea. In the closing scene, some Peace Corps members sit together with Korean college students and sing a Korean folk song, *Kaptoli wa Kapsuni* (see Figure 49).

The volunteer service in Korea, in fact, made the members “seriously interested in Korea” and the effect was noticeable in the academic world (Park Tae-Gyun, 2008). The Peace Corps alumni formed a group of scholars who became key figures in Korean studies in North America, including Edward J. Baker (K-1), David McCann (K-1), Edward J. Shultz (K-1), Bruce Cumings (K-3), and Carter J. Eckert (K-7).⁵⁵ As Baker says, “The Peace Corps played an important role, and in fact it was much more than that” in Korean studies (Park Tae-Gyun, 2008).

⁵⁵ “K-number” indicates the ordinal number in the order of the Peace Corps groups sent to Korea. Therefore, “K-1” means that the person was in the first group which was sent to Korea in September of 1966 (Park Tae-Gyun, 2008; Peace Corps Korea, 2006).

Such acquisition of expertise in Korean peculiarities is also found in USIS-affiliated officials and artists. Eugene I. Knez, who had been assigned to USAMGIK as head of the Bureau of Culture, Department of Education from 1945 to 1946 and then to USIS-Korea as Chief of Branch Operations from 1949 to 1951, became an anthropologist of the Smithsonian Institution and established the Korea Gallery at the U.S. National Museum of Natural History in 1968 (Alan L. Bain, 2002; *Tonga Ilbo*, Feb. 1, 1968: 5). He was married to Ch'oe Chi-ae, who was an actress of Ch'oe In-kyu's Film Production during the Period of Liberation (*Tonga Ilbo*, Feb. 1, 1968: 5; Ch'oe Chi-ae, 2000: 79-90). Knez was one of the early sojourning employees of USIS in Korea; however, his remarkable activities in the late 1960s and 1970s at the Smithsonian Institution show an expert system of the United States that was established to reach Korea at that time.

Humphrey W. Leynse, who had been a Motion Picture Officer of USIS-Korea from 1959 to 1966, resigned his position and moved to Ullŭng-do, a remote Korean island in the East Sea, to engage in documentary filmmaking (MASC, 2010; *Tonga Ilbo*, Jan. 26, 1966: 3). After two years of recording "the harsh life of the fishermen and their families on Ullŭng-do," he finished an ethnographic film, *Out There, a Lone Island* (1968), and won several awards (MASC, 2010). This case shows how a U.S. official in charge of cultural film production in USIS-Korea became himself an ethnographer with a movie camera.

Another remarkable case of an American expert on Korea is the story of Alan C. Heyman, who became naturalized as a Korean citizen with a Korean name, Hae Ŭi-man. He first came to Korea during the Korean War as a soldier. Since he was fascinated by Asian traditional music during wartime, he came back to Korea as a student to learn Korean traditional music in 1959, against the wishes of those around him (Kim Bo-ram, 2010). For this self-supporting student, composing music for the USIS-Korea films seems to have been a useful way to finance his study. He composed and arranged original scores of several cultural films in the 1960s, including *Litany of Hope* (1962), *The Inn* (1964), *Ask Me!* (1964), *The Mountain* (1964), *A Legacy* (1965), *Our Wings Grow Stronger* (c1966), *The High Hill* (c1968), and *KATUSA* (n.d.). As a graduate of the master's program in Music and Music Education at Columbia University, he was already a music specialist (*The Korea Herald*, Feb. 11, 2011: 11); however, what attracted Liberty Production to Heyman's work appears to be his ability in Korean traditional music:

Interviewer: Then, did USIS-Korea request that you compose music because you did Korean music?

Heyman: Well, that is, until then USIS-Korea did not have works that contained both Western and Korean traditional music together.

[Ah...] I was the first one who did it.

Interviewer: Ah, yes. So, did they ask you to put many Korean music, I mean, Korean traditional music scores in their films?

Hyeman: Yes, they did.

Interviewer: Was it important to use Korean traditional music in the USIS-Korea films?

Heyman: Yes, yes, it was. (Alan C. Heyman, Jan. 10, 2012)

Heyman used traditional Korean instruments, such as the *kōmun'go*, *kayagŭm*, *buk*, *changgo*, *kkwaenggwari*, and *saenak*, in those films and won an award for best original score with *The Mountain* (Alan C. Heyman, Jan. 10, 2012; *Tonga Ilbo*, Dec. 2, 1964: 5).

Heyman was not only a competent staff member in publicizing certain topics of USIS-Korea, but he himself was also an interesting topic to publicize. The 1969 film, *My Friend Alan Heyman*, deals with his life in Korea. In the film, he participates in a Korean oratorical contest for foreigners and lives in a Korean-style house with a Korean wife.



Figure 50. Alan C. Heyman in *P'aldogangsan of Tomorrow* (1971)

His passion for Korean traditional music is presented in detail, with instances of his own performance. His unique character seems to have attracted ROK public information filmmakers as well. He was cast for the NFPC film, *P'aldogangsan of Tomorrow* (1971). In this tourist cultural film, Heyman plays the *changgo* and sings the traditional Korean folk song, “Arirang” (see Figure 50).

It is undeniable that Heyman’s presence in the films was an extension of the strategy of visualization which had been developed in the cultural peculiarity films in the 1950s, including Kim Paek-pong’s live recordings. Heyman was a

white American who recognized the importance and excellence of Korean traditional music and became the *kugak* musician. The depiction of his life and figure might have positioned Korean audiences on the stage where they were the object of the gaze of the superior authority with a discerning eye, the United States.

While the films of the 1950s were just an introduction to Korean culture, Knez, Leynse, and Heyman's cases show how certain expertise in understanding Korea had accumulated in the expert system fostered by U.S. public information agencies in the late 1960s. In this way, in the crisis of film production targeting the general public, USIS-Korea gradually shifted its center of gravity toward a priority system aiming to nurture a good condition for expert training.

Chapter 10. Building the Self Through Translation: Exchange Programs and Intellectuals

Yi Pyŏng-il, who was a Board member of the Asian Film Festival in 1959 and later became the Festival Director of its 9th festival in Seoul in 1962, was a rare filmmaker who studied film in America as early as 1948. He was invited to 20th Century Fox with a recommendation from the Director of the ROK Office of Foreign Affairs and joined the USC Cinema Department (Yi Pyŏng-il, 1977).

Yi Chae-myŏng, Chairman of the Cultural Film Association, was invited by the U.S. State Department to tour America from October 1962 to February 1963.⁵⁶ He was the first Korean beneficiary of the Film Specialist Exchange Program of the State Department (*Tonga Ilbo*, Feb. 11, 1963: 6; Yi Chae-myŏng, 1979).

While the hosts of invitation were clearly different and the invitees' purposes of stay in America did differ, both do show the close connection between the U.S. educational agencies and the leading figures in the Korean film industry.

Education and exchange programs were one of the core projects of U.S. foreign aid, the aim of which was to foster pro-American elites and experts in non-Communist countries.

NFPC, the crux of the film propaganda activities run by the Pak Chŏng-

⁵⁶ Yi Chae-myŏng was the Director of the CFP Production Department during the Pacific War and then became President of the Chosŏn Yŏnghwa Chusikhoesa [Chosŏn Film Production Co. Ltd.] which took over the management rights of CFP after the Liberation (Yi Chae-myŏng, 1979).

hŭi Government, in fact was the beneficiary of just such educational exchange projects. In 1958, ICA, a precursor organization to the U.S. Agency for International Development (hereinafter USAID), contracted with Syracuse University to assist OPI in developing the film production function (James McCarron, Apr. 4, 1960). The scope of the contracted work included the goal that the contractor should “train Korean personnel in all facets of motion picture production, including writing, directing, editing, use of magnetic and optical sound system and in mixing for sound film production, etc.” (James McCarron, Apr. 4, 1960). Seven instructors were sent from Syracuse to Korea to educate OPI personnel in film production; the curriculum was a combination of theory and practice (KOFA, 2006: 245-292).

Table 8. A breakdown of OPI personnel under the training by Syracuse instructors ([Anonymous], Apr. 8, 1959).

Field	Instructor	Personnel
Planning and Production	Thomas Layton Mabrey	Kim Yŏng-gwŏn, Kang Nae-sik, Yang Chong-hae, Yun Ki-pŏm, Kim Haeng-o, Pae Tong-sun, Ch'oe Ch'ang-kyun, Ra Han-t'ae, Im Hak-song
Editing	James M. Guthrio	Pak Yong-hun, Pae Sŏk-in, Im Ok-hŭi, Yi In-tŏk, Kim Wŏn-cha
Animation		Pak Yŏng-il, Hong Sang-kyun, Kim In-t'ae
Camera Department	James R. Connell	Pak Hŭi-yŏng, Ch'oe Sun-chin, Pae Sŏng-yong, Chang Yun-ku, Sin Hŭi-sŏng, Yi Chŏng-sŏp, Hŏ Tong-hak, Cho Kŭn-cha, Han Kyu-sŏl, Mun Kyŏng-chun, Yi Rak-hŭi, Cho Nam-cha
Projection		Hyŏn Chung-sŏp, Han U-sŏp, Kim Kwang-yun
Sound Recording	Theodore Conant	Son In-ho, Kang Sin-kyu, Yi Chae-ung, Chŏng Ki-ch'ang
Music	Theodore Conant	Chŏng Yun-chu
Maintenance	Ferris Large	Kim Hyŏng-chung, Pak Ok-pong, Kim Yong-man, Chŏng Chŏng-mo, Kim Kwang-sik
Processing	D. S. Pressley	Kim Hŭng-man, Ch'ae Kyu-sun, Cho U-ki, Kang Yŏng-ro, Kim Ok-kap, Chŏng Ki-ho, Yi T'ae-wan, Yi Hyŏn-ok, Chŏng Kyŏng-hun, Yu Mu-sun, Pak Sae-ki, Chang Sŏng-wŏn, Kim Hae-wŏn, Yi Ok-sŏn, Cho Sun-cha

As seen in Table 8, OPI filmmakers were placed in 9 field sections that encompassed the whole range of film production works. This 2-year training program was a stepping stone to the establishment of NFPC (KOFA, 2006: 245-292).

From September of 1964 to January of 1965, Pae Sök-in, a former USIS-affiliated director and one of the leading figures of NFPC, was invited to America through the same exchange program that had invited Yi Chae-myöng through the State Department.⁵⁷ Kim Hui-kap, a star comedian who had once appeared in the USIS-Korea film *Birds of a Feather* (1961), accompanied him (Kim Hui-kap, 1992: 215-254). Given that their future collaboration in *P'aldogangsan* was made possible by this trip and would become a big success in both NFPC and the Korean film industry, it was a momentous event that shows the relationship between Korean film specialists and the U.S. educational exchange program, and also Korean filmmakers' imitation, translation and appropriation of American public information films. This chapter examines Pae's early USIS films, USIA's television show about Korean students in America, and a special show on Pae and Kim's U.S. trip.

⁵⁷ Earlier in 1964, another NFPC director Yang Chong-hae was invited to America by the U.S. State Department. He first visited the United Kingdom with a grant offered by the Colombo Plan and met British documentarists there, including John Grierson and Basil Wright (*Tonga Ilbo*, Oct. 6, 1964: 6). Then he traveled to America to meet his Syracuse colleagues (KOFA, 2006: 245-292).

1. Translation of the 'Local' as an American Democratic Value

- 1) Localism and U.S. Public Information Films

According to Han, an American political scientist, localism and cosmopolitanism are often adversarial concepts that represent the basic difference in the political attitudes toward the American political systems, including city, state, and federal governments, formation of public opinion, and policy decisions (Harlan Han, 1974). Kirkpatrick points out that the history of localism as a political ideology – “middle-class moral-reform movements acting on the belief that the small local community provided the ideal setting for spiritual and moral uplift” – has been a central doctrine of American democracy for more than two centuries, but the taste for local culture only formed during the first 50 years after the American Civil War. “Loving stories of small-town life awash in local color, populated by the parsons and schoolmarmes of places like Friendship Village, a literary cliché that critic Carl van Doren called ‘the cult of the village’” dominated American literature from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and typical localist features, such as the Victorian small town images depicted by D.W. Griffith and Mary Pickford’s prototypical girl-next-door images, were formed in early Hollywood films (Bill Kirkpatrick, 2006).

The film propaganda distributed by the U.S. public information agencies also reflected these trends. Although it was a deliberate attempt at propaganda

conducted by the Federal government, a considerable number of these films seem to have been made with localist touches. *Tuesday in November* is a good example. While it is clear that this film was produced to spotlight the triumph of the newly elected Federal government in 1944, it is not incidental that the film was set in Riverton, a small city in California. From the opening narration which intones, “This is an American city, a city that is not very large, not very rich, not very old,” via the images of a farmer riding a slow horse-driven hay wagon along country lanes, to the background flute music behind the scene with the public school principal, Mrs. Dawson, serving as the Chairman of the Election Board for the town’s 15,000 citizens, the film succeeds in illustrating a typical, slow-paced, peaceful local American town (see Figure 51). The film shows local democracy as the

basis for democracy on a national scale and provides a foundation for the U.S. Federal government; that is, a combination of American localism and federalism.

The first scene depicts the Election Board greeting the

voters, and they are all neighbors. The following animated scene shows how the U.S. administration is organized. Then, actual election scenes follow with,



Figure 51. A farmer riding a hay wagon in *Tuesday in November*

the long lines of voters in a larger city, the election campaigns of the Democratic candidate Roosevelt and his Republican opponent Dewey, and the counting rooms. The last scene ends with Roosevelt's victory and the celebration of the crowd in New York's Times Square. This film is a key example of U.S. propaganda films used to introduce American democracy to foreign countries; it was chosen by OCI of USAFIK to screen nationwide before the general election to establish the separate government of South Korea in 1948.

In addition, there is an abundance of films that championed localism and were imported and released by the U.S. information agencies in South Korea. According to USIS-Korea 1964 catalogue for their film library in Korea, there were several films that introduced New England as the birthplace of Puritan localism, including *New England*, *New England Calling*, *New England Farmer*, and *New England Portrait*, and films depicting American local culture and rural life, such as *American Village Storekeeper*, *Small Town USA*, *Creative Art in Rural America*, and *Country Store* (USIS-Korea, 1964: 2-232).

2) American Films on Local Newspapers, and *Korean Editor*

Small Town Editor (1952), produced by USIS, *Country Editor* (1954), produced by the Television-Radio Workshop of the Ford Foundation and released by USIS, and *Small Town Newspaper* (1956), produced by the USIS as

the second issue of the *Reports from America* series, are also localism-oriented public information films. The former two films were identified as ready for public viewing and loan by USIS-Korea's film library as of 1964 (USIS-Korea, 1964: 55). Based on Pae Sök-in's oral statement that he used the closed library of non-fiction films, including *Bronenosets Potemkin*, and *Night Mail* which were not listed in the USIS-Korea catalogue for the public library, while he was working for Liberty Production between 1955 and 1958, it is likely that these two films were also equipped for staff viewing during Pae's service (KOFA, 2009: 35-36). Therefore, it is probable that those film influenced Pae's USIS film, *Korean Editor [Chibang sinmun p'yŏnjipcha]* (1958), both directly and indirectly.

Small Town Editor

introduces the local newspaper *The Littleton Independent* in the town of Littleton, Colorado (see Figure 52).

The film follows the day-to-day working life of chief editor

Houstoun Waring, including

collecting of news materials, selecting items with news values, and covering

cases. Waring covers trials in the District Court, cases in the Sheriff's Office, a revised law for the security of residents, newly installed night lights, and

residents' concerns at town meetings. In bright and positive tones, the film



Figure 52. Opening graphics of *Small Town Editor*

depicts how the local newspaper and its editor intervene in local thorny issues, such as the pros and cons of establishing a community health center. Waring attends the town meeting and gives a speech on that matter as a guest panelist. After the newspapers are printed, the next scene shows how the papers are distributed in the neighborhood by paperboys. The last scene shows the editor receiving feedback about the newspaper published that day.

Country Editor features a first-person narrator who is introducing a town-based newspaper *The Archive*. Downingtown is located in Pennsylvania's Delaware County and has a population of 5,000. It is where General George Washington engaged in the Battle of Brandywine against the British Army during the American Revolutionary War. The chief editor and hero of the film, Bob McIlvaine, explains that his father was an architect who designed the Brandywine Creek Park, a town historic site. McIlvaine and his wife



Figure 53. *Country Editor*

Jane are in charge of editing *The Archive*. The paper is currently undergoing a financial crisis and is likely to be sold. The majority of this film is devoted to showing the efforts of these two co-editors to save the paper. To overcome the paper's financial problems, Bob tries to persuade local merchants to advertise in his paper. At first, he seems unable to convince them of the effectiveness of

newspaper advertisement. However, these efforts to publicize local issues are finally recognized by the local society and they receive funds from the Community Chest. *The Archive* is taken off the auction block. In the final scene, the printing presses are shown back in full operations churning out papers (see Figure 53).



Figure 54. *Korean Editor* (1958)

Pae Sök-in's *Korean Editor* seems to have been strongly influenced by these two films. The protagonist in this film is the chief editor of *Masan Ilbo*. The film is similar to *Small Town Editor* in terms of its overall narrative construction and also *Country Editor*, which has a first-person narrator narrating his own story. The basic plot of *Korean Editor* shows the editor's daily routines, such as interviewing reporters, attending local policy discussions, covering activities, selecting, editing, and proofreading articles, and printing and typesetting the paper (see Figure 54). This schedule corresponds to a significant extent to the format of *Small Town Editor*. Especially, the conference scene for the reconstruction and repair of the Masan City Library reminds one of the establishment of the Littleton community health center in *Small Town Editor*, with the hero intervening in the conference as a public

advocate and finally reaching an amicable settlement. In addition, in the oral history interview, Pae Sök-in testifies to the American impact on him. He and other filmmakers who were affiliated with USIS-Korea were more aware of Hollywood-style production systems than were the outsiders who would later be their colleagues at NFPC (KOFA, 2009: 42-45).

On the other hand, this film features a number of details that contribute to the vernacularization of American values and emphasize “local media” beyond the mere acceptance of them. For instance, in a sequence on feedbacks from readers, the readers’ letters include a request by a Chinese restaurant owner who asks for help to oust beggar children from his restaurant, and a tenant’s complaint about his landlord’s daughter playing the piano every night. There is also a scene that shows an informant asking the reporter to expose a group of violent creditors who are assaulting a debtor. These scenes are intended to win the sympathy of the ordinary Korean audiences by evoking caring emotions. In another scene, the editor refuses a bribe to avoid press coverage and is threatened by the briber. Background music creates a disquieting atmosphere, and over-the-shoulder shots depicting two figures in turn create a dramatic sense of urgency as well as a sense of social tension that corruption was a ‘social evil’ assigned to South Korean society at that time.

In the interview on his career at USIS-Korea, Pae specifies that he selected *Masan Ilbo* as the main setting because the U.S. Government was

“delicate” about the matter. “Since the publication was neither leftist nor rightist, but a neutralist,” the local newspaper was a suitable candidate, but his script had to be translated and censored by the U.S. State Department (KOFA, 2009: 78-80). This situation was particularly relevant to the policy where the Eisenhower Administration wanted moderate opponents, such as Democrats and soft-liners in the Liberal Party, to maintain the status quo and maintain a distance from the Yi Government’s hard-liners (Yi Ch’öl-sun, 2004). The important point here is that localism, a principle of American federalism, was adapted out of necessity to meet the U.S. Government’s propaganda strategy toward South Korea. It shows that localism in the former two American films and *Korean Editor* might differ in quality. This issue will be discussed later when discussing Pae’s feature film *P’aldogangsan*.

2. Intellectuals and the ‘New World’: An Exhibition of Technological Development and Industrial Tourist Films

1) Introducing America: Korean Students Studying in America and the Imaginative Geography of *Korea-America Today*

During the stay in America, Kim Hŭi-kap, appeared in a USIA-produced television program called *Korea-America Today [Miguk-ŭi onŭl]*. This program was produced in Korean language for providing for a Korean

broadcasting station (Pak Chŏng-su, 1984), on cultural programming to introduce the American lifestyle by reporting on the lives of Koreans studying in America. On the special talk show filmed in mid-January 1965, four months after he came to America, Kim gave his impressions after visiting each region of the country.

Korea-America Today was moderated by Pak Chŏng-su and Yi Pŏm-chun, a couple who were pursuing their PhDs at American University in Washington DC.⁵⁸ The original format of the program was a combination of a partial documentary and a partial talk show to depict the lives of students or trainees staying in the U.S. They were invited to the studio and asked questions. The other two issues of the program are housed in NARA. An issue addressing Michigan State University in Lansing shows the Korean students' daily lives, including coursework, lab experiments, dormitory life, leisure time, and graduation ceremonies. These students majored in a variety of subjects, including sociology, political science, business administration, agriculture, chemistry, and metal engineering. Another issue introduces the facilities of the U.S. Naval Hospital in Oakland, California, the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, and the Defense Language Institute. It shows Korean army surgeons working or learning at the U.S. Navy's medical and educational facilities by

⁵⁸ They both received their doctorates in the Science of International Politics at American University in 1965 (*Tonga Ilbo*, Jun. 17, 1965: 6).

inviting them into the studio and listening to their experiences of American life.

Such characteristics of this program build imaginative geographies in two ways.⁵⁹ First, they narrow the imagined geographic distance between America and Korea. The students and trainees featured, as well as their hosts are all Koreans speaking Korean, which gives audiences a sense of kinship. Their efforts to adapt to the American way of life give the impression that the program is providing a firsthand introduction of American society to those not familiar with it. It also played an important role in bringing American life to Korean audiences at a time when there were restrictions on overseas travel. Second, the shows build an imaginative geography of America. Starting with the complete-US-map-style logo in the opening, each issue introduces a particular American city and visually locates the city on the map of the region (see Figure 55). This combination of images helps one create a strong geographical sense of different American places and the nation as a whole.



Figure 55. A map introducing American geography in *Korea-America Today*

⁵⁹ The concept of “imaginative geographies” comes from Edward Said’s theories on the Orientalist and colonialist discourse (Edward W. Said, 1978: 49-73).

In a special issue featuring Kim Hŭi-kap, these characteristics noticeably stand out. At the time when he was on air right after he had traveled across the U.S., Kim could be still seen at the cinema in Korea in such films as *Yokt'ang-ŭi minyŏ sakŏn* [*The Beauty Murder Case in Bath*] and *Pae-man naomyŏn sajang-inya?* [*Are All Potbellied People Presidents?*] in late 1964.⁶⁰ This exposure works to narrow the cognitive distance between the two countries by showing a celebrity, whom audiences could still see until a recent time, on a program produced in America. Pak Chŏng-su and Yi Pŏm-chun, who introduced America from a foreigner's perspective in other issues, are now receiving a visitor in the character of these U.S. residents. After talking about adjusting to American cultures in episodes in conversations with Americans, Kim describes his travelogue all around the country (see Figure 56). Starting from Hawaii with its "serene water and summery weather all the time," Los Angeles with its "endlessly huge land but painful smog," the Hollywood studios and filming locations with their "beautiful artificial trees of the jungle which looked natural," San Francisco with "very beautiful hilltops," Niagara Falls with "earthshaking rumbles," Phoenix in Arizona with "the desert turned to a fertile," the Grand Canyon with "majestic cliffs with countless gorges," New Orleans with "a flamboyant French style," Miami with "a helicopter I took for the first time in my life," and New York with "high skyscrapers as if being on a plane" follow

⁶⁰ Kim Hŭi-kap states in his memoirs that he had to push ahead with appearances in films in order to go to America after fulfilling his contracts in 1964 (Kim Hŭi-kap, 1992: 215-216).

with photo slide shows. At the part on Washington DC, the film allots a full quarter of the entire program to introducing major tourist attractions and famous sites in the capital. This narrative structure, combined with the exhibition of a stereotypical image of each individual city, creates a sort of tessellated picture of America as a whole. It is probable that this format was used effectively to help Korean viewers form a geographic recognition of the United States.



Figure 56. Kim Hŭi-kap's appearance in *Korea-America Today*

2) Building a High Intellectual Society and Global Hierarchy of Regions

Another notable characteristic of this special issue of *Korea-America Today* is the specific collectivity that the hosts and the guest construct. It is clearly shown in the following conversation:

Pak: Oh, by the way, where did you spend Christmas?

Kim: Christmas was incredibly exciting!

(All laugh)

Kim: For Christmas, I was in New York, at a party held by the Alumni Association of Kyŏnggi Girl's High School, uh... that party where we Korean all gathered. I joined the party. (Pointing at Yi) The chairman is here. I really appreciated that. (With a laugh)

Yi: Oh, well, it was also the first time for us to have such a party since we

had come to America. With listening to your talk and singing, it was a terrific night wallowing in homesick.

Kim: (With a smile) Ah, Thank you. So, who was that... the announcer of *Voice of America*... Mr. Hwang!

Pak and Yi: Right, Hwang Chae-gyöng... Yes.

Kim: Yeah, he wrote the scenario. (Looking at Yi) Didn't we perform a one-act play? The play. (Yi: Yes) That old guy put mustaches here, my goodness!

Yi: (Laughing) You were almost frantic looking for the mustaches.

Kim: Oh dear, the set was decent... I mean, almost perfect! I think I spent a very exciting day.

Pak: Such an opportunity... yeah... it's a very rare opportunity for us Koreans here.

Kim: Yes, at 5am, maybe... yeah, I went to bed around five in the morning. (Laughing) I had a blast!

Pak: Oh, in the next morning, you know, I took you for a sightseeing tour, didn't I? (Kim: Yes) Well, would you please explain again with pictures?

In this scene, the boundary between questioner and answerer disappears, and it turns out that these three people do share the same experiences. When Yi, as Chairman of the Alumni Association of Kyönggi Girls' High School in the U.S., discusses the party held by the association, and Kim talks about how he hung out with Korean residents there, the story calls precise attention to the social status of the individual moderators.⁶¹ Based on the fact that there were only about 2,500 Koreans in any course of study in the U.S. at the time (Office of Research, Jan. 1966), the 'Korean student group in America' represented a highly educated, selected few, and Pak and Yi actually stood before Korean viewers on behalf of

⁶¹ The Kyönggi Girl's High School was one of the top-ranked schools in South Korea when there was a high school entrance examination system until 1973 (*Tonga Ilbo*, Feb. 3, 1978: 3).

that group.⁶² On the other hand, this scene, in which the three people share experiences that most typical Koreans then could not relate to, also works to emphasize the geographical distance in the U.S., and the chasm between the wealthy, educated elite, and the lower classes.

Such a hierarchy between the elite and general audiences is also shown in the life of the ‘star’ Kim Hŭi-kap, who had the rare opportunity to travel around the U.S. As stated above, Kim and Pae Sŏk-in were the second group of Korean ‘specialists’ to be invited by the U.S. State Department for training. In the November 1964 issue

of *Chayu Segye* [*Free World*], published by the USIS-Korea, Kim Hŭi-kap is described as “a buffoon like Charlie Chaplin, a jack-of-all-trades comedy actor like W.C. Fields, and a character actor like Victor Moore,” and evaluated and seen “in an unutterable style of his own



Figure 57. An article on Kim Hŭi-kap, *Chayu Segye*, vol.13, no.6

⁶² At the same time that Yi took charge of the Alumni Association of the Kyŏnggi Girl’s High School in America, Pak was Chair of the Korean Students’ Association in Washington DC. After returning to Korea, Pak became a National Assembly member five times and held various posts in succession, including the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Yi was also elected to the National Assembly in 1973, and became a professor at Ewha Women’s University and the Dean of the Graduate School at Sungshin Women’s University (Pak Chŏng-su, 1984; *Kyŏngnyang Sinmun*, Dec. 26, 2003: 17; *Tonga Ilbo*, Jul. 15, 2011: 27).

unique Korean appearance” (see Figure 57). The article goes on to state that he was “well-known among foreigners” and that “many Americans in Seoul go see his movies even without English subtitles” (*Chayu Segye*, Nov., 1964). While his popularity was made possible mostly by his folksy image (*Han'gyŏre Sinmun*, May 20, 1993: 9), the invitation from the U.S. State Department, indeed high praise by USIS-Korea, and his popularity among American residents in Korea positioned him as an appropriate figure for introducing American civilization. Kim hosted a USIS-Korea television show, *Little Angels of Korea* [*Ŏrin ch'önsadül*], in which he interviewed the Sönhwa Children's Dance Group after their tour in America for the second time in March 1967. In 1968, while he was touring the U.S. for filming *P'aldogangsan 2* [*The Land of Korea*], the sequel to *P'aldogangsan*, he wrote a series of travelogues called “Nutcracker Face Reports Traveling Around the World” for a daily newspaper (*Chosön Ilbo*, May 26, 1968: 5). The meeting scene in *Korea-America Today*, following the Christmas episode, depicts Kim shaking hands with senior Washington diplomats. This moment confirms that Kim Hüi-kap, ‘an American expert,’ was also a member of the specialists mainly composed of highly educated elites.

The elite status of those who introduce Western culture reminds one of the hierarchy between the colonizer and the colonized, often shown by the role of the colonial intellectuals. In an analysis of colonial elite intellectuals under the British Empire, Prakash argues that those intellectuals had a kind of “second sight.” They developed such sight that rested in between the “superstitious eye”

of the colony and the “scientific gaze” of the Empire. This second sight is not the product of scientific training, but rather the performative process, such as an “amazement and wonder” to encounter “the spectacle of science,” as well as “the bewilderment experienced when confronted with alien knowledge while encountering the objects in the museum” (Gyan Prakash, 1999: 17-48). Kim Hŭi-kap’s position is to show wonder at seeing the artificial jungle set of the South Sea Islands built for Ernest Borgnine’s Hollywood feature, show envy towards the Hollywood production system which had advanced technologies “inconceivable” in Korea, and admire the dignity of American audiences “who tried to improve their culture as their scientific improvement.” His position and attitude are similar to those of the colonial elite intellectuals, that is to say, the elite status of Kim and the student moderators might not only create a social hierarchy between themselves and their Korean audiences, but also identify the regional hierarchy that exists between their home country and the U.S. which they have encountered with amazement and wonder.

Chapter 11. Defining Koreanness?: *P'aldogangsan* and the Idealized Self

The film *P'aldogangsan* (1967) was released in March 1967 and directed by Pae Sök-in, starring Kim Hŭi-kap. It was the first commercial full-length feature film sponsored by the ROK Ministry of Public Information and its affiliate,



Figure 58. A crowd congregated to watch the second sequel of *P'aldogangsan* (1971)

NFPC. The total budget for the film was 18,000,000 wŏn, which was recorded as the highest for the films produced that same year (Kim Han-sang, 2008: 131-132). The movie was a big hit, drawing an attendance of 325,904 in its first run at the Kukto Cinema. While free screenings in rural areas were offered by the Ministry of Public Information as a nationwide campaign for President Pak Chŏng-hŭi's reelection, the film also proved to be popular enough to be released commercially in urban cinemas. The film was publicly promoted along with the 6th Presidential election about two months earlier, and its success made the Ministry decide to make sequels (Kim Han-sang, 2008: 10-24). It is worth noticing that the film was brought out the same year that USIS-Korea terminated the *Liberty News* series. In that year, cultural film making in South Korea

faced a crossroads where NFPC displayed its ability to prove successful and Liberty Production made a decision to give up its core product.

Until five years later, four film sequels of *P'aldogangsan* had followed to celebrate the opening of the *Yusin* Regime. Of particular importance in this regard is that the film and its sequels were understood to be showing the national imaginary. The term *P'aldogangsan* literally means the scenery of all parts of Korea, and this film was the first attempt to compile and integrate every regional representation of the nation into a national narrative. After the success of this film, a considerable number of films with similar titles were produced.⁶³ Therefore, it appears that this film and the following trend provided support for the “Korean-type” or “Koreanness” discourses of the *Yusin* period.

One remarkable fact was that the star of the film, Kim Hŭi-kap placed great importance on his experience in the exchange program in America with director Pae Sŏk-in, as the origin of this film project (Kim Hŭi-kap, 1992: 215-254). Pae was affiliated with USIS-Korea to make *Liberty News* and cultural films, such as *Korean Editor*, from 1955 to 1958. Kim also had gained

⁶³ These films were *P'aldo Kisaeng* (1968), *P'aldo Sanai*(1969), *P'aldo Sawi* (1969), *P'aldo Myŏnŭri* (1970), *P'aldo Kŏmgaek* (1970), *P'aldo Noraengi* (1970), *P'aldo Kasinai* (1970), *P'aldo Singmo* (1970), and *P'aldo Yŏgun* (1970). While each film featured varied characteristics of a genre film that were different, they also shared a similar narrative structure that enumerated the characteristics of all regions in South Korea and embraced them as showing the nation's diversity. Although the original *P'aldogangsan* series focused more on national unity than other films had, by going on location to each region to introduce local residents, indigenous culture and industry, other “P'aldo-” films just made an effort to showcase a variety of local flavors and colors.

collaboration experience with Liberty Production by appearing in *Birds of a Feather* (*Chosŏn Ilbo*, August 1, 1961: e4). Both were invited to participate in the film specialist exchange program offered by the U.S. State Department and visited nineteen American cities from September 1964 to January 1965.

According to Kim, the idea to go sightseeing throughout South Korea began while they were staying in New York after a nationwide tour of America (Kim Hŭi-kap, 1992: 215-254). The associations between these two film specialists and USIS-Korea suggests an interesting interpretative connection that suggests that this film was the epicenter of a popular trend in the Korean film industry in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

This chapter investigates the series *P'aldogangsan* in terms of its (re)presentation of national landscape and ethnographic gaze on the Self and the Other. In comparison with the cultural filmic imagery of USIS-Korea, it also seeks to reveal the true nature of the opposition between the “Korean-type” and the Western.

1. Performed Localism, Translated Federalism

The film's main plot is about an old couple, Hŭi-kap and Chŏng-sun,⁶⁴ who

⁶⁴ This series adopted the real names of the performers for the names of its characters.

travel around the country to visit their daughters and sons-in-law. The couple lives in Seoul with their youngest daughter, and their other five daughters are scattered all over the country. Interestingly, the daughters live in five different provinces: Ch'ungch'ŏng, Chŏlla, Southern Kyŏngsang, Northern Kyŏngsang, and Kangwŏn Provinces. Hence, each local color and dialect appears as a convention when the parents visit each daughter. From Seoul to the DMZ where their only son is performing his military duties, the couple takes a big roundabout trip counterclockwise. After the tour, the whole family gathers in Seoul to celebrate the father's 60th birthday.

As Kim Hŭi-kap wrote about the film, the narrative of traveling around the country looks considerably similar to Kim and Pae's visit to America in terms of its structure. After touring nineteen representative cities in the United States, Kim appeared on *Korea-America Today* and told of his experience with a slide show. The panoramic visual composition of American local attractions, which were mostly stereotyped images, constructed an overall view of that nation. In a similar way, Hŭi-kap and Chŏng-sun's tour in *P'aldogangsan* gathers typical images of local attractions and key industries as mosaic tiles that are then put together. After the long trip, the map of the nation is finally completed.

Tourism with the purpose of drawing the national imaginary, however, was not entirely new, considering that an emperor's great Imperial tour had been

a means of inventing the national centripetal symbol of Meiji Japan (Takashi Fujitani, 1998: 31-92), while Emperor Sunjong's tour in 1909 had been designed by the Japanese government as a political event to show the collaboration between the Korean Empire government and the new colonial power (Yi Wangmu, 2007). However, there is a distinct difference between imperial pageantry and the cinematic experience shown through *P'aldogangsan*. According to Fujitani, the presentation of the roaming ruler made "his spectacles visible to all the people of the nation" and, at the same time, coerced "the people into becoming objects of the emperor's gaze" (Takashi Fujitani, 1998: 24). In contrast to such panoptic relations, the cinematized tourism of the film stimulates Self-gazing as an assembling method. It is obvious that *P'aldogangsan* and its sequels showed a strong attachment to local living and culture. In the panorama of local imagery, local people were invented/described/emerged as both the ethnographed Self and Other. Local specialties, attractions, and customs, which had not been exhibited in such a big-budget film with such an expositional manner before, do construct the imaginary of each region of South Korea. Seen from the similarity to the epigonic films that followed and adopted the "P'aldo-" narratives, the (re)presented local identities seem to have been attractive elements for audiences. It is highly probable that local audiences consumed their own local images without repulsion, considering the nationwide success of the *P'aldogangsan* series.

In this process of Self-gazing, then, what mattered may be the way that

different local identities are combined and integrated to become a national one. The localist vision of American public information films is an interesting object of comparison. As stated in the previous chapter, images of “a typical, slow-paced and peaceful local American town” were frequently found in American public information films. Such images produced the stereotyped imaginary of local living, detoxifying any conflict factors caused by differences and misunderstanding among local residents. Differences among local communities become standardized and stereotyped so as to build an immune system for cultural integration. Similar attempts are observed in *P’aldogangsan* and its sequels. Each location acquires a typical image to explain the place.

Ch’ungch’ōng comes with a slow and easy pedestrian image, Chōlla offers a strong accent and pastoral scenery, Pusan (Southern Kyōngsang) delivers crowded



Figure 59. A scene depicting a son-in-law living in Chōlla Province in *P’aldogangsan of Tomorrow* (1971)

downtown streets and a huge export port, Ulsan (Northern Kyōngsang) offers

magnificent factory districts, and Kangwŏn provides a sequestered fishing village. Dialects and the customs of local communities are placed in proper positions to season the film humor and form solid intimacy with the characters. In particular, the sons-in-law of the protagonist embody local stereotypes of their own to further close the psychological distance (see Figure 59).

However, in terms of an integration strategy, there is a major difference between these pseudo-localist stereotypes and American localism. As Kirkpatrick explains, localism in the United States originated from its historical experiences in forming that nation state, including the issues of Puritanism, Federal and state governments, and the Civil War (Bill Kirkpatrick, 2006). Hence, the logic of integrating diverse local identities depended on the Constitutional principle of American democracy. *Tuesday in November* is a typical example of such logic; it links localism with federalism.

Despite many similar techniques used to visualize local culture that the former USIS-affiliated director Pae Sŏk-in possibly learned from American public information films like *Small Town Editor* and *Country Editor*, his NFPC film *P'aldogangsan* took a different path from the American localist films. The central set-up for integration here is a kind of familism. The fictional family ties in this film prevent the audience from sectionalist deviation. Minor shortcomings of the stereotyped local characters, such as the pinchpenny Pusan businessman, the loud and old-fashioned Chŏlla farm worker, and the needy and

isolated Kangwŏn fisherman, are covered up by their family affairs. As a metaphor of national integration, “seven households from different regions, class and strata unite behind the leadership of their father in Seoul.” The nation state is thus analogized by a family in this “political landscape” (Kim Han-sang, 2008: 53).

Since the localist elements in American films were imported and performed outside their original context in a Korean film, the federalist political vision, which shared the American context with localism, also had to be translated arbitrarily. This transformed federalist leadership now turns up in the father figure, Hŭi-kap. He is a gentle, humorous and rational character, of economic ability. This vision is contrasted with the then common father figures in Korean cinema, who were sincere but poor, and indeed created a new model of the “hegemonic father” (Kim Han-sang, 2008: 45-48). It is interesting that such a conjunction of familism and transformed federalism concluded in simple personalization. This focus might provide a clue to help explain the success of Pak Chŏng-hŭi and Pak Kŭn-hye’s father/daughter model.

2. My Car Modernity: Nuclear Family, Highway, and Liberty

P’aldogangsan and most of its sequels were made during the Second Five-Year Economic Development Plan (1967-1971). One of the most highlighted

national projects during this period was the construction of the Kyŏngbu Expressway. The Pak Chŏng-hŭi Government started the construction of highways in February of 1967, and the pivotal route between Seoul and Pusan was completed with four lanes of that road in July of 1970 (Kim Han-sang, 2008: 61). The second sequel, *P'aldogangsan of Tomorrow* (1971), therefore, became a significant stage for publicizing highways. In the film, Hŭi-kap appears on a television talk show as a guest and praises the opening of an era where the entire nation is entering a one-day life zone thanks to the construction of these highways. To exemplify the one-day life, he explains that he can receive fresh fish within a quarter of a day from his son-in-law in Pusan. After watching the show, the son-in-law actually visits him with these fish, driving his own car (Kim

Han-sang, 2008:

63-64). In this scene, the highway is not the only target used for

emphasis. The

son-in-law, a successful businessman, offers an object of envy — a privately-owned car (see Figure 60).



Figure 60. The son-in-law in Pusan visits the old couple with his own car, in *P'aldogangsan of Tomorrow*

In this wise way, the *P'aldogangsan* series promoted the ownership of a private car as a positive vision for the future. While the son-in-law case shows

a symptom of that desire for cars, another scene in the same film exposes the wish in a more obvious manner. The old couple's grand-daughter Chǒng-hŭi starts to date Sǒng-il who is a roomer of the couple. In the scene that shows



Figure 61. A convertible car riding in *P'aldogangsan of Tomorrow*

their dates, Sǒng-il drives a convertible car with Chǒng-hŭi as a passenger (see Figure 61). Their car takes the overpass in down

town Seoul. In truth, this scene is entirely unrealistic, as such a car was too expensive to be owned by a young, working-class roomer. Therefore, the image of Seoul in this scene is not that of the present time, but rather a dream for the future (Kim Han-sang, 2008: 78-79).

These wish-images of privately-owned cars in fact show a significant change in the modern politics of speed and transportation in South Korea. When the Pak Chǒng-hŭi Government was faced with opposition to highway construction, one of the core arguments of the government against the criticism was that the existing Kyǒngbu Railroad Line was “an old vestige of Japanese Imperialism” while the new highway was expected to bring “qualitatively different modernization” (Kim Han-sang, 2010(b): 191-194). The contrast between the railroad and the highway systems in this argument was both inappropriate and emotionalistic in many ways. However, such wish-images in

films indicate that there was a considerable distance between the two systems when mobilizing the public.

The railroad system had been characterized as “locomotive modernity” and conveyed people in quantity and at regular intervals, following the standard procedure. Tourist cultural films that were made and shown by the Japanese colonial power had provided audiences with a then new vision of speed and space, but that vision was only made possible by boarding mass transportation (Kim Han-sang, 2010(a)). To the contrary, the brand new vision of a highway and privately-owned cars enabled audiences to imagine a self-regulating and untrammelled unit where they could choose their own destination, speed and companions. Above all, this new transportation means was something that could be owned personally even though no one knew when that would be.

Such a sense of the new paradigm, which could be called “my car modernity,”⁶⁵ was in fact an importation from the U.S. public information films. In contrast to the colonial vision of locomotive mobility, American-made cultural films showed a liberated and unlimited mobility through privately-owned cars. In *Tuesday in November*, one can see a female principal leisurely driving her own car to the school and parking it on the side of a broad road. When watching *American Working Women* (n.d.), audiences could see a Western

⁶⁵ “My car” is a Korean coinage that uses English words to mean one’s own car. It became a trend to use this phrase to refer to the popularization of privately-owned cars in the late 1970s and the 1980s (*Maeilgyŏngje*, Oct. 7, 1977: 6).

female white-collar worker picking up her husband with her own car after work (see Figure 62). In this way, the my car modernity projected in American film stimulated a sense of possession and a desire for self-regulated units that were privately owned.



Figure 62. A woman picks up her husband to go home in *American Working Women*

The ideal type of these self-regulated units would be the nuclear family, which also could be easily observed in American-made films. *P'aldogangsan* and its sequels were, in fact, a kind of visual textbooks that were teaching about the nuclear family. Despite the appearance of a large family, the old couple and their married daughters are not living together, and each household is economically independent of the other. In the analogy between the family ties and the nation state, the nuclear family is itself the basic labor unit that completes the reproduction procedure inside based on a gendered division of labor (Seungsook Moon, 2005: 1-43; Kim Han-sang, 2008: 40-44).

In the last sequel, *P'aldogangsan of Our Own* (1972), the Chŏng-hŭi couple makes a promise about their future after confirming that she is pregnant. Sŏng-il dreams of their own house with a large yard, and Chŏng-hŭi responds

with her dream about traveling around the country in their own car.



Figure 63. Chǒng-hŭi couple promising a bright future in *P'aldogangsan of Our Own* (1972)

Interestingly, the film ends with a montage following this scene, which depicts their father Hŭi-kap's speech, a writing by Pak Chǒng-hŭi emphasizing the spirit of *Saemaül undong* [New Village Movement], and an express bus cruising on the highway (see Figure 63). The young couple's hope for a bright future is embodied in their desired house and their desired car. The young bride's spoken wish to travel nationwide by their own car is visually connected with the scene of an open stretch of highway. Between the wish that is

spoken and the highway scene, the writing of Pak Chǒng-hŭi comes through to agitate the appropriateness of his leadership for realizing these wishes.

In this way, the future goals of nuclear family units were promised in the forward movement on the highway, which was not only a symbol of high economic growth through government-led mobilization, but also a reified system

of free movement of goods and capital.

3. Old Korean Men Modernized: Haraböji and Hŭi-kap

It is obvious that the protagonist, Hŭi-kap, was one of the major success reasons of this film. The actor, Kim Hŭi-kap, became far more popular after than before he appeared in this film, and he and his partner, Hwang Chöng-sun, remained in the series to its end, even though most performers for the other characters were replaced when the series was adapted for television (Kim Han-sang, 2008: 10-24). Hŭi-kap was a unique father figure which had hardly ever been seen in other family films in Korean cinema of that time. Until the mid-1960s, the most popular father figure was played by Kim Sŭng-ho. He appeared in such famous films as *Romaensŭ Ppappa* [*A Romantic Papa*] (1960), *Mabu* [*A Coachman*] (1961) and *Romaensŭ Kŭrei* [*Love Affair*] (1963) (Kim Han-sang, 2007). While Kim Sŭng-ho was a rigid, old-fashioned, incompetent but warm father, Kim Hŭi-kap was a witty and competent character who had leadership qualities. Hŭi-kap's success and Kim Sŭng-ho's decline in the late 1960s show that the public's taste for father figures in cinema changed at that time.

As this point, it is worthy to note that there was another unique old male

character in the history of USIS-Korea film. Harabōji, who was a film moderator of USIS films shown in the 1950s in South Korea, was in fact a considerably similar character to Hŭi-kap. Both wore *hanbok*, traditional Korean clothes, and looked like

stubborn, indigenous old men in their first appearance. Harabōji slightly tells a secretary off when she acts impolitely; and Hŭi-kap scolds his daughter's boyfriend for giving her a ride on a motorcycle.



Figure 64. Harabōji introduces *American Working Women*

However, it soon turns out that

both are not that conservative but instead have very modern ideas. Harabōji introduces independent American women who have their own careers, when introducing *American Working Women* (see Figure 64), and preaches the necessity of cleanness and vaccination, when introducing *Defense Against Invasion* (1943). Hŭi-kap persuades stubborn old country men to cooperate with the new village movement, *Saemaŭl undong*, for modernization, and has the audacity to travel around the world. Both of them are eccentric characters who break down prejudice that older people know less about the Western and modern culture.

At the same time, they are characters of compromise and show how the idealized modern Self was translated and transformed into a more local context.

As Ridgeway, the USIS-Korea Motion Picture Officer in the 1950s, indicated, Harabŏji was a fictional character used to close the distance between American propaganda and Korean audiences (William G. Ridgeway, Feb. 28, 1989).

There was, therefore, a certain unreality still in the gap between his appearance and his attitude. Such uncanny appropriation also appears in *P'aldogangsan* where Hŭi-kap offers a puzzled look when he first meets his 11 grandsons. Hŭi-kap, who appears to be an advocate of birth control in the film, is in fact from the generation of high fecundity (Kim Han-sang, 2008: 37-40). This uncanniness comes from their young and modern soul in an old and pre-modern appearance.

It is important to acknowledge that both these compromised characters caught on in popularity with their audiences. They were the fathers yet to come and indeed idealized patriarchs in a patriarchal society which also had the rationale of modernization.

4. *P'aldogangsan* and Its Aftermath

After the success of *P'aldogangsan*, director Pae Sŏk-in left NFPC. He already had become considerably sought-after and received a lot of proposals to do a new film project (KOFA, 2009: 145-150). His next choice was *Segye-ro*

Ppönnün Han`guk [Reaching the World] (1968). This 70-minute documentary was shot on location in 18 foreign countries in Middle East, Southeast Asia, Europe, America, and Africa (*Kyöngnyang Sinmun*, Jul. 8, 1967: 8; *Tonga Ilbo*, Nov. 7, 1967: 6).

Interestingly, the first sequel to *P`aldogangsan* was directed by another NFPC director, Yang Chong-hae, and was also a project shot on location abroad. Yang had been taught by the Syracuse instructors through the sponsorship of ICA and USOM and invited to America by the U.S. State Department in 1964. His work, *P`aldogangsan 2 – Segye-rül Kanda [The Land of Korea]* (1968), was filmed in 16 cities abroad, including those in Europe, Africa and Southeast Asia.

After the panorama of local imagery with the semi-ethnographic gaze that had appeared in *P`aldogangsan*, these two follow-up films showed genuine ethnographic approaches. While



Figure 65. *Segye-ro Ppönnün Han`guk* (1968)

American and European cities are depicted with admiration and wonder, African and Southeast Asian villages are discovered along with their curious peculiarities (see Figure 65). The regional hierarchy seen in *Korean Cultural Goodwill*

Mission to South East Asia (1958) and *Korea-America Today* (1965) appear again in these depictions of the ethnographic Other.

In the meantime, films with “P’aldo-” titles and narratives became popular in the commercial market. In the three years between 1968 and 1970, a total of 9 films were produced with “P’aldo-” titles except for NFPC’s *P’aldogangsan* sequels.

In one of these epigonic films, *P’aldo Sanai [Gallant Man]* (1969), the “P’aldo” narrative is used to show a national identity that resisted Japanese imperialism during the colonial period. The local imagery in this film, as in *P’aldogangsan*, is used to identify the hierarchy that sits between the central and the local society. However, comic accents and gestures for each locality replace any serious local values that were used to achieve a national integration in *P’aldogangsan*.

Another film in the next year, *P’aldo Myŏnŭri [Eight Daughters-in-law]* (1970), does not use the “P’aldo” narrative as a vector to identify the hierarchy any longer. Rather, it is used as a device for humor when the old protagonist, In-kap, exhibits his collection of “eight daughters-in-law” from different regions in the country. In a travesty of panoramic local images, the hierarchy between the central and the local society is seen as vanishing.

It is plausible then that these “P’aldo-” films downplayed the serious

agenda of the central/local hierarchy, an important theme in *P'aldogangsan*, by offering a consuming buffoonery on the local characteristics as more of a comic farce.

Conclusion

An Expert System and Its Individuals

In a criticism of Giddens' comment on the theory of expert systems that the “‘stretching’ of social systems is achieved via the impersonal nature of tests applied to evaluate technical knowledge” (Anthony Giddens, 1990: 28), Barry argues that “the vision of the individual is not something which has been eradicated by technology” and rather “it has been formed into a technical instrument in itself” (Andrew Barry, 1995: 55). This argument, which pays attention to the ‘individual’ in expert systems, provides a helpful insight when considering the situations of those Korean filmmakers who were educated and trained by U.S. public information agencies.

For those film specialists, who could temporarily escape from “the immediacies of context” of the “overdeveloped” postcolonial state (Anthony Giddens, 1990: 28; Hamza Alavi, 1972), it was documentary auteurism that aroused their sense of the individual self. Yi Hyŏng-p‘yo’s oral statement shows that well:

Yi: There was no documentary scene in our country. It was because there were no sponsors. [Yes.] All kinds of art need patrons. So, the

history of the arts is a history of patrons, someone said, so-called the history of patronage. But there were no patrons for documentary at that time. But feature films have patrons, for good. They have the public. So they had patrons for feature films. But none for documentaries. Then, it even became an instrument of propaganda for the government and the authorities. If so, power became the patron (Yi Hyŏng-p'yo, Dec. 13, 2005).

This statement, which brings up the matter of patronage in the creation of the arts, expresses a sense of frustration about the reality that defined the future of documentarists, depending on their investment value. Longing to have documentary as a “perfect art” and criticizing “an instrument of propaganda for power,” he took the route of becoming a director in the commercial film industry and make high-selling movies. Yi played a crucial role in developing OPI film production for NFPC; however, he did not enter NFPC and became affiliated with Sin Film Production instead. This choice collided with his own view that “fiction films were decadent,” but one can understand it as a practical alternative out of deep frustration that he was unable to realize his artistic conscience in documentary making (Yi Hyŏng-p'yo, Dec. 13, 2005). It was a different path from that taken by Kim Ki-yŏng, who chose to pursue his own auteurism in commercial features.

Yi Hyŏng-p'yo's route is also a case that illustrates double-sidedness of those Korean filmmakers who did receive benefits from U.S.-led agencies, such as USIS-Korea, UNKRA, and ICA: The successor and criticizer of the Western culture. His first feature, *Sŏul-ŭi Chibung-mit* [*Under the Sky of Seoul*] (1961),

was a film that displayed a major influence from the Hollywood comedies that celebrated ordinary life, like Mickey Rooney's *Andy Hardy* series in the 1930s and the 1940s. However, it also well reflects the sense of difference found in Koreans by creating new conflicts between the old and the new, and the traditional and the Western. The film admits that it was an inevitable route for Koreans to embrace the Western value, but at the same time it adds a touch of sarcasm about the materialistic and obsequious "South Korean culture of Kleenex" in only following the West (Yi Hyöng-p'yo, Dec. 6, 2005).

Such an ambivalent attitude toward American culture also appears in the films of Sin Sang-ok, the owner of Sin Film Production. Sin first learned film under Ch'oe In-kyu, director of *The People Vote* (1948), using a Mitchell camera that Ch'oe borrowed from USIS-Korea. His debut film was *Ak'ya [Evil Night]* (1952), which presented *yang-puin* [Army prostitutes in U.S. military camp town] and smugglers as metaphors for the Korean situation from the Liberation to the Korean War.⁶⁶ His 1958 film, *Chiokhwa [Flower in Hell]*, was also about a couple who return to farming, leaving the dangerous city that had been corrupted by the PX culture and *yang-puin* of the U.S. Army. However, the reason why this film was not just a simple criticism of American culture is its fetishism in depicting that culture. Ch'oe Ŭn-hŭi, "Sonia" the *yang-puin* in the film, is

⁶⁶ The synopsis information here is taken from Sin's autobiography since the film is now lost (Sin Sang-ok, 2007: 47-48).

frequently seen in close-up shots, splendidly appearing in Western-style full dress and permanent wave hairstyles. Her “seedy, makeshift brothel” is illustrated “with an abstract, lurid intensity” (Steven Chung, 2008). Canned beer, jazz music, and a dance hall also appear as attractions and attractive.

The ambivalent attitudes of these alumni of the American film training camps, along with the cultural film auteurs, including Yang Sŭng-ryong and Chŏn Sŏn-myŏng, who remained in that camp to the end, indicate several different choices in the intense negotiations on identity. They constantly had to seek compromises between the Griersonian missions and artistic self-realization and between nation-building and “Free World” bloc building, in an all too “expert” system created by a hegemonic foreign agency.

The Technology of Visualization and Its Unexpected Products

Barry’s criticism of “the impersonal nature” also connects to the discussions on visualization. He argues that the “‘scientific’ methods for observing and supervising an extended geographical space,” which Giddens positively expressed, “do not so easily ‘stretch’ across time and space as is sometimes imagined” (Andrew Barry, 1995: 46). According to Barry, “the capacity of expert systems to act at a distance is extremely variable” (Andrew Barry, 1995: 45-46).

U.S. public information film activities were a strategic means of visualization that supported “the rule from a distance” (Matthew Hannah, 2000:113-159), i.e. the election education, and discovery of Korean culture in OCI films; the defense of democracy, recognition of Korean cultural peculiarities, and the establishment of a cultural hierarchy in the Asian region through the production of USIS-Korea films. Advanced equipment and ample funds from those U.S. and U.S.-led agencies were the background scenario that made such ‘technology of government’ possible.

However, as Barry points out, this observation and supervision through “scientific methods” resulted in unexpected products. Contrary to the sleek outlook for nation-building in South Korea attempted by fostering ideal citizens and making them admire America as a role model via U.S. film propaganda, sometimes the (re)presentation of the Korean Self both consciously and unconsciously ended in mistranslation, transformation, and Korean appropriation of the ideal expected model.

This outcome was partly an inevitable consequence of the localization project of public information activities; however, use of local manpower was not the only cause of such an *uneven* screen. The setting where the public would learn the world through ‘cultural films’ indeed had a different effect that originally anticipated, namely that ‘public information films’ would produce ideal citizens. In the geopolitical and historical context of South Korea,

cultural films created a unique type of spectatorship that mediated the perceptions of the Self and the Other in an intricate web of different ethnographic gazes.

The appearance of translated and modified ‘ideal citizens’ in *P’aldogangsan*, one of the representative films of NFPC also made under the profound impact of USIS, and an enthusiastic response from the Korean public to that film show how an original project on the cultural cold war could be transformed into a vernacular one in the more local context. Ironically, the film also shows how the original project, including specialist exchange programs, had a decisive effect on this transformation.

Negotiated Koreanness: A “Korean-type” Democracy?

When Pak Kŭn-hye (Park Geun-hye) was elected to office on December 19, 2012, both *The New York Times* and *The Washington Times* reported the breaking news that an “ex-dictator’s daughter” had become



Figure 66. Pak Kŭn-hye in a cultural film made by NFPC in 1977

the new elected leader of South Korea (*The New York Times*, Dec. 19, 2012; *The*

Washington Times, Dec. 19, 2012). *The Globe and Mail* even published the headline, “The two Koreas are keeping it in the family” (*The Globe and Mail*, Dec. 19, 2012). These perplexed responses by the foreign press show the sentiments prevalent outside South Korea for witnessing a democracy that welcomed the daughter of a former anti-democratic leader as its new elected president.⁶⁷

This situation serves as a reminder of the *Korean-type democracy* slogan, which was emphasized by the Pak Chŏng-hŭi Government during the *Yusin* Regime. This slogan was a means to elucidate the difference between South Korean system of government and other democratic countries. How the discourses on “Korean-type” or the images of Koreanness were constructed during Pak’s rule could provide a clue to help explain the perception gap between the inside and the outside South Korea when evaluating the Pak Chŏng-hŭi period.

No matter what the true picture of “the Korean-type” was, it is hard to deny that its discursive structure was based on having an antithesis toward the

⁶⁷ According to the exit polls, a larger percentage of the older generation who had lived through the Pak Chŏng-hŭi period supported her. Several political commentators wrote that they identified with Pak Chŏng-hŭi, and the criticism of him seemed to affect those of their own generation (*Kyŏngnyang Sinmun*, Dec. 22, 2012: 2; *Han’gug Ilbo*, Dec. 22, 2012: 5). Although further discussion about this issue is warranted, it seems undeniable that Pak Kŭn-hye’s victory reflected Koreans’ evaluation of the Pak Chŏng-hŭi period.

West.⁶⁸ Although the discourse around the phrase have stressed the uniqueness of South Korea, *Korean-type democracy* itself does not in fact seem to have been a title used to describe a certain tradition, but rather a synchronic coinage used to explain a recent development of the South Korean political system at that time.⁶⁹ It was rather an invention to locate the Korean Self in geopolitical relationships relatively, rather than simple to reflect a pure inheritance from the past.

This coinage shows that what mattered in getting the public's consent for such a "state of exception"⁷⁰ was, in the end, (re)presentation. The reason to advocate a Korean-type democracy was found in the necessity to reject the democracy of others. Outwardly, such criticism was aimed at the political system, i.e. the national assembly, political parties and opposition politicians; however, when combined with the discourses on culture and history, it became rather a self-christened name delivering a spiritual antithesis. Then, the way the West was (re)presented in South Korean society became a pivotal question to

⁶⁸ In his special statement on October 27, 1972, ten days after the declaration of the emergency martial law, Pak attributed the cause of the nation's instability and inefficiency in development to the attempts "to imitate democracy of others unripely" and demanded to set up a "Korean-type democracy that best suits our society" (*Tonga Ilbo*, Oct. 27, 1972: 1).

⁶⁹ According to Kang Chŏng-in, Pak's criticism of Western democracy had been discursively constructed moving from "administrative democracy" (1961-1963) via "national democracy" (1963-1972) to "Korean-type democracy" (1972-1979), and these discourses reflected a certain continuity in dealing with the mechanism of government (Jung-in Kang, 2011). However, the emphasis on "things Korean" was a new attitude that turned up in the late 1960s and the early 1970s, and it was accompanied by the promotion of national culture and history (Kim Wŏn 2012).

⁷⁰ It is interesting to note that the perception of the Korean Self started to be involved in the discourse construction of government-led democracy at the very moment when Parliamentary democracy was forced to end and "the state of exception was institutionalized" (Giorgio Agamben, 2005: 1-31; Chŏng Kŭn-sik, 2011).

pose to figure out the image of the idealized Korean Self.⁷¹ In other words, it became necessary to contextualize and historicize the formation process for the representations of the West and its Other — Korea, as well as the negotiations among all the engaged social actors concerning such (re)presentations.

Therefore, to explain the (re)presentational issues that arose at the opening of the *Yusin* Regime, one should pay closer attention to the representation formation history that occurred before 1972.

In that sense, it is rather symbolic that USIS-Korea closed their film production unit at the beginning of the *Yusin* Regime. That closure seems to have been caused by a combination of changes in U.S. foreign policy, the media environment, audience tastes, and the political conditions in South Korea.

However, considering that the rhetoric of “Korean-type” democracy came from its criticism of Western-type democracy at that precise moment, the pullout of an American propaganda unit which had been competing with the nation’s own did mean a lot. At the very moment that USIS-Korea stopped its matchless film studio in Sangnam and started to descend in influence, NFPC took a successful step with the popular figure of *P’aldogangsan* that embodied the ideal Korean

⁷¹ Investigation of the Pak Chŏng-hŭi Government’s written or verbal definition of the West, however, may not offer the right answer to fully explain the (re)presentations of the West at that time. Representations cannot merely be explained as reflections of transcendental meaning or carriers of the intent of their creators. Rather, it is important to consider representations as public and social products in which meaning is constructed by “social actors who use the conceptual systems of their culture and the linguistic and other representational systems to construct meaning” (Stuart Hall, 1997: 13-74).

Self, then analogized as the final arbiter of the *Yusin* Regime.

In that sense, the transformational aspects of the ideal Korean Self—transformed federalism, my car modernity, and the unreality of a Westernized indigenous patriarch— in *P'aldogangsan* could be one possible answer to the question of “Korean-type,” as the important legacy of the cultural film production that was conducted by U.S. public information agencies in South Korea from 1945 to 1972.

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[Appendix 1]

Breakdown of Documentary Films in Use or On Order for South Korea by the U.S. Army Civil Affairs Division (CAD), November 21, 1947.

Subject	Film Titles	Note
World War II	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Iwo Jima</i> 2. <i>Fury in the Pacific</i> 3. <i>On the Shores of Iwo Jima</i> 4. <i>Brought to Action</i> 5. <i>Okinawa</i> 6. <i>A City Reborn</i> 7. <i>True Glory</i> 8. <i>Story of War on the Western Front</i> 9. <i>Attack – the Battle of New Britain</i> 10. <i>Memphis Belle</i> 11. <i>Fighting Lady</i> 12. <i>The Last Bomb (Film about the B-29)</i> 13. <i>Birth of the B-29</i> 14. <i>Westward is Bataan</i> 15. <i>The Liberation of Home</i> 16. <i>The Battle of San Pietro</i> 17. <i>Tale of Two Cities (Hiroshima & Nagasaki)</i> 	<p>Among these, 11 films are listed for Germany, 10 for Austria, and 17 for Korea.</p> <p>None is listed for Japan.</p>
America – Our Industry	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>T.V.A.</i> 2. <i>Machine Age (Made in Korea)</i> 3. <i>Power Valley</i> 4. <i>Story of the Lincoln Tunnel</i> 5. <i>Atomic Power</i> 6. <i>Campus Comes to the Steel Worker</i> 7. <i>The Rural CO-OP</i> 	<p><i>Atomic Power</i> is included in the list for Korea, but not included for Japan.</p>
America – Our Democracy	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Tuesday in November</i> 2. <i>The Cummington Story</i> 3. <i>Library of Congress</i> 4. <i>The Mint</i> 5. <i>Jefferson of Monticello</i> 6. <i>The Nation's Capital</i> 7. <i>Americans All</i> 8. <i>How a Bill Becomes a Law</i> 9. <i>Pennsylvania Local Government in Action</i> 	
America – Our People	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Winning Against Odds</i> 2. <i>Western Stock Buyer</i> 3. <i>Texas</i> 4. <i>Journey into Medicine</i> 5. <i>Men of Medicine</i> 	

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. <i>County Agent</i> 7. <i>The Farmer's Wife</i> 8. <i>On the Road to Tomorrow</i> 9. <i>Woman Speaks (Series of Three Film)</i> 10. <i>City Pastoral</i> 11. <i>State Trooper</i> 	
America – Our Land	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Trees to Tame the Wind</i> 2. <i>Northwest U.S.A.</i> 3. <i>Power and the Land</i> 4. <i>Western Wonderland</i> 5. <i>Great Lakes</i> 6. <i>Port of New York</i> 7. <i>The New West</i> 8. <i>New England</i> 9. <i>The New South</i> 10. <i>The Big Harvest</i> 	
Foreign Lands	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Alaska Tour</i> 2. <i>Northern Ramparts</i> 3. <i>Brazil Today</i> 4. <i>Lessons in Living</i> 5. <i>Peoples Bank</i> 6. <i>Canada</i> 7. <i>Peru</i> 8. <i>Argentine Primer</i> 9. <i>Columbia Crossroads</i> 10. <i>Young Uruguay</i> 11. <i>High Plain</i> 12. <i>The Philippine Republic</i> 13. <i>Co-operative Wool</i> 14. <i>Korean Legislature</i> 15. <i>Japan & this World Today Silk</i> 16. <i>Rice</i> 17. <i>Korea Olympic</i> 	<p>Following films are not included in the list for Japan:</p> <p><i>Japan & this World Today</i> (Original Production – CAD),</p> <p><i>Korean Legislature,</i></p> <p><i>The Philippine Republic,</i></p> <p><i>Korea Olympic</i></p>
Community Resources – Schools, Hospitals, etc.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Better Tomorrow</i> 2. <i>A Child Went Forth</i> 3. <i>Freedom to Learn</i> 4. <i>Assignment Tomorrow</i> 5. <i>Play is Our Business</i> 6. <i>The School</i> 7. <i>Teacher as Observer and Guide</i> 8. <i>Near Home</i> 9. <i>New Schools for Old</i> 10. <i>Basic English</i> 	

International Relations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Pale Horseman</i> 2. <i>Reparation</i> 3. <i>Joint Commission</i> 4. <i>Out of the Ruine</i> 5. <i>World Food Problem</i> 6. <i>People's Charter</i> 7. <i>Seeds of Destiny</i> 	
Music and Art	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Hymn of the Nations</i> 2. <i>Toronto Symphony No.1</i> 3. <i>Toronto Symphony No.2</i> 4. <i>Music in America</i> 5. <i>A City Sings</i> 	
Miscellaneous	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>U.S. Screen Magazine</i> 2. <i>Guardian of the Wild</i> 3. <i>White Angel</i> 4. <i>Free Horizons</i> 5. <i>Film Tactics</i> 6. <i>Champion Maker</i> 7. <i>The Storm</i> 8. <i>Blue Winners</i> 9. <i>Out Fishing</i> 10. <i>Rhythm on Wheels</i> 11. <i>On Point</i> 12. <i>Mirror of Submarine Life</i> 13. <i>Power Unlimited</i> 14. <i>Geography from the Air</i> 15. <i>The Great Circle</i> 16. <i>Men of Tomorrow</i> 17. <i>College Climbers</i> 18. <i>Queens of the Court</i> 19. <i>Feminine Class</i> 	
Educational Films – Adult	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Winged Scourge</i> 2. <i>Cholera</i> 3. <i>Sight Security</i> 4. <i>Stop Silicosis</i> 5. <i>Respiratory Protection</i> 6. <i>To be in Darkness</i> 7. <i>Safety for Welders</i> 	

* Source: Breakdown of Documentary Films in Use or On Order for Occupied Areas, 21 November 1947, Textual Records in NARA, RG165 War Department, Civil Affairs Division General Records, Security Classified General Correspondence, 1943-July 1949, Box. 411.

[Appendix 2]

Films Produced by DPI, OCI, and USIS-Korea which are housed in NARA

* These films were found by the author when conducting archival research in NARA from December 2009 to January 2010 and from June 2010 to July 2010. Cataloging research for these films was sponsored by the National Institute of Korean History in 2012. A catalogue containing basic information and detailed exposition of the films is forthcoming in 2013.

Title	Production	Year
<i>Korean Newsreel [Sibo] Nos. 1, 2, 5 (newsreel)</i>	DPI	1946
<i>Korean Newsreel [Sibo]- Breaking News [T'ŭkbo] (newsreel)</i>	DPI	1946
<i>Korean Farm Life [Han 'guk nongch 'onsaenghwal]</i>	OCI / USIS-Korea	c1948
<i>Progress of Korea [Taehan Chŏnjinpo] (newsreel)</i>	OCI	1947-1948
<i>World News [Segye nyusŭ] Nos. 420-479 (newsreel)</i>	USIS-Korea	1950-1952
<i>Liberty News Nos. 1-721 (newsreel)</i>	USIS-Korea	1952-1967
<i>Republic of Korea Restoring</i>	USIS-Korea / Taehan Movie Education Association	c1952
<i>Gift of Friendship [Ujŏng-ŭi sŏnmul]</i>	USIS-Korea	c1952
<i>Ward of Affection [Sarang-ŭi pyŏngsil]</i>	USIS-Korea	1953
<i>Sick Prisoner Exchange [Pusang p 'oro kyohwan]</i>	USIS-Korea	1953
<i>Filial Piety [Chi-hyo]</i>	USIS-Korea	1954
<i>Fan Dance [Puch 'aech 'um]</i>	USIS-Korea	1954
<i>I Am a Truck [Na-nŭn t 'ŭrŏk-ida]</i>	USIS-Korea	1954
<i>The Second Enemy [Che2-ŭi chŏk]</i>	USIA / USIS-Korea	1954
<i>Building Together – Uijongbu Story [Ŭijŏngbu iyagi]</i>	USIS-Korea	1955
<i>Lighthouse on the Street [Kŏri-ŭi tŭngdae]</i>	USIS-Korea / Korean Youth Cultural Institute	1955
<i>Pusan Riot (footage)</i>	USIS-Korea	1955
<i>Diary of Three Sailors [Subyŏng-ŭi ilgi]</i>	USIS-Korea	c1955
<i>Boxes of Death [Chug-ŏm-ŭi sangja]</i>	USIS-Korea	1955

Title	Production	Year
<i>Story of Our Village [Uri maül-üi iyagi]</i>	USIS-Korea	1956
<i>A Report on Korea by C. Tyler Wood</i>	USIS-Korea	1956
<i>Young Men's Fighting for Freedom [Charyu rül wihan chölmünidül üi t'ujaeng]</i>	USIS-Korea	1957
<i>Hands that Moved the Sea [Pada-rül mirönaen saramdül]</i>	USIS-Korea	1958
<i>Korean Editor [Chibang sinmun p'yönjipcha]</i>	USIS-Korea	1958
<i>My 4-H Club Diary [Na-üi 4H kwajejang]</i>	USIS-Korea	c1958
<i>Korean Cultural Goodwill Mission to South East Asia [Han'guk yesul sajöldan tongnama pangmun]</i>	USIS-Korea	1958
<i>Kim Paik Bong Dancing in Bangkok [Pang'ok-esö ch'um ch'unün Kim Paek-pong]</i>	USIS-Korea / USIS-Thailand	1958
<i>Happy Lion Operation [K'waehwalhan saja chakchön]</i>	USIS-Korea	1958
<i>Korean Educational System [Han'guk-üi kyoyuk chedo]</i>	USIS-Korea	1958
<i>Pres. Rhee Visits Vietnam [Yi taet'ongnyöng wöllum-ül pangmun]</i>	USIS-Korea	1958
<i>More Power to Korea [Taehanmin'guk palchölyök chüంగా]</i>	Pacific Bechtel Corporation / USIA	1958
<i>Enactment of National Security Law Republic of Korea (footage)</i>	USIS-Korea	1958
<i>Enactment National Security Law ROK National Assembly, December, 1958 (footage)</i>	USIS-Korea	1958
<i>Highlights of 1958 [1958-yöndo hoego] (newsreel)</i>	USIS-Korea	1959
<i>We Met at Kangnung [Kangnüng-esö moin uri]</i>	USIS-Korea	1959
<i>Typhoon Special [Liberty News t'aep'ung t'ükbo]</i>	USIS-Korea	1959
<i>This Is Our Land [Uri-üi kangsan]</i>	USIS-Korea	1950s
<i>Jets over Korea</i>	USIS-Korea	1950s
<i>Haraböji Introduction Series (footage)</i>	USIS-Korea	1950s
<i>Highlights of 1959 Korean National Affairs [Nysü-esö pon 1959-yön] (newsreel)</i>	USIS-Korea	1960
<i>Progress in Korea [Yakchin Taehan] (newsreel)</i>	USIS-Korea	1960
<i>Eisenhower's Visit to Korea [Eisenhower taet'ongnyöng han'guk pangmun]</i>	USIS-Korea	1960

Title	Production	Year
<i>Ideal Citizen</i>	USIS-Korea	1960
<i>Korean Screen Magazine #2 [Han'guk yŏnghwa chapchi che2ho]</i>	USIS-Korea	1960
<i>With Hand and Heart [Tasi sanŭn kil]</i>	USIS-Korea	1960
<i>Korean and the United Nations [Kukche yŏnhap han'guk-ŭi pam]</i>	Korean mission to the United Nations / USIS-Korea	1960-1961
<i>Coal [Sŏkt'an]</i>	USIS-Korea	1961
<i>Litany of Hope [Hwangt'o kil]</i>	USIS-Korea	1962
<i>Story of Han Ha Wun [Han Ha-un-ssi iyagi]</i>	USIS-Korea	1962
<i>The Mighty Han [Han'gang such'ŏlli]</i>	USIS-Korea	1963
<i>Tank [T'aengk'ŭbyŏng]</i>	USIS-Korea	1963
<i>The Inn [Sarangbang]</i>	USIS-Korea	1964
<i>Ask Me!</i>	USIS-Korea	1964
<i>Korea-America Today [Miguk-ŭi onŭl] Series (TV)</i>	USIA / USIS-Korea	c1964
<i>Korea-America Today - Korean TV Special (TV)</i>	USIA / USIS-Korea	1965
<i>The Island Doctor [Sae ilt'ŏ]</i>	USIS-Korea	1965
<i>A Legacy [Charang sŭrŏun yusan]</i>	USIS-Korea	1965
<i>Our Wings Grow Stronger [Uri konggun]</i>	USIS-Korea	c1966
<i>Korea Builds</i>	USIS-Korea	c1966
<i>Little Angels of Korea [Ŏrin ch'ŏnsadŭl]</i>	USIS-Korea	1967
<i>The Second Line of Defense</i>	USIS-Korea	1967
<i>Bright Future [Naeil-ŭi ilkkun]</i>	USIS-Korea	1967
<i>The High Hill [Nŭngsŏn-ŭl chik'yŏra]</i>	KCIA / USIS-Korea	c1968
<i>Boom Town [Sinhŭng tosi ulsan]</i>	USIS-Korea	1968
<i>Korea Stands Prepared [Wanbyŏk han pangŏ t'aese]</i>	USIS-Korea	1968
<i>Combat Fox</i>	USIS-Korea	1968
<i>American Cultural Centers and the Community</i>	USIS-Korea	1968
<i>Screen Report Nos. 1-31 (newsreel)</i>	USIS-Korea	1968-1972
<i>Korean American Investment Outlook [Hanmi t'uja chŏnmang]</i>	USIS-Korea	1969

Title	Production	Year
<i>My Friend Alan Heyman</i>	USIS-Korea	1969
<i>Nixon Doctrine Program Review (TV)</i>	USIS-Korea	1969
<i>KATUSA</i>	USIS-Korea	1960s
<i>Family Planning [Almatke na'asõ hullyunghage kirũja]</i>	Korean Family Planning Association / USIS-Korea	1960s
<i>The Lighthouse [Tũngdae]</i>	USIS-Korea	1960s
<i>Community Action [Munje-ũi haedap]</i>	USIS-Korea	1960s
<i>Defense of Our Shores</i>	USIS-Korea	1960s
<i>Documentary Series [Tak'yument'õri sirijũ] (TV)</i>	USIS-Korea	1970
<i>Inquiry Series [Taedam sirijũ] (TV)</i>	USIS-Korea	1970
<i>Pollution Series [Konghae-e tojõn] Nos. 1-3 (TV)</i>	USIS-Korea	1971
<i>Freedom Vault [P'ũridõm polt'ũ kongsu chakchõn]</i>	USIS-Korea	1971
<i>Korean Entertainers (TV)</i>	USIA / USIS-Korea	1971
<i>President of MBC Korea (TV)</i>	USIA / USIS-Korea	1971
<i>Bridge for Peace [P'yõnghwa-ũi tari]</i>	Peace Corps / USIS-Korea	c1970-72
<i>Colorado Conference [Colorado hoedam]</i>	USIS-Korea	1972

국문초록

불균질한 스크린들, 경합하는 정체성

주한미국공보원 문화영화와 국가상상, 1945-1972

서울대학교 대학원 사회학과
김한상

2차 세계대전 이후 미국은 주한미국공보원(USIS-Korea) 같은 정부 산하의 공보기구를 동맹국가에 주재시키고 장기간 선전활동을 펼쳤다. 이들 미국의 ‘해외’ 당국들이 지녔던 역할에 특히 주목하면서, 본 연구는 문화영화의 제작과 소비 과정에서 한국 영화인들과 관객들이 거쳤을 정체성 협상 과정에 대해 논한다.

‘문화영화’라는 발상은 일본의 식민통치자들에 의해 수입되었고 미국과 한국의 공보기구들에 의해 계승되었는데, 이는 주로 국가차원의 기구들이 교육과 선전을 목적으로 배포했던 영화들을 일컫는 모호한 범주였다. 공보용 다큐멘터리와 비정기적 뉴스매거진 영화, 교육용 극영화, 그리고 문화기술지 영화까지 모두 아울렀다. 따라서 문화영화는 단순히 정부 정책을 홍보하기 위한 수단이었을 뿐 아니라 문화기술지적인 요소를 통해 세계를 배우는 창구이기도 했던 것이다. 미국 공보기구들은 문화영화라는 이름으로 미국산 다큐멘터리를 수입해 미국적인 삶을 전시했고, 한국 영화인들을 고용하여 한국의 소식을 다루는 이른바 ‘현지용’ 영화들을 제작하기도 했다.

냉전체제의 출현과 함께 새롭게 주어진 환경은 탈식민 국가형성기 한국인들의 정체성 형성에 결정적인 요소였다. 한국인들은 신생국가의 시민이었지만, 그들을 “자유세계”의 시민으로 정의한 냉전 양대 진영의 대립에 따라 그들 민족은 분할되었다. 그와 같은 맥락에서 볼 때 문화영화는 한국인들의 자아인식에 있어서 흥미로운 토대를 만들었다고 할 수 있다. 전통적인 문화기술지 영화들이 그랬던 것처럼, 세계를 배우는 창구로서의

미 공보기구 문화영화는 자아와 타자의 이분법을 습득하는 조건을 창출했다.

그러나 한국의 지정학적, 역사적 특수성 속에서 미 공보기구의 문화 영화는 서로 다른 문화기술지적 응시 속에서 자아와 타자의 인식이 복잡하게 교차하는 독특한 관객성을 창출했다. 수입된 다큐멘터리들은 미국적인 삶을 이상화된 문명으로 소개했지만 한국인들이 이들 영화를 통해 미국인들과 자신을 전적으로 동일시했을 가능성은 적다. 이상화된 미국의 도시생활에 대한 표상은 오히려 이국적인 타자를 보고 즐기는 오락의 수단이었다고 할 수 있다. 자신의 삶을 구축하고 사회적, 개인적 피해로부터 재활하는 한국인들을 담은 문화영화들도 같은 시기에 제작되었다. 한국 관객들이 스스로를 “자유세계”의 시민으로 인식하도록 유도할 것을 목적으로 했음에도 불구하고, 그것이 주한미국공보원과 같은 외국 기구에 의해 추동된 자기인식이라는 점에서 이들 영화에는 복잡한 정체성의 문제가 나타날 수밖에 없었다. 따라서 이들 영화의 수용에는 자아와 타자를 정의하기 위한 격렬한 협상의 과정이 동반되었을 것임을 추측할 수 있다.

이러한 귀결은 미국 공보활동의 현지화 프로젝트가 낳은 필연적 결과로 볼 수 있지만, 현지 영화인의 고용이 그러한 ‘불균질한’ 스크린을 창출한 단 하나의 원인이라고는 할 수 없다. 주한미국공보원으로부터 상당한 영향을 받고 제작된 국립영화제작소의 대표작 <팔도강산>(1967)에서 나타나는 ‘이상적 시민’의 번역되고 개조된 모습과 이에 대한 한국 대중의 열광적인 호응은, 문화적 냉전의 본래 기획이 현지의 맥락에 따라 어떻게 토착화된 방식으로 변형되었는지를 잘 보여준다.

미국 공보기구에 몸을 담았던 한국 영화인들의 경우 정체성 협상의 면모는 더욱 두드러지게 나타난다. 그들은 미국 정부기구에 고용되어 “자유세계” 영화의 전달자 역할을 했지만, 동시에 스스로를 자국의 국가 건설자로 인식하기도 했다. 또한 그들은 단순히 고용주들의 수사를 전달하는 것이 아니라 그들 자신의 예술적 감수성을 표출하는 예술가로 스스로를 간주했다. 이처럼 경합하는 자아정체성들은 이들 영화인들에게 일정한 타협지점을 선택하도록 이끌었다. 두 명의 상징적인 다큐멘터리 제작자 로버트 플래허티와 존 그리어슨이 취했던 서로 다른 선택지가 보여주듯이, 정부의 지원을 받는 다큐멘터리 제작은 영화인들을 인문주의적 자극을 추동하는 낭만주의적 성향과 사회개조를 추구하는 계몽주의적 성향 사이에서 선택의 기로에 놓이게 하곤 했다. 주한미국공보원과 유엔한국재건단(UNKRA)에서 활동했던 한국영화인들도 비슷한 내적 갈등을 겪었는데, 이

는 한국의 지정학적 조건과 결부되면서 작가주의라는 독특한 형태로 귀결되었다.

미국식 영화 훈련소를 거쳐간 이들 영화인들이 택했던 경로는 격렬한 정체성 협상의 과정에서 취할 수 있는 몇 가지 선택지를 보여준다. 미 공보기구를 떠나서 영화 작가주의를 추구하는 길, 작가주의적 지향을 지니고 있지만 깊은 회의감 속에서 이를 포기하고 대중적인 상업영화를 제작하며 살아가는 길, 그리고 미 공보기구에 남아 문화영화를 제작하면서 일말의 작가주의적 접근을 시도하는 길이 그것이다. 이들은 또한 미국이 주도하는 공보기구에서 혜택 받은 한국 영화인들이 지녔던 양가적 태도, 즉 서구 문화의 계승자이면서 동시에 비판자이기도 했던 태도를 잘 보여주고도 있다. 다시 말해 이들 영화인들은 그리어슨적인 사명과 예술가로서의 자아실현 사이, 그리고 자국의 국가건설과 “자유세계”의 진영건설이라는 지향 사이에서 끊임없이 타협점을 찾아야만 했으며, 이는 헤게모니적인 외국 기구가 창출해놓은 ‘전문가’ 시스템이라는 조건 속에서 비롯되었다.

주요어: 냉전, 주한미국공보원, 미국해외공보처, 유엔한국재건단, 문화영화, 선전, 공보, 심리전, 다큐멘터리, 문화기술지, 작가주의, 전문가 시스템, 재현과 현시, 가시화, 통치성, 국가건설, 탈식민 국가형성, 한국적인 것.

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사회학박사 학위논문

Uneven Screens, Contested Identities

– USIS, Cultural Films, and the National
Imaginary in South Korea, 1945–1972 –

불균질한 스크린들, 경합하는 정체성
주한미국공보원 문화영화와 국가상상, 1945–1972

2013년 2월

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- USIS, Cultural Films, and the National Imaginary in
South Korea, 1945-1972 -

by

Han Sang Kim

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Seoul National University

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Abstract

Uneven Screens, Contested Identities:

USIS, Cultural Films, and the National Imaginary in South Korea, 1945-1972

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After the Second World War, government-level public information agencies in the U.S., such as the U.S. Information Service (USIS), resided in allied nations, such as South Korea, to engage in long-term propaganda activities. This study focuses on the negotiation of identity of South Korean filmmakers and audiences in making and consuming cultural films, devoting particular attention to the role of the American ‘foreign’ authorities.

The idea of *cultural film* (Kulturfilm), which had been imported by the Japanese colonial rulers and was succeeded by the U.S. and ROK public information agencies. It was a vaguely defined category of films mainly distributed by governmental-level agencies for educational and propaganda purposes. The category of cultural film included public information documentaries, occasional newsmagazine films, ethnographic films, and educational feature films. Cultural films were not only a means of publicizing governmental policies, but also a window through which to learn about the

world with an ethnographic element. Under the name of cultural film, U.S. public information agencies imported American-made documentary films which depicted the American way of life and produced 'localized films' dealing with local issues by hiring Korean filmmakers.

For Koreans who were situated in the postcolonial state formation, the new conditions fostered through the emergence of the Cold War system were crucial to their identity formation. They were citizens of a newly built state, but their nation was divided between the Cold War Power blocs which defined South Koreans as citizens of the "Free World." Cultural films created an interesting foundation for South Koreans' perception of the Self in this context. As a window to learn the world, cultural films of U.S. public information agencies made a condition for the Self/Other opposition, as conventional ethnographic films usually did.

However, in the geopolitical and historical particularity of South Korea, those cultural films created a unique type of spectatorship that mediated the perceptions of the Self and the Other in an intricate web of different ethnographic gazes. Imported documentaries showed the American life as an idealized model of civilization, but there is little probability that Koreans fully identified themselves with Americans in these films. (Re)presentations of idealized American urban life were rather a means of entertainment to see the exotic Other. At the same time, locally made cultural films depicted South Koreans who constructed their lives and rehabilitated from social and personal damages. Despite the aim to facilitate self-recognition of Korean audiences as citizens of the "Free World," such films also presented the complexity in identification since their self-recognition was organized by the foreign agencies like USIS-Korea. Thus, it is highly probable that the reception of those films was a process of intense negotiation to define the Self and the Other.

This outcome was partly an inevitable consequence of the localization

project of U.S. public information activities; however, use of local manpower was not the only cause of such an *uneven* screen. The appearance of translated and modified ‘ideal citizens’ in *P’aldogangsan* (1967), one of the representative films of NFPC also made under the profound impact of USIS, and an enthusiastic response from the Korean public to that film show how an original project on the cultural cold war could be transformed into a vernacular one in the more local context.

In the case of Korean filmmakers who were affiliated with U.S. public information agencies, the negotiation of identity appears more clearly. They were hired by the U.S. governmental agencies and served as messengers of the “Free World” screen, but, at the same time, they recognized themselves as builders of the nation. Further, they also regarded themselves as individual artists who did not merely deliver rhetoric of their hirers but also expressed their own artistic sensibility. These contested self-identities led the filmmakers to adopt certain compromising positions. As one can see in the distinction between the routes of the two symbolic documentarists, Robert Flaherty and John Grierson, government-sponsored documentary filmmaking would drive filmmakers to a crossroads between romanticism facilitating humanist impulse and enlightenment seeking social engineering. Similar inner conflict of USIS- and UNKRA-affiliated filmmakers was joined together with the geopolitical conditions of South Korea and concluded with unique auteurism in film making.

The routes of these alumni of the American film training camps indicate several different choices in the intense negotiations on identity: leaving the camp and devoting oneself to auteurism in filmmaking; leaving the camp and keeping auteurist impulse in mind, but giving it up in commercial filmmaking with deep skepticism; and remaining in the camp with auteurism in cultural film making. They also show double-sidedness of those Korean filmmakers who did receive benefits from U.S.-led agencies, as the successor and criticizer of

the Western culture. They constantly had to seek compromises between the Griersonian missions and artistic self-realization and between nation-building and “Free World” bloc building, in an all too “expert” system created by a hegemonic foreign agency.

Keywords: Cold War, USIS, USIA, UNKRA, cultural film, propaganda, public information, psychological warfare, documentary, ethnography, auteurism, expert system, representation and presentation, visualization, governmentality, nation-building, postcolonial state formation, Koreanness.

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List of Abbreviations

Source Materials:

KOFA: Korean Film Archive, Seoul, ROK

LOC: U.S. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., USA

NARA: U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD,
USA

UN ARMS: United Nations Archives and Records Management Section, New York,
NY, USA

Agencies and Titles:

AFAK: U.S. Armed Forces Assistance to Korea

CAD: U.S. Army Civil Affairs Division

CFA: Chosŏn yŏnghwa tongmaeng [Chosŏn Film Alliance]

CFP: Chosŏn yŏnghwa chusikhoesa [Chosŏn Film Production Co.]

CIE: Civil Information and Education Section, SCAP

CMPE: Central Motion Picture Exchange

CNCCH: Chosŏn yŏnghwa kŏnsŏl ponbu [Chosŏn National Cinema Construction
Headquarters]

CNFCO: Chosŏn munhwa tanch'e ch'ongyŏnmaeng [Chosŏn National Federation
of Cultural Organizations]

DPI: Department of Public Information, USAMGIK

ICA: International Cooperation Administration, U.S. Department of State

KCAC: Korea Civil Assistance Command

KNPA: Korean National Police Agency

NFPC: ROK National Film Production Center

NSL: ROK National Security Law

OCI: Office of Civil Information, USAFIK

OEC: UN Economic Adjustment Bureau

OPI: ROK Office of Public Information

OWI: U.S. Army Office of War Information

SCAP: Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers

SCNR: ROK Supreme Council for National Reconstruction

UFA: Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft, Germany

UNKRA: United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency

USAFIK: United States Army Forces in Korea

USAID: U.S. Agency for International Development

USAMGIK: United States Army Military Government in Korea

USIA: United States Information Agency

USIE: United States Information and Educational Exchange Program

USIS-Korea: United States Information Service, Korea

USOM: United States Operations Mission to Korea

VOA: Voice of America

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Introduction

For the people in the south of the Korean Peninsula that were liberated from Japanese colonial rule, America was an entity to learn from. However, at the same time, it was an alien civilization, and they could not identify it as being like their own nation without great effort. The United States Information Service in Korea (hereinafter USIS-Korea) took on that to educate Koreans on the American way of life. After three years of activities by the U.S. Army Military Government In Korea (hereinafter USAMGIK) and the U.S. Army Forces In Korea (hereinafter USAFIK), USIS-Korea took over the public information function from these military agencies and continued their tasks until a superior authority, the United States Information Agency (hereinafter USIA), was abolished by law in 1998 (Public Lay 105-277, Oct. 21, 1998).

One of the main tasks of USIS-Korea as of 1953 was “to convince the ROK and its people that the U.S. was committed to a policy” which would “bring freedom through strength, stability, and fruitful relations with the free world” (J.R. Higgins, May 12, 1953). On this advice, their activities were explained as used “to convince” Koreans of certain information. It was an important aspect of U.S. public information agencies since this function also covered reception which did not take place with spontaneous consumption by the public.

2 UNEVEN SCREENS, CONTESTED IDENTITIES

Consideration of such involuntary reception of the self-representation of the West, which was demanded from the new citizens of the “Free World” and which sometimes replaced the newborn country’s national education, produces certain key questions: What were the characteristics of the West that were introduced as being both attractive and ideal to follow? How were Korean audiences positioned to perceive the Western Self and the Korean Other? Which of those self-represented characteristics of the West were maintained or rejected in the eventual perception of “Koreanness” as an antithesis to the West?

The self-representation of the West, particularly America, is one of the core issues in dealing with postcolonial Korea as a history. The Japanese Government-General in Korea banned Hollywood films from being distributed in Korea after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, while USAMGIK on the contrary imported and released a tremendous number of such films beginning in 1946 (Yecies & Shim, 2011: 141-167). Not only did the frequency of exposure to American cultural products incomparably increase, but also the imaginative location of America in the Korean mind was encouraged to shift in an entirely different direction. During the colonial rule, the East was recognized as the Same, with the spiritual civilization, while the West was regarded as the Other in the old world order (Yi Sang-u, 2008). After August 15, 1945, the situation reversed and America became the liberator as well as the leader of a new world order. In such a changed imaginative geography, this study poses questions on where the Korean Self, a newly found postcolonial

subject, was positioned and what the representation of America, the closest ally of this new subject, was.

In addition, the Korean Self (re)presented¹ in the reception procedure is also worth noting. Local production of public information materials, including employment of local creators, was highly encouraged by the USIA, since it believed that the localization of public information activities would promote greater mutual understanding among all the allied nations (Nicholas J. Cull, 2008: 81-96). This process involved the adoption of local issues and local language. Thus, locally produced materials were expected to encourage local audiences to identify themselves with these (re)presentations. Whether such identification actually happened is not as clearly demonstrated, but it is worth paying attention to the fact that there were intricate relationships between American and Korean social actors when planning, creating and consuming those products.

1. Problematizing the Cultural Film Production of USIS-Korea

Among its public information activities, film propaganda was one of the most emphasized tasks for USIS-Korea. Since 1945, when USAMGIK

¹ The orthography of '(re)present' is used in this study to embrace both the concepts of 'present' and 'represent.' More detailed explanation is provided in the section of methods.

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organized a film production unit and started to make a documentary, U.S. public information agencies in South Korea continuously produced, imported, and distributed films. During the whole period of U.S. public information activities in South Korea, USIS-Korea film production occupied most of the time and remained the biggest collection of films.

Although they officially called all newsreels and documentaries for “convincing” purposes as *public information film*, these films were called *munhwa yŏnghwa [cultural films]* in Korea. The idea of cultural film (Kulturfilm) was originally conceived through the experience of Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft (hereinafter UFA), the principal film studio in Germany from 1917 until the end of WWII, and imported to Korea by the Japanese colonial rulers (Kim Han-sang, 2009). This term was a vaguely defined category of films that were mainly distributed by governmental-level agencies for educational and propaganda purposes. They included ethnographic and public information documentaries, and educational features. The same categorial appellation was followed by the U.S. and ROK public information agencies after Liberation. When Pak Chŏng-hŭi (Park Chung-hee) and his Junta enacted the Motion Picture Act in 1961, they legally defined ‘cultural films’ as “films produced mainly from factual records in order to describe educational, cultural effects or social customs, from social, economic and cultural phenomena,” and they obligated movie theaters to screen these films before commercial features were screened (Act No.995, Jan. 20, 1962).

Given the ambiguity of its meaning, despite both legalization and legal definition, the term “cultural film” is a problematic category, especially when tracing the activities of USIS-Korea. It was a category tied to the purposes of distribution. As the Motion Picture Act in 1961 demonstrates, the core purpose of these films was education of the culture and social customs. Thus, cultural films were not only a means of publicizing governmental policies, but also a window through which audiences were expected to learn about the ‘world’ with ethnographic elements. USIS-Korea also produced documentaries in the name of cultural films; these dealt with local issues by hiring Korean filmmakers. Their imported American documentaries were also called cultural films in the cinemas. In these creation and adaptation activities, the ethnographic elements of cultural film produced a certain effect in terms of the historical and geopolitical particularities of South Korea.

Cultural films were placed to educate the nationals of this new-born country about a standardized model of ideal citizen in the “Free World.” However, the scenario that an American agency was educating Koreans and the ethnographic elements of these cultural films made this process rather entangled. In learning about the world through cultural films, audiences might have been asked to answer identity questions about themselves in the new world order.

Further, since cultural film production was a long-time activities both in terms of an introduction to filmmaking and earning a living for filmmakers in

Korea, the categorial ambiguity of cultural film frequently resulted in identity confusion. A filmmaker affiliated with USIS-Korea was a documentarist, an ethnographer, a propagandist, a Korean employee of an American agency, and/or an artist baptized by sophisticated art trends overseas, all at the very same time. These different identities sometimes came into conflict with one another.

2. Theoretical Background of the Study

The Self and the Other in Ethnography and Cultural Film

In an essay on the definition of cultural film, Pak Yǒng-kūn wrote that the heightened public interest in cultural films around 1938 was motivated by the fame of both the popular scientific films of UFA and British documentaries (*Tonga Ilbo*, Dec. 6, 1938: e5). His comments show that cultural film was understood to consist of two primary elements — scientific knowledge and issues of social reform. The British documentary movement, which fit more with the latter, was led by the renowned filmmaker, John



Figure 1. An ethnographic depiction of Jehol culture in *Tokyo-Peking* (c1939)

Grierson, and mainly was in collusion with government publicity campaigns. It is interesting that Pak mentioned scientific films as the model for the former. The term 'scientific cinema' designated non-fiction films that contained scientific knowledge as an entertainment element. Ethnographic films were also included in that category (Virgilio Tosi, 2005: 162-163; Francesco Paolo de Ceglia, 2011). In other words, any knowledge of ethnicity was regarded as scientific. If so, what was the meaning of "scientific" in ethnography?

In Egypt under British colonial rule, ethnographic knowledge was used to make the colonized people industrially productive. Timothy Mitchell (1991) stated that "Ethnography emerged in the early nineteenth century, not just to describe the nature of man, but as part of a larger process of describing man as, by nature, productive." (105). The knowledge of natives who were different from Europeans provided a ground for the colonizers to change those indolent "savages" so they would behave in an industrious and self-disciplined manner. The "striking difference" seen in Egyptians from the "civilized" citizens of Europe had to be collected and categorized with a scientific method (Timothy Mitchell, 1991: 104-108).

Nicholas Thomas (1994) also examined the objects of "racial science and anthropological knowledge" in his study on colonial Fiji under British rule. The indigenous culture and traditional communal system were investigated, categorized and preserved. This knowledge about native tribes enabled the

British administrators to intervene in Fijian living and control the population more easily. The invisible or inaccessible character of the villages had to be inspected and visualized. Thomas called such a strategy of visualization the technology of government, quoting Foucault's conception of governmentality (Nicholas Thomas, 1994: 105-142). Construction of the Other by collecting ethnographic knowledge with scientific methods and systems, therefore, was a mechanism that was used to define the population to be governed and control it.

The first ethnographic motion picture, shot by the anthropologist, Félix Regnault, in 1895, was also part of the colonial technology of government. The French anthropologist filmed Senegalese natives at the Paris Colonial Exhibition "for scientific documentation purposes" (Virgilio Tosi, 2005: 162). The photographic, as well as the cinematic, gaze enabled the shooter to gain power over the objects of the film, and the representations were used to classify different races (Sturken & Cartwright, 2001: 72-108). In such ethnographic representations, the Self/Other opposition was integral, and "the perception that film is a window onto reality" further entrenched these divided categories (Fatimah Tobing Rony, 1996: 12-13). As Claude Lévi-Strauss articulates, Western subjectivity was classified as the "historifiable" Same, and non-Western indigenous people became the "ethnographiable" Primitive Other (Fatimah Tobing Rony, 1996: 6-13).

When it comes to cultural films being imported and produced by USIS-

Korea, however, the confrontation between the Self and the Other becomes rather entangled. Imported documentaries showed American life as an idealized model of civilization, but there is little probability that Koreans fully identified with the Americans in these films. Representations of idealized American urban life were rather a means of entertainment, namely, to see the exotic Other. In fact, America and its allied countries were represented by Japanese propaganda agencies as the “demonic Other” that was confronting the “pure Self” of the Japanese Empire during the Pacific War (John W. Dower, 1986: 201-261). Since the U.S. Army had landed on the peninsula as a liberator, this extreme opposition of the Self to the Other concerning America eroded. The removal of the embargo on Hollywood films promoted alternative views of America and carried out the “heavy scent of Americanism” (Yecies & Shim, 2011: 141-167). Nevertheless, a certain sense of spiritual superiority over Western civilization sometimes appeared as criticism about materialism and decadence.

At the same time, locally made cultural films depicted South Koreans who had constructed their lives and rehabilitated themselves from social and personal damages. Despite the aim being to facilitate self-recognition of Korean audiences, these films also presented a complexity in identification since the subjectivity was organized by a foreign agency, USIS. In other words, the idealized Korean Self in those films was invented and captured through the gaze of the Other. The cinematic gaze into the represented Self in those films was

made possible by the Other's camera and projector. Thus, it is highly probable that the reception of those films was a process of intense negotiation to define the Self and the Other.

Flaherty vs. Grierson: Negotiation to Define the Self-Identity of Filmmakers

In the case of Korean filmmakers who were affiliated with American public information agencies, this negotiation appears more clearly. They were hired by U.S. agencies and served as messengers of the Free World screen, but at the same time, they recognized themselves as builders of their nation. Sometimes they also regarded themselves as artists who did not merely deliver the rhetoric of their hirers, but also expressed their own artistic sensibility. These contested self-identities led these filmmakers to adopt a compromising position, which I call cultural film auteurism.

Long Journey, a UN film directed by Theodore Conant, and with Yi Hyŏng-p'yo (Lee Hyung-pyo) as Assistant Producer, during and after the Korean War, starts with a close-up shot showing a Korean farmer's face (see Figure 2).



Figure 2. Opening of *Long Journey*

This film's entire narrative is driven by a voiceover narration, while real-time recording sounds and raw images depict the actualities of wartime refuge. It faced several complications regarding direction, and finally, its sponsor, the UN Korean Reconstruction Agency (hereinafter UNKRA) decided not to release it. It was originally titled *Ko-Chip*, but the work came to a standstill after a conflict between the Director, Alfred Wagg, the Cinematographer, Richard Bagley, and UNKRA officials. Conant, who originally was the sound specialist for this film, thus took on the role of reliever, but still came to a similar conclusion. The aspects of the conflict surrounding this film show obviously a definite difference between the point of view of the filmmakers and the sponsoring agency in the perception of cultural films.

In an internal letter from UNKRA in March of 1954, the Public Information Officer, Norman Michie, communicated the shared opinion of the UN Department of Public Information to the addressee, stating that *Long Journey* was unsuitable for lectures and not “useful as a piece of film delineating the Agency's activities” (Norman Michie, Mar. 2, 1954). Considering that Conant learned film from the documentary filmmaker, Robert Flaherty, and joined Flaherty's 1948 film, *The Louisiana Story*, as an assistant staff member (Hee-sook Shin, 2012), the UN officials' critical understanding of his film was reminiscent of the famous contrast between Flaherty and Grierson.

As an explorer and geologist, Robert Flaherty inserted the lifestyle of the

Eskimos into his film, *Nanook of the North* (1922), and it became the early touchstone of documentary and ethnographic cinema (Fatimah Tobing Rony, 1996: 99). John Grierson, who started his engagement with cinema as a writer on public relations and propaganda issues and later became the leader of the British documentary movement, at first showed an amicable attitude toward Flaherty's filmmaking. Grierson was the writer who first founded the theory of documentary, and Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* was an important model of this new medium for him (Keith Beattie, 2004: 26-43). However, an irreconcilable difference between the two was their basic attitude toward documentary and art. Grierson later became an unrelenting judge of Flaherty's filmmaking style.

Flaherty's conception of documentary cinema was "built upon the idea of revelatory knowledge in which subjective transformation is inseparable from, and the precondition for, knowing the world differently" (Anna Grimshaw, 2001: 44-56). His concern was with "showing the world as he saw it, which is one way of understanding the artist's job" (Ellis and McLane, 2007: 70). In contrast, Grierson thought that the documentary was "a tool of citizenship," that is, "a cinematic social pedagogy addressed by an individual or corporate author to the citizen of the modern industrial nation-state" (Keith Beattie, 2004: 28; Jonathan Kahana, 2008: 7). He produced public educational documentaries for the Empire Marketing Board, the British government's largest publicity organization, and later the General Post Office (Keith Beattie, 2004: 26-28).

His contribution to social reforms using the tool of documentary, likewise, mainly depended on governmental bodies. Grierson once said, “I look on cinema as a pulpit, and use it as a propagandist” (Ellis and McLane, 2007: 71). Therefore, Flaherty’s romanticism was like shapeless mass for Grierson who believed that a documentary should be an indicative form rather than a descriptive one.

When Theodore Conant, who had learned filmmaking from Flaherty, was met with considerable opposition by UN officials, who wanted the film to deliver their specific message clearly, it was second presentation to show the contrast between his mentor and Grierson. Richard Bagley, another UNKRA-affiliated



Figure 3. *On the Bowery* (1956)

filmmaker who had left the *Ko-Chip* project because of the different viewpoint on documentary from the officials, then returned to America and joined a team to film *On the Bowery* (1956) (see Figure 3). This film became one of the earliest models for direct cinema (Erik Barnouw, 1993: 231-252). Flaherty’s pursuit of verisimilitude—such as the use of long takes and his attempts to preserve nondirected actualities— was recalled by documentarists, including Jean Rouch and cinema vérité, as much as it was by Ricky Leacock and direct

cinema (Ellis & McLane, 2007: 218).²

As for those Korean filmmakers who were involved in cultural film making the situation was very different. The Flaherty-type humanist impulse, which did “seek to recreate through his work something akin to the aura of the original work of art” (Anna Grimshaw, 2001: 44-56), could not be realized in either government-sponsored cultural film productions or the then-nonexistent independent documentary scene. On the contrary, in an “overdeveloped” postcolonial state like South Korea, the Griersonian “top-down perspective of the world” was the most practicable and persuasive position (Hamza Alavi, 1972; Anna Grimshaw, 2001: 57-68). Grierson entertained a “corporatist conception of society, in which individual and social phenomena were perceived as being integrated, at different levels, within the social totality.” This belief led him to see individualism as “a potentially negative force, because it expressed the opposite principle to that of integration” (Ian Aiken, 1990: 184-195). This perspective seems to have been the same attitude as that of the public information agencies in South Korea, including USIS-Korea, for making cultural films.

² Tom Gunning conceptualizes the aesthetic of actuality which is “a descriptive mode based on the act of looking and display” as “the ‘view’ aesthetic,” contrasting with the aesthetic of documentary, “a more rhetorical and discursive form [of] inserting images into a broader argument or dramatic form” (Tom Gunning, 1997). While Flaherty was regarded as a pioneer of documentary by Grierson, his strong attachment to actualities might have aroused Grierson’s antipathy, in terms of the aesthetic of documentary.

The idea of cultural film, nevertheless, did allow room for negotiation. Its elements of descriptive ethnographic flow, which the Griersonian documentarists would avoid if there were no compelling theses, sometimes corresponded with an artistic and humanistic impulse. The “expert system” also sometimes contributed to the “disembeddiment” of cultural film making from a “local context of interaction” (Anthony Giddens, 1990: 21). The USIS-Korea film production’s advanced technology education of its employees, the UNKRA Film Unit’s training project of Korean filmmakers, and the education project of the International Cooperation Administration (hereinafter ICA) for Korean film specialists helped to foster the expert system. The expertise imported through this system stimulated filmmakers’ social relations to be disembedded from the “immediacies” of local context (Anthony Giddens, 1990: 28). Certain liberal, or even auteurist, impulses observed in the locally produced cultural films are all the more explainable when considering these social practices.

Cultural Film In the Context of U.S. Psychological Warfare

USAMGIK and USIS-Korea film propaganda activities were a part of a broader strategy toward the globe established by the United States. Multiple simultaneous propaganda activities were conducted in Europe, Latin America, the Near East, and the Far East after WWII (S. J. Niefeld, 1953). Psychological

warfare activities toward former enemy countries and occupied areas, including Germany, Austria, Italy, Japan, and Korea, were supervised with particular concern by the U.S. Government (Cora Sol Goldstein, 2009: 1-13; Simona Tobia, 2008: 15-21; Kyoko Hirano, 1992: 13-46). While filmmaking and screening for propaganda purposes or ‘public information’ were an invention and result of two world wars, led by the United Kingdom, the Third Reich, the Soviet Union and the United States (Nicholas Reeves, 1999: 1-13), the new order after WWII requested that this accumulated experience now to be absorbed into Cold War bloc-building.

The categorial ambiguity of cultural film in Korea at first was a product of colonialism and imperialistic mobilization under the Japanese Government-General. Then, this category became rather entangled in the ongoing context of the Cold War and the Korean War. Therefore, it is significant to acknowledge the negotiations that occurred in the sphere of cultural film production and consumption in South Korea as a social phenomenon during the postcolonial state formation of Cold War Asia.

3. Object of the Study: The *Negotiated* Korean Self

This thesis aims to trace the negotiation that occurred to define the Korean Self,

both in constructing (re)presentations and fostering experts under U.S. supervision.

Under the ambivalent categorization of the cultural film, the two movements produced two different lines of that negotiation process: A line which was drawn between the internalization of the Otherized Self and the appropriation of the Western oriented Self/Other opposition and a second line drawn between the roles of integrated civil servants and self-conscious artists. Both processes were closely linked with each other, but not always in causal relationships.

As Siegfried Kracauer points out, “the photographic media make it much easier for us to incorporate the transient phenomena of the outer world, thereby redeeming them from oblivion. Something of this kind will also have to be said of history” (Kracauer, 1969: 192). Therefore, any examination of how those mandated screened cultural films (re)presented “Koreanness” and fostered Korean film experts would be expedient to use to trace the “ur-images” of the collective dream surrounding this perception of the Self (Buck-Moss, 1989, 115-120).

It is highly probable that the traces of the collective unconsciousness, which remained oblivious between the mythology of industrial modernization and the discourses that criticized political mobilization during the Cold War, lie scattered in the cultural films that were mandatorily shown in the Korean

Peninsula for nearly three decades. Those traces will be suitable materials for writing a history that is not a simple continuum of “homogeneous, empty time” but rather “the subject of a construction” (Benjamin, 2003: 395).

4. Review of Precedent Literature

For examination of America’s nation-building project in South Korea in the cultural context, there have been two major precedent studies conducted.

Gregg Brazinsky (2007), in his monograph on South Korea from the post-revisionist perspective, argues that nation-building in South Korea could be achieved by economic development and political democratization. While this argument is rather a looser definition of nation-building than the *kŏn’guk* [national foundation] discourses, which define nation-building as a preparation procedure for establishing a government at a single moment in time, it does set up an objective to attain in both economics and politics. For Brazinsky, nation-building has been “a ubiquitous component of American foreign policy during the last century” (Gregg Brazinsky, 2007: 1). That is to say, nation building in South Korea is regarded as something that was achievable through policy implementation. From a post-revisionist point of view, he describes the U.S. aid and institutions as crucial to nation-building in South Korea. His answer to

why South Korea could be exceptionally successful in achieving “a wealthy democracy” among many aid-receiving countries is the existence of “Korean agency” (Gregg Brazinsky, 2007: 1-11; 256-258). There have been criticisms of this point of view, including comments that Brazinsky’s work does not show enough concrete illustrations of South Korean agency (Pak T’ae-kyun, 2008; Sang-Yoon Ma, 2008) and that “his conception of civil society is self-consciously liberal and Western” (Brad Simpson, 2008).

In addition to these criticisms, this thesis is skeptical about Brazinsky’s framework used to set up South Koreans as the agency carrying out a U.S.-led modernization and to attribute the distinctive success of modernization to a kind of Koreanness. First, the premise of such a framework makes an immediate connection with the ideas of U.S. officials that nation-building in aid-receiving countries equates to U.S.-led modernization, and the U.S. is a model of that fixed goal to attain. This view corresponds to the common tendency of post-revisionist historians, including John L. Gaddis, who attribute the victory of the Cold War to American-style democracy and regard American values as ‘nomality’ (Pak In-suk, 2003). Second, both the American value, which has been the fixed goal, and Koreanness, which enabled such distinctive success in South Korea, are based on the singular imagination of certain national characters, or one that could be constituted as singular. In contrast to this spurious belief, this study purposes to examine a subjectivity that could not be homogeneously constituted, since it was the product of permanent negotiation to form a Korean

national identity under the ongoing operations of U.S. aid and U.S. public information activities.

The other notable study on the nation-building project in South Korea at the cultural level is Hō Ůn's monograph (2008(a)) on U.S. public information agency cultural activities in South Korea. His book shares the basic criticism of the post-revisionist perspective with this study. While Hō sometimes counterposes U.S. public information activities with Korean nationalism, he does not define Korean nationalism as a fixed category, but rather distinguishes it as three different categories: "a node between the core and the frontier," an "attempt to change from the frontier status," and "flight from the core-and-frontier relations" (Hō Ůn, 2008(a): 24-26). This fluid categorization corresponds to the constructivist approach. However, Chang Se-chin (2009) points out that the binarity of sender-receiver still remains within Hō's framework of 'core-and-frontier relations' regardless of his attempt at appropriation of the meaning. This limitation cannot be overcome since Hō's research allots a considerable proportion of the monograph to an institutional historical analysis that focuses on the 'intention' of the U.S.

His assumption that Korean nationalism not only bowed to American hegemony, but also sought flight from it is reasonable; however, his approach to the matter of (re)presentation in the course of citizen education is rather schematic. For instance, his analysis of USIS-Korea's films is premised on the

assumption that the U.S. agencies' political 'intention' was reflected in the films. This approach leaves room for a failure to notice that the films could go wrong by generating representations coincident with such intention and could create several different possible interpretations. When there was a failure in forming a singular cultural identity— Korean nationalism during the Cold War —in cinematic representation, the dimension must be examined through an analysis of the film texts themselves. Such a difference in the premises of Hö's and this study seems to originate from different stances on representation,³ as well as a different understanding of cultural identity construction (Stuart Hall, 1990).

This study pays close attention to the possibility that the creation of visual image in works can have mutually independent plans and outcomes and considers the intention of U.S. public information agencies as one of several factors that help viewers interpret film texts.

5. Theoretical Methods and Concepts

(Re)Presentation and *Weldbild*

'Representation,' according to Bergson, is a "diminution" of the image (Henri

³ Stuart Hall distinguishes three stances on representation: reflective approach, intentional approach, and constructionist approach (Stuart Hall, 1997).

Bergson, 1994: 37). It is “being something less than the image,” thus involving “a selection from the image rather than the whole image” (Anthony Uhlmann, 2006, 11-12). That is, representation subtracts something from the image to confine itself to the meaning that the representation is supposed to deliver. On the contrary, “there is no process of subtraction involved” in ‘presentation’ (Anthony Uhlmann, 2006, 12). Deleuze defines “the transcendental form of time” in cinema as “the direct time-image” (Gilles Deleuze, 1989: 274) and a presentation as the process that “the time-image requires the movement of the viewer into the image in order that that viewer might directly experience seeing and the time involved in seeing” (Anthony Uhlmann, 2006, 12). Therefore, presentation involves the direct experience that is formed when the viewer sees the image. These two elements of the image experience are found in cinematic reception, as Deleuze connotes both the movement-image and the time-image.

While propaganda films have been understood as a loyal medium for ‘representing’ the creator’s intention, it is important to acknowledge that the cinematic experience of these films might produce a certain directness that is formed during the process of seeing. Such directness implies that the image in and of itself produces meanings and these are not subtracted so as to elicit a specific intention behind the image. The term ‘(re)presentation’ is thus used in this study to indicate that the dual process of ‘presentation’ and ‘representation’ might both happen in the reception of propaganda films.

Weltbild [world-picture] is the concept of Martin Heidegger (2002), which also resonates with the idea of (re)presentation. According to Heidegger, the modern subject does not encounter the picture of the world, but rather “the world itself constituted as a picture” (W.J.T Mitchell, 2007). Timothy Mitchell used the phrase “the age of the world-as-exhibition,” echoing Heidegger’s original phrase, to explain the situation of the 19th century Middle East where people encountered the world as exhibition (Timothy Mitchell, 1991: 12-13). In a like sense, the situation of rural Korean villages where people faced film images of U.S. public information agencies at mobile film screenings can be explained using the concept of *Weltbild*.

These theories and concepts are taken and used to approach the spectatorship of film propaganda in the specific context of postcolonial state formation and the Cold War. Tom Gunning’s theory of early cinema (1995; 2006) and Kim Hong-chung’s theorization of landscape (2005), based on the work of Walter Benjamin, are also referred to in this theorization.

Visualization As a Technology of Government, and Its Unraveling

In giving an account of sovereign power, Foucault states that the *gaze* of a power presented its ‘subjects’ as ‘objects’ for its *observation* during the ‘parade’ (Michel Foucault, 1978). Sovereign power was the “power of the gaze, power

of the spectacle, and disciplinary power,” and it was the “power of modernity” wielded over “every subject” (Chu Ũn-u, 2003: 346). To wield such power of the gaze, every invisible subject had to be visualized and observed. Urban street management, including cleaning, pavement and lighting installation, was such a way of visualization. It is important, on the other hand, to bear in mind that ‘visualization’ was not only about the actual visualized subjects, but also the matter of the visibility of the visualizing power (Chu Ũn-u, 2003: 346-350).

Nicholas Thomas (1994) applies this theory of visualization on the government strategy of the British Fiji. British administrators in colonial Fiji collected the information of indigenous residents and classified their peculiarities into tribal categories. Thomas defines such projects as the technology of government in the colonial state, which thus visualized the invisible realm of the colonized (Michel Foucault, 1991; Nicholas Thomas, 1994: 105-142). As the sovereign power ostentatiously showed its visualizing power to its subjects, a colonial power exhibited its scientific knowledge through the “magic of spectacles.” In British India, collected ethnographic knowledge of the colonized was classified in scientific order so as to stage exhibitions (Gyan Prakash, 1999: 17-48).

In Barry’s understanding of social theorists of surveillance (1995), Giddens argues that “visualizing and acting on distant objects and events” is an effective means created by “the development of modern science.” Hannah

characterizes the structures of both colonial and “benign” governmentality based on “the rule from a distance,” which was/is made possible by both the modern scientific knowledge and technology (Matthew Hannah, 2000:113-159).

However, Barry expresses skepticism about the effectiveness of such “scientific” methods. “The space of non-human observation” is unexpectedly “a space of fragile networks” and “the translation of visual representations from one place to another often proves impossible.” What he pays attention to is “individuals” in such scientific expert systems (Andrew Barry, 1995). Prakash also emphasizes “the unraveling of the narrative which posits that Western knowledge, fully formed in the center, was tropicalized as it was diffused in the periphery” (Gyan Prakash, 1999: 47). These insights form a significant theoretical background for an examination of the *negotiated* Self in this study.

Public Information and Propaganda

Because of categorial ambiguity, the term ‘cultural film’ is frequently used for the same object that ‘propaganda film’ or ‘public information film’ designates in this thesis. Cultural film, however, can be differentiated in terms of the local context of postcolonial South Korea, while the other two terms are used in their widest sense. The concept of propaganda basically follows the comprehensive definition offered by Jacques Ellul:

Propaganda is a set of methods employed by an organized group that wants to bring about the active or passive participation in its actions of a mass of individuals, psychologically unified through psychological manipulation and incorporated in an organization (Jacques Ellul, 1973: 61).

Following this definition, both ‘public information’ and ‘propaganda’ are used to designate intrinsically the same object in this thesis.

As ‘propaganda’ became gradually perceived as “an epithet of contempt and hate” by the public during wartime, propaganda agencies changed the poorly viewed term to ‘public information’ or ‘public relations’ which gave more of a neutral and defensive impression than did propaganda (Harold Lasswell, 1928). In this study, both terms are used without any conceptional separation. They are distinguished rather inclinationally: When designating the activities of agencies and administrations, ‘public information’ is used more often; when indicating an effect on the public, ‘propaganda’ is used more often.

6. Thesis Organization

This thesis offers three chronologically arranged parts that cover U.S. film propaganda activities. Each part has its related chapters that discuss (1) the historical conditions of the agencies; (2) the activities and works of the affiliated film makers; (3) the (re)presentations of their films; and both (4) reception and

spectatorship.

Part I spans the time from the Liberation to the eve of the Korean War and examines the changing status of U.S. propaganda agencies from a state apparatus to a diplomatic body. It examines how the U.S. Army took over the colonial system of film propaganda; how colonial Korean film makers were absorbed into U.S. film activities; and how a new spectatorship was formed from the intensified negotiation during mobile film exhibitions.

Part II explores the period from the Korean War to the closure of the aid program by UNKRA in 1958. It investigates the newly established USIS-Korea film studio, offering a detailed analysis of films that showed how the American image intruded into the South Korean perception of the Self during the reconstruction period. Since U.S. public information agencies were training camps that offered an abundance of material and technological supplies for filmmakers, it is important to understand the identity confusion that occurred for USIS- and UNKRA-affiliated filmmakers.

Part III covers the period from the collapse of the Yi Süng-man (Rhee Syngman) Government to the beginning of Pak Chǒng-hŭi's *Yusin* Regime. It pays close attention to the declining status of USIS-Korea film production, which now had to compete with the mature Korean film industry and the ROK governmental agencies. A sign of anxiety appears here in the tendency of auteurist cultural film making, and the crisis comes into full focus with closure

of the core newsreel series in 1967. The changing conditions of the Cold War, including the Nixon Doctrine and Pak's authoritarian path of self-reliance, were important variables during this decade.

Part I. The Undifferentiated Self Facing A Bullet Screen

Part I discusses the period from the Liberation of Korea in 1945 to the eve of the Korean War in 1950. During this period, the Korean Self was underdiscovered and undifferentiated. Such an unformed identity soon became a place of severe competition. As seen in Chapter 1, the USAMGIK was not able to settle its propaganda strategy toward Korea clearly until the actual plan to establish a separate government in the Southern part was carried out following the deadlock of the Second U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint Commission in the autumn of 1947. Korean filmmakers organized autonomous groups, and many of them supported the position to form a unified government. However, their voices were foreclosed and finally separated from the ideal Korean Self as represented in American cultural films.

The USAMGIK's public information agency, as stated in Chapter 2, did not cover this stance in its newsreels and imported American documentaries to provide education on the American way of life and democracy.

Chapter 3 defines the spectatorship during this period as that of 'bullet screens'; that is, the films were deployed in front of Korean audiences as if they were bullets fired during military operations. Since late 1947, the U.S. Army's public information agency had set up provincial information centers and run mobile film screening units that toured the rural areas nationwide. Such

activities were conducted to promote the general election of the separate government in May 1948, which was strongly opposed by leftists and pro-unified-government activists, and also to educate Koreans on the principles of an elective democracy. The audiences thus were engaged in intense negotiations to find their positions in the middle of a fierce dispute that would decide their identity and future.

Chapter 1. The Unsighted Shooter: History of the U.S. Public

Information Agencies, 1945-1950

In a secret report from the Headquarters of the U.S. XXIV Corps dated April 7, 1948, there is an interesting description of a news article published on March 31 in *Chung-ang Sinmun*, a Korean newspaper of that time:

“[...] It should be noted that the Chung Ang Shinmun was formerly a Leftist mouth-piece and closely affiliated with the People’s Party. It ceased publication about a year and a half ago but reappeared six months later in its present Rightist form.

This news article concentrates its blast on two principal points: one is that American films contain substance objectionable to Korean audiences, the other is that the Central Motion Picture Exchange is flooding the country with American motion pictures at the expense of local production.

[...] There is reason to believe that the news article in question was written under pressure from some Korean film producers. From the beginning of the Occupation until six months ago, forty-eight feature films were produced locally. Since that time only two films have been produced, the reason for this reduction being that Korean producers are now denied use of Government equipment which, in the past, they were permitted to utilize. The result is that some inexperienced operators have been deprived of their source of the quick profits obtained from producing amateurish films. [...]” (Joseph E. Jacobs, Apr. 7, 1948)

This article indicates several facts as of April, 1948. First, many Korean film producers could not produce films without the support of equipment from the government, while a few others could. Second, with the lack of locally produced films, American films dominated the market, and they sometimes received criticism from Koreans about their contents. Third, the leftists,

including film producers, had lost control of the channels to propagate their opinions, and were not regarded as the power behind this article.



Figure 4. *Chung-ang Sinmun*, March 31, 1948

The report was written about a month before the general election for a separate government in South Korea. Considering that Korean filmmakers had established a united organization,

Chosŏn yŏnghwa tongmaeng [Chosŏn Film Alliance] (hereinafter CFA), as early as December 15, 1945, and it was generally regarded as a pro-leftist group, this article shows that there has been a considerable change in the Korean film industry, especially in the conditions for filmmakers and producers.

Several preceding studies have shown that this change was mainly due to the repression by the USAMGIK and Hollywood’s monopoly over the local film market (Yi Hyo-in, 1989; Cho Hye-jŏng, 1997; Han Sang-ŏn, 2007(a)). However, little research on the opposite side of the repressed has ever been investigated. The public information agencies of USAMGIK and USAFIK, which were policy decision-makers as well as core performers of those policies, and their film-related activities should be fully examined and historicized. By

doing so, it can be clearer what kind of system and value made the autonomous film movement shrink and substituted its place.

To trace this change, this chapter investigates the whole flow of film activities conducted by U.S. public information agencies in South Korea. Film was regarded as an element of public information, and most film-related activities were left in the charge of those agencies.

1. The Colonial Legacy, August, 1945 – April, 1946

The United States started to conceive its plans for information and propaganda activities for the Korean Peninsula before the close of World War II. A propaganda plan sent to Claude Albert Buss, the Director of the San Francisco Office of the U.S. Office of War Information (hereinafter OWI), by Edwin Wade Koons in 1944, shortly before the surrender of Japan, indicates the background of later activities undertaken by the USAMGIK after the Liberation (E.W. Koons, 1944). Koons was a missionary who also worked for the OWI as an informant. He had been forcibly repatriated in May, 1942, after being arrested on a charge of espionage by the Japanese Government-General (Byung-Joon Jung, 2005: 412-413). In the plan he wrote based on his experience in Korea, Koons emphasized the significance of information to prevent “Korea’s possible fall into Russia’s lap,” expressing his will to apply for a post with the future American

Information Center in Korea. He argued that the launching of an information center in Korea was the most urgent task for “the future peace of the Far East” (E.W. Koons, 1944).

Although Koons’ plan was not adopted as offered, the USAMGIK’s Office of Information did aim to perform the functions of providing education and information to Koreans to promote what he had devised and suggested. The Office of Information was set up in the requisitioned information section of the Japanese Government-General, when the U.S. XXIV Corps occupied the Southern Korean Peninsula and established a military administration after the surrender of Japan (Chang Yōng-min, 2001). This agency was then reorganized several times into the Korean Relations and Information Section at first, the Information and Intelligence Section secondly, and the Bureau of Public Information next. It then expanded into the Department of Public Information (hereinafter DPI) on March 26, 1946 (Pak Su-hyōn, 2009).

It is worthy to note as well that Koons was considerably agreeable toward the potential of film propaganda. He noted that “Korea was well supplied with moving-picture theaters in the larger towns and cities, and the people were used to out-door shows with canvas screens and portable machines. As fast as electric power is available, use should be made of films”⁴ (E.W.

⁴ In addition, Koons recommended that documentaries, films on the history of the war, high-quality American films, and newsreels be presented (E.W. Koons, 1944).

Koons, 1944). Therefore, it is highly probable that film then was recognized as an effective means of propaganda in the Korean Peninsula even before the establishment of the USAMGIK. As Koons pointed out, this judgment was attributed to an ample environment for everyday moviegoing in colonial Korea. After the introduction of motion pictures around 1903, theaters equipped with projection facilities had sprung up in every big city in the Korean Peninsula in the early 1900s, and annual movie attendance had increased steadily from 960,000 in 1922 to 5,870,000 in 1932, 11,000,000 in 1937 to 21,000,000 in 1940 (Yu Sŏn-yŏng, 2009). In this environment, American public information authorities knew that film propaganda had the potential to be one of the most useful measures for the new government to publicize their policy.

However, it still took a great deal of time until American films were actually used as a USAMGIK propaganda tool. According to a memorandum to the Army Pictorial Service, the U.S. Department of War sent by Major David B. Tuke, who was affiliated with the Office of Public Information, the USAFIK in October 25 of 1945 could not procure any film prints at that time even though the USAMGIK officials strongly wanted to screen American public information films for propaganda purposes (David B. Tuke, 1945). The other record on propaganda activities in South Korea, as reported by an official of the Department of State in November, states that the USAMGIK could not undertake film propaganda activities due to a lack of American films, and screening facilities were also urgently needed ([Anonymous], 1945(a)). While

the USAMGIK had begun preparing to retain American films as early as September and October of 1945 (SCAP, September-October, 1945), it was not until April, 1946, when the Central Motion Picture Exchange (hereinafter CMPE) established its Korean branch, that any actual distribution was made possible (SCAP, April 1946; *Tonga Ilbo*, Apr. 8, 1946: 2). Before then, only one American public information film imported for propaganda purposes is put on the record: *Fury In the Pacific* [*T'aep 'yǒngnyang-ŭi pun 'gyŏk*] (1945), released in February, 1946 (*Chung-ang Sinmun*, Feb. 23, 1946: 2). American commercial films were also in short supply even after the lifting of the ban on Hollywood by the Japanese Government-General. When the CMPE Korean branch was activated, fifteen Hollywood features were imported directly by the USAMGIK and three of these were first released in April (*Hanseong Ilbo*, Mar. 31, 1946: 2; *Tonga Ilbo*, Apr. 8, 1946: 2).

This situation became an essential factor for the forming of a close relationship between autonomous groups of Korean filmmakers and the USAMGIK. On August 16, 1945, the day after the surrender of Japan, a fair number of Korean filmmakers smashed down the storage room of the Chosŏn yŏnghwa chusikhoesa [Chosŏn Film Production Co.] (hereinafter CFP), which had been a government-run corporation of the Japanese Government-General for propaganda film making. They then shot scenes of the liberated nation with cameras pulled from that storage (Yi Pyŏng-il, 1977). On August 19, the establishment of the Chosŏn yŏnghwa kŏnsŏl ponbu [Chosŏn National Cinema

Construction Headquarters] (hereinafter CNCCH) followed immediately (Sŏ Kwang-che, 1947: 23-29; Chŏng Chong-hwa, 2007: 86-87). Ironically, the quick choice of Korean filmmakers to organize film groups and activities was also attributable to the forced centralization of production and distribution during colonial rule. The CFP was the product of the compulsory merger and abolition of all existing film production companies in Korea in September of 1942, which had absorbed all filmmakers whether full-time or part-time employees.⁵ Before the Liberation, the CFP had produced ten feature films in total, and the official newsreel series, *Chosŭn Sibŏ [Korean Time Signal]* that contains the news of governmental activities and the war (Yi Yŏng-il, 2004: 194-208). It is obvious that this experience provided a backdrop for the Korean filmmakers' centralization activities including building national-level bodies to prepare for a new country and making newsreel films to nationalize the public audience.⁶

Therefore, the initial film activities of USAMGIK had to be focused on supervising and inducing Korean filmmakers toward the direction of government policy. The newly established military government immediately placed the CFP facilities and equipment under its control, and the Korean filmmakers'

⁵ The distribution of films was also merged into the Chosŏn yŏnghwa paegŭp chusikhoesa [Chosŏn Film Distributor Co.] (Yong-il Lee, 2004: 194-208).

⁶ On the other hand, the filmmakers' immediate group activities also can be explained as the emergence of modern 'civil society' in Korea. According to Chang Kyung-Sup, "Japan's harsh colonial suppression and capitalist exploitation [...] served as a gestation for Korea's modern civil society with a strong socialist orientation" (Kyung-Sup Chang, 2011: 66).

newsreels could not be released until October 21, after the government approved it through a censorship process, giving it the title *Haebang nyusŭ* [*Liberation News*] (Han Sang-ŏn, 2007(b)). This newsreel series produced by the CNCCH and its follow-up CFA, was placed in a unique position as press before the military government launched its own series.⁷ It was made possible due to a foundation that included skilled manpower.

Then around the end of 1945, government began to produce films by hiring Korean filmmakers. For instance, the cultural film, *Chayu ūi chong ūl ullyŏra* [*Ring the Liberty Bell*], was cranked up in December of 1945, with shooting by Han Ch'ang-sŏp and editing by Pang Han-chun under the direction of Captain Mason of the USAMGIK (*Chung-ang Sinmun*, Dec. 11, 1945: 2). The government also produced its official newreel series *Sibo* [*Korean Newsreel*] twice a month on average beginning in January 1946 and publicized its own activities and current affairs (*Yesul t'ongsin*, Dec. 3, 1946: 1). At that time, although the Motion Picture Section of the USAMGIK was equipped with a large amount of raw film and production equipment, including a processing laboratory, they still had to rely on the available pool of skilled Korean filmmakers for the actual production tasks (KRECA, 2003: 290-302). The USAMGIK's decision to expand the employment of Korean officials in the

⁷ This series was with such a strong left-wing coloring that it was at last disapproved to be released on around August, 1946 (*Chayu Sinmun*, September 1, 1946).

administration through Ordinance No.64 on March 29, 1946 (Chŏng Yong-uk, 1996), was also significant in building a relationship with Korean filmmakers. The Chief of the Motion Picture Section was changed from Lt. Dearden to the Korean film Director Pang Han-chun on March 26, with a reorganization of the Bureau of Public Information into the DPI (*Sŏul Sinmun*, Mar. 13, 1946: 2; *Chungoe Ilbo*, Apr. 19, 1946: 4). Pang acted as a bridge between the Korean filmmakers and the Motion Picture Section, introducing the cameraman, Yu Jang-san, to Dearden, and hiring Kim Yŏng-hŭi as a film editor for the DPI (KRECA, 2003: 290-302; KOFA, 2007: 9-62).

It can be concluded then that the initial propaganda policy of the USAMGIK was founded on a condition created by Japanese colonial rule and its sudden collapse, so as to seek realizable measures. Despite the quick judgment of the U.S. propaganda authorities, experienced manpower and the content necessary for film activities were not procured immediately. This problem was resolved by reorganizing the Korean filmmakers in and out of the Motion Picture Section and absorbing their colonial experiences for further efforts.

2. Establishment of a System, April, 1946 – December, 1946

The USAMGIK's film industry refurbishing project around April of 1946, turned the relationship into a distinctly different entity. Before this project, on

February 7, the government had promoted a censorship policy through the Regulations for the Control of Theater and Show Business under the control of the Department of Police in Kyōnggi Province. However they were obliged to abolish this regulation since Korean cultural and artistic circles strongly criticized it, including a protest visit to the Department of Police by the Chosŏn Munhwa Tanch'e Ch'ongyŏnmaeng [Chosŏn National Federation of Cultural Organizations] (hereinafter CNFCO) (*Chung-ang Sinmun*, Mar. 8, 1946: 2; *Sŏul Sinmun*, Mar. 9, 1946: 2). USAMGIK Ordinance No.68, proclaimed on April 12, 1946 was the legislation for such censorship. In accordance with the Ordinance, every film in Korea had to be censored by the DPI before its release (*Tonga Ilbo*, Apr. 19, 1946: 2). Further "all duties, functions, records and property concerned with the supervision and control of production, distribution and exhibition of motion pictures" were transferred from the Department of Police to the DPI (SCAP, May, 1946).

This radical change provoked a backlash from the moving picture world in Korea. Since the ordinance included stocked motion picture items among the objects of censorship, nine cinemas in downtown Seoul had to be closed until they could obtain available features early in May (*Sŏul Sinmun*, May 5, 1946: 2). The clause that obliged distributors to translate the full text of scripts for submission to the censors was a barrier hindering production of Korean films. Thus, criticism followed, namely, this action was essentially no different than the censorship of the Japanese Government-General because both functioned and

were obstructive to the development of Korean cinema and democracy. Fifteen organizations, including the CNFCO, thus presented a petition to Major General Archer L. Lerch, the Military Governor (*Chayu Sinmun*, May 5, 1946: 3).

Censorship was not the only problem that created disagreement between the military government and Korean filmmakers. On March 22, 1946, when the Kyōnggi Province Department of the Enemy Property Administration clarified its position to loan ten former Japanese-owned cinemas for open bidding, both filmmakers and cultural organizations reacted against the policy for fear that certain profiteers irrelevant to theater arts would enter a bidding war (*Sōul Sinmun*, Mar. 22, 1946: 2; *Chayu Sinmun*, Mar. 27, 1946: 2). Eight cultural organizations submitted a joint petition to hire administrators of the cinemas based on a qualification examination (*Sōul Sinmun*, Mar. 30, 1946: 2). However, the government's response was both uncooperative and lukewarm (Cho Hye-jōng, 1998).

The CMPE activities from April onward were a lot to worry about for filmmakers. The CMPE exclusively distributed films from Hollywood's nine major companies to Korea (*Sōul Sinmun*, Apr. 11, 1946: 2), but its demand for high profit sharing ratio against theater owners became an object of public concern. While the distributors had taken 35-40 per cent of the total income from screening before the Liberation, the ratio the CMPE now demanded was over 50 per cent (Cho Hye-jōng, 1998; *Chungoe Ilbo*, Apr. 19, 1946: 4). For

this reason, the CMPE's exclusive distribution of Hollywood films became a cause of concern, as it could constrict any autonomous development of the Korean film art and industry by "letting sprouts of Korean cinema wither under the large and tenacious trees of Hollywood" (*Chungoe Ilbo*, Apr. 19, 1946: 4).

Despite all this criticism, the CMPE continued to run to maximize profits of American film companies and did not change its high-handed attitude (Cho Hye-jöng, 1998). DPI Chief Pang stated that his department had no connection with the CMPE, and it only carried out its duties when there were orders to censor (*Chungoe Ilbo*, Apr. 19, 1946: 4). However, seen from the monthly activities report that contained records of attendance and "ticket sales at the United States made motion pictures," Pang's assertion is far-fetched (SCAP, Aug., 1946; Sep., 1946).

The changed surroundings of distribution and theater management became a new condition for the relationship between the USAMGIK and Korean filmmakers. By exercising legal and institutional command on the entire film entertainment industry, the military government dominated the film field and showed off its state power to decide the material basis of filmmakers.

In the meantime, the DPI's propaganda products were finely crafted during the period. According to the monthly reports of U.S. Army Military Government Activities from April to June, 1946, cultural films were produced as

actively as fortnight newsreels.⁸ Table 1 gives the list of total twenty-one films produced by the DPI in 1946. In comparison to the records of the 1948 report, “History of the Department of Public Information: An Outline,” which states that the DPI made a total 26 newreels and 7 documentaries from 1945 to 1946 (SCAP, 1948), only one documentary is shown made in 1945: *Chayu ūi chong ūl ullyōra* [*Ring the Liberty Bell*]. Another 6 documentaries seem to have been made after March, 1946, when the Bureau was reorganized into the DPI (SCAP, Apr.-Sep., 1946). This information tells us that the film production of the military government stabilized along with the DPI system.

Table 1. Films Produced by the DPI during 1946 (*Yesul t'ongsin*, Dec. 3, 1946: 1)

Production	Type	Title	Length
Korea	Newsreel	<i>Sibo</i> [<i>Korean Newsreel</i>] Nos. 1-15	
	Cultural Film	<i>Kwihwan tongp'o</i> [<i>Returned Compatriots</i>]	2 reels
		<i>Paegŭi ch'ōnsa</i> [<i>Korean White Angel</i>]	2 reels
		<i>Kigye sidae</i> [<i>Machine Age</i>]	
		<i>Chingmul kongōp</i> [<i>Textile Industry</i>]	1 reel, in progress
		<i>Hoyōlcha</i> [<i>Cholera</i>]	2 reels
		<i>Chosōn ollimp'ik</i> [<i>Korean Olympic Games</i>]	2 reels
USA	Korean Adaptation	<i>Two Years Before the Mast</i>	
		<i>Lingk'ōn chōn</i> [<i>Lincoln Story</i>]	

⁸ In April, a documentary about the activities of the National Police Academy was completed, and another one on public health issues, including DDT manufacturing and the work of the National Chemical Laboratory, was cranked in (SCAP, Apr., 1946). Films on Korean industrial activities in May, various agricultural, sericultural and horticultural and forestry experimental establishments in June, and cholera control practices in infected areas in September followed (SCAP, May-Jun., 1946; Sep., 1946).

A similar move was made in distribution at the same time (see Table 2). After May, 1946, the Mobile Education Unit was organized to travel around rural areas and show American public information films, including *Fury In the Pacific*, *Freedom of Education*, and *The Battle of Iwo Jima*, with Korean subtitles (SCAP, May, 1946). The government also started to run joint programs' combining public information activities with visual education, public health, and adult education. Film screening was a large part of these joint activities.⁹

In this way, the military government's film distribution activities were able to expand their geographic scope through a mobile screening system and also expand their psychological scope as a propagator of ideas, by combining their efforts with professional and non-professional educational programs designed for certain vocational and generational groups.

⁹ As part of the public health program, three U.S. Army training films — *Control of Flies and Mosquitoes*, *Disinfection of Surgeries in Hospitals*, and *Surgical Dressings* — were shown to 3,400 students, medical doctors, nurses, midwives, and food merchants in Suwon on June 10 and 11, 1946. A lecture on nursing affairs, given by Korean specialists, was included (SCAP, Jun., 1946). The public exhibition of three short films — *Good Government*, *Improved Farming*, and *Justice* — in Seoul on June 13 and 14 was the first program for the government's visual education activities (SCAP, Jul. 1946). At the Summer School Institute for Home Economics in August, an adult education program, films dealing with "home economics problems and possible solutions" were screened. The same month, a film titled *The Korean White Angel* was shown all over the country "to orient the people as to nursing aims and techniques" (SCAP, Aug., 1946).

Table 2. Films Reported Screened by the USAMGIK from May to August, 1946 (SCAP, May-Aug., 1946)

Month	Title	Production	Details
May	<i>Fury in the Pacific</i>	USA	mobile screening, w/Korean subtitles
	<i>Freedom of Education</i>	USA	mobile screening, w/Korean subtitles
June	<i>Control of Flies and Mosquitoes</i>	USA	vocational educational screening (Suwon)
	<i>Disinfection of Surgeries in Hospitals</i>	USA	vocational educational screening (Suwon)
	<i>Surgical Dressings</i>	USA	vocational educational screening (Suwon)
	<i>The Battle of Iwo Jima</i>	USA	mobile screening
July	<i>Good Government</i>	unknown	visual educational screening (Seoul)
	<i>Improved Farming</i>	unknown	visual educational screening (Seoul)
	<i>Justice</i>	USA	visual educational screening (Seoul)
August	<i>Korean White Angel</i>	Korea	vocational educational screening

3. A New Condition for Differentiation, January, 1947 – August, 1948

The adjournment of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint Commission on May 16, 1946, and its after-effects gave more power to the contention that a separate government had to be established in South Korea. This change involved the USAMGIK and its serious consideration of the South Korean interim government (Chŏng Yong-uk, 1996: 120-129). All the changes also impacted the public information system. On August 24, the USAMGIK held a briefing session on Ordinance No. 118, which proposed the foundation of an Interim Legislative Assembly of South Korea; on December 20, after four months of discussion, that Assembly opened (Chŏng Yong-uk, 1996: 150-164). Consequently, the DPI

turned over management of the Motion Picture Section to Korean officials, and Pang became the person in charge, while Lt. Dearden stepped back and remained a consultant (*Yesul t'ongsin*, Dec. 11, 1946: 1).

A large part of the DPI's role also changed. Pang wrote in a column for the New Year that the DPI would make every effort "to provide the Korean film world with materials and tools above all things" in 1947 (*Yesul t'ongsin*, Jan. 7, 1947: 1). He expressed his intention to change the status of the DPI as a supporter of Korean cinema. However, this change also meant that the Motion Picture Section's function, namely propaganda film production, was reduced to a minimum. Comparison of several records shows that the Motion Picture Section had no actual production achievements after 1947 except for a few newreels (*Yesul t'ongsin*, Dec. 3, 1946: 1; SCAP, 1948; USAFIK, Jun. 20, 1947). According to local news records of the time, primary responsibilities of the Section were to supply necessary materials for commercial film production and release permission in accordance with the ordinances (*Yesul t'ongsin*, Feb. 6, 1947: 1; *Kyŏngnyang Sinmun*, Apr. 24, 1947: 4; *Chung-ang Sinmun*, Jan. 22, 1948: 2). The DPI's right and responsibility for releases was specified in Ordinance No. 115 enacted on October 18, 1946 (*Chayu Sinmun*, Oct. 19, 1946: 2).

A remarkable event during this change process was Lt. Dearden's transfer to the XXIV Army Corps as Photographic Officer of the 502d Signal

Photography Detachment.¹⁰ The Detachment's parent body, the U.S. Signal Corps (SCAP, n.d.(a)), was formed in 1861 to handle the U.S. Army communication and information system (Editors of *Army Times*, 1961: 7-25). The Corps is known as the creator organization which shot the largest number of battle scenes for the U.S. Army during World War II. Film specialists trained by major Hollywood film companies worked for this unit during wartime (Raymond Fielding, 1972: 288), and master director Frank Capra was scouted to make the *Why We Fight* series (Thomas Doherty, 1993: 60-84). The transfer of film manpower from the USAMGIK to the Detachment paved the way for the USAFIK's propaganda activities to absorb the Signal Corps' accumulated capability.

The propaganda plan submitted by James L. Stewart, Director of the Public Relations Office, USAFIK, on April 14, 1947, speaks to the understanding of the U.S. Army at the time. He points out that "With the increasing American interest in Korea, it has become impossible to separate the story of United States activity in Korea that we tell to Koreans and the story that we tell the Americans back home" (James L. Stewart, Apr. 14, 1947). In other words, the course of public information did not merely address the relationship between the governing USAMGIK and governed Koreans anymore. It was

¹⁰ The '502 Unit,' often mentioned among film specialists, their retrospective, and oral records, was actually a photography unit under the US Signal Corps, with the official name of the 502d Signal Photography Detachment (Buerkle, Jun. 30, 1947).

also involved relationship between the U.S. Government and its citizens. Such an understanding led to the conclusion that the public information activities could no longer be assigned to the DPI, USAMGIK, but had to be centralized under the Commanding General of USAFIK (James L. Stewart, Apr. 14, 1947). This process shows not only the background of the change, but also its substance, namely, the changing aim and stature of U.S. propaganda activities in South Korea.

The rationale of holding the military government in check at the juncture of Koreanization, of course, was also a causal factor of the change. While the DPI's Motion Picture Section had been hiring Korean filmmakers from the beginning of its production activities, the U.S. authorities did not exhibit such full confidence in Koreans as to entrust them with full power. Pang had never been given actual authority to censor films even though he was the Chief of the Motion Picture Section before Koreanization. In September, 1946, in response to a controversy over the ban of *Chosŏn Ŭiyongdae* [*Korean Volunteer Corps*], he spoke out to say the Section did not have the right of decision-making on censorship. It only reported content to DPI officials, so that they could decide (*Chungoe Ilbo*, Sep. 4, 1946: 2). In the propaganda plan of April, 1947, Stewart points out that there was a dangerous situation "where the Korean people would not be hearing a straight American message but instead would be hearing about America exactly what a small clique of Korean leaders would like for them to hear" (James L. Stewart, Apr. 14, 1947). In other words, U.S.

Army authorities did not think the DPI of the Korean Interim Government part of the U.S. public information agencies any longer.

Stewart's plan to expand the Public Relations Office of the USAFIK was given its shape as the establishment of the Office of Civil Information (hereinafter OCI) on May 30, 1947 (Chang Yǒng-min, 2001), just before the launching of the South Korean Interim Government on June 3 in that year. The OCI's film production segment was closely connected with the 502d Signal Photography Detachment (KRECA, 2003: 30-34, 301-302). The OCI's duties in terms of film propaganda included the "production of feature-length films," "production of newsreels," "adaptation of United States films to Korean sound," and the "distribution of films to commercial movie houses, OCI information centers, mobile teams, and other outlets." All film related functions were assigned to the Motion Picture Section under the Production Branch. In addition, the "management of provincial information centers" and "supervision of mobile movie teams" were other important duties of the OCI assigned to the Branch Offices and the Mobile Education Train. Beginning in September, 1947, the OCI started to set up its branches in major cities, equipped with projection systems and viewing rooms (SCAP, n.d.(b)).

Stewart, the first director of the OCI, had been a public information specialist in charge of psychological warfare toward China during World War II and sent to Korea in December, 1946, following the decision by the U.S. Army

Civil Affairs Division (hereinafter CAD) to cooperate with the State Department in the program of propaganda toward Korea (Pak Su-hyŏn, 2008). Hence, OCI activities were conducted with the close support of the CAD, while the Motion Picture Section of the CAD was in charge of film propaganda activities. The mission of the CAD Motion Picture Section was “the reorientation, reeducation, and democratization of the peoples in the occupied areas—Germany, Austria, Japan, and Korea—through the use of effective films” (Chief, Screening Unit, Nov. 21, 1947). In accordance with this objective, the Section formulated a plan for distribution of American documentaries, including the selection of 120 films in 11 categories for Korea (see Appendix 1). Films like *Nation’s Capitol*, *New England*, *Swing King*, and *The Story of the Lincoln Tunnel* were sent via Japan to Korea in 1947 under the supervision of the CAD (James L. Stewart, May 17, 1948), while a direct shipment system from the CAD to Korea was established in January the next year (USAFIK, Jan. 8, 1948).

Table 3. Films Reviewed for Release by the DPI (SCAP, 1947(a); 1947(b))

Date	Korean films	American films	German films	Other films
December, 1946	5	23	7	7
March, 1947	9	7	none	none
April, 1947	9	39	5	2
June, 1947	15	17	2	1
July, 1947	18	11	none	1
August, 1947	36	18	1	3

The dual system for the DPI and the OCI sometimes created conflicts

over authority (KRECA, 2003: 301-302). However, as seen in connection with the 502d Detachment and the CAD, the initiative was seized by the U.S. Army. In the end, after the breakdown of the second U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint Commission, the OCI began to take charge of most public screening around November of 1947 (Pak Su-hyön, 2009). The DPI's role in film production also decreased, so the *Sibo* newsreel series ended late in 1947. The substitutive series was entitled *Taehan Chŏnjinpo [Progress of Korea]*, and produced and distributed by the OCI beginning in January, 1948 (SCAP, n.d.(b)). The major duties of the DPI, as a part of the Interim Government, were administrative tasks, such as the approval of importation and release of films (see Table 3). This change became a basic condition for OCI's campaign for the South Korean separate government following the second deadlock of the Joint Commission. Film propaganda activities for the campaign began to crystallize late in 1947 and rose to a crescendo around the General Election of May, 1948. The details of that campaign are discussed below.

4. Transfer of the Function, September, 1948 – June, 1950

After the establishment of the Republic of Korea (hereinafter ROK) in August, 1948, the OCI changed the role of U.S. public information agencies in South Korea. In a report dated September 18, 1948, Director Stewart defines the

OCI's new role as "to let Koreans realize how politics operates in the Western world," including forthcoming elections in the U.S., since Korea had just entered into "crucial days for the new republic" and "the future viability of the government" was a concern. However, its viability was considered to be dependent on "decisions made new by the leaders of the government" (James L. Stewart, Sep. 15, 1948). Therefore, the OCI's new policy was to spread the idea of Western democracy to the Korean public and keep the new state and its leaders stable under U.S. umbrella. This decision shows that the OCI started to regard their activities as acts of diplomacy and not state administration.

With the withdrawal of the Headquarters of the U.S. XXIV Army Corps from Korea in January 1949 (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Jan. 15, 1949: 1), the OCI was taken over by the U.S. State Department, from the U.S. Army (James L. Stewart, Sep. 15, 1948; William G. Ridgeway, Feb. 28, 1989). The civilianization of the OCI was a turning point for American public information activities in South Korea in terms of both its characteristics and status. In comparison with the pre-ROK period, when the DPI had publicized governmental policies and activities and the OCI had concentrated on educating Koreans about elections to build a pro-U.S. state south of the 38th parallel (Chang Yŏng-min, 2007; Kim Han-sang, 2011(b)), the post-establishment period was the first stage where the U.S. public information agencies conducted their activities on a more 'diplomatic' basis and in a position that actually rested 'outside' the South Korean nation-state. The OCI changed its title to USIS-

Korea, which focused on the meaning of U.S. overseas information service, as early as 1949, when the OCI was transferred into the State Department.¹¹ Thus, it is reasonable to say that USIS-Korea finally found a position where it could conduct publicity campaigns delivering the diplomatic point of view of an external party.

Even before its conversion into USIS-Korea, the OCI had already registered its motion picture unit as a film company based in Seoul and conducted production and distribution activities (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Oct. 26, 1948: 3). Film propaganda activities were founded in production and distribution experiences already accumulated by the Army organizations. During the OCI period, a large portion of shooting and post-production work was conducted by the 502d Detachment (Buerkle, Jun. 30, 1947). Activities, manpower, and the media of the 502d Signal Photography Detachment, as well as of the OCI, were fully transferred to USIS-Korea (Chang Yŏng-min, 2001), with no major change in staffing. Both Charles M. Tanner, Motion Picture Officer since 1947, and his assistant, William G. Ridgeway, kept their positions after their section was transferred in 1949 (William G. Ridgeway, Feb. 28, 1989; *Covenant Players*, 2011). The film specialists Yi P'il-u, Yu Jang-san, and Yi

¹¹ For instance, the title 'USIS' appears in a news article in October 1949 (*Tonga Ilbo*, October 19, 1949: 2) and a letter from the American Embassy in Seoul to the Secretary of State in December of the same year (American Embassy, Dec. 24, 1949).

Kyöng-sun, who had cooperated with the 502d Detachment, continued to do their same work as before (KRECA, 2003: 30-34, 301-302). The 502d Signal Photography Detachment terminated their activities and was dismissed on November 10, 1948, and propaganda functions were transferred to USIS-Korea ([Anonymous], 1948).

The USIS-Korea film production and distribution both were actively conducted during the early years. In a memorandum to U.S. Ambassador Muccio in January of 1950, Stewart states the Motion Picture Branch was their “heaviest operation” (Stewart, January 11, 1950). At the time, they produced 2 newsreels and 1 documentary per month, two or three feature films per year, and a large number of adaptations of U.S. documentaries. Screenings were held using seventy 16mm projectors throughout cities, rural areas, and Army, Navy and police facilities. Between August and October of 1949, the attendance at outdoor showings were over one million per month. The audience response seems to have been positive. For instance, at an outdoor screening in Pusan on April 16, 1950, two children were killed, five were injured critically, and twelve received minor bruises from an accidental trampling of the crowd (Everett F. Drumright, Apr. 21, 1950). The screening was held in the playground of an elementary school, and attendance was approximately 3,000, probably an unexpectedly uncontrollable crowd for two policemen, four city crews and three teachers.

5. Aimed Shots: *The People Vote* and The Ch'oe In-kyu Production

Here the discussion goes back to the initial question. As of April, 1948, what was the substitute for the autonomous film movement of Korean filmmakers? In the above-quoted report on page 31, the reporting officer indicates that “only two films” were produced between November of 1947 and April of 1948. Except for a couple of short cultural films, there actually were two feature film produced during this period: *Choe ōmnŭn choein* [*An Innocent Criminal*], produced in January of 1948, and *Tongnip chŏnya* [*The Night before Independence Day*], in February of 1948 (KFPA, 1972). Both of these films were directed by Ch'oe In-kyu and produced by Koryŏ yŏnghwa kongsa [Korea Film Production Company] which was owned by his brother Ch'oe Wan-kyu (IRCA, 2009: 757-760). While the reporting officer states that these films were products of a few self-reliant film producers, it does not seem to be coincidental that the Ch'oe brothers were the creators of *The People Vote* [*Inmin t'up'yo*] (1948).

Ch'oe In-kyu had been the CFP-affiliated director during the Pacific War, and the brothers had a box office hit with the anti-colonial film, *Chayu manse* [*Hurrah! For freedom*] in 1946 (IRCA, 2009: 757-760). According to Kim Yŏng-hŭi, who had also become affiliated with CFP, those CFP-affiliated

filmmakers, including Pang Han-chun, continuously went to the CFP studio even after Liberation, and that opportunity sometimes gave them chances to make personal connections with USAMGIK officials. The post-production of *Chayumanse* was also undertaken at the CFP studio, Kim says (KOFA, 2007: 9-67). Therefore, Ch'oe also seems to have drawn a certain relationship with U.S. Army officials.

The production of *The People Vote* was an ambitious project for OCI. The film was completed and previewed on April 12, 1948, and a 35mm print was sent to Japan for processing to 16mm film. A total of thirty-five prints, including fifteen 35mm and twenty 16mm, were distributed to cinemas and information centers nationwide, and approximately three million viewers watched the film during the election campaign (James L. Stewart, May 15, 1948; [Anonymous], Jun. 15, 1948). Offering a fictional narrative depicting a family's first election, this film was seen as an effective tool to educate people for the election. Ch'oe was already a qualified filmmaker who had a lot of relevant experience. As a CFP-affiliated director, Ch'oe had made several successful propaganda features for wartime mobilization of the Japanese Army.

After the success of *The People Vote*, the Ch'oe brothers could continuously obtain orders from OCI and USIS-Korea. Their next film was *Dance of Jang Chu-Hwa* [*Chang Chu Wha muyong*] (1948) depicting a Korean modern dancer and her performance. Another film was *The Town of Hope*

[Hŭimang ũi maŭl] (1948) which introduced Korean rural customs. Both were made for the purposes of exportation (KMDB, n.d.). Although the film prints are missing and unavailable today, the project plans themselves are full of suggestions. Those were films which were an early output of the localization of U.S. public information activities, conducted under the category genre of cultural film and, most importantly, produced by ethnic Korean filmmakers to introduce their own culture to foreign audiences. The problem of ethnographic gaze would now become complicated; Korean filmmakers shot Korean culture to show to foreign, possibly Western, audiences under orders given them by an American agency. Similar composition is seen in *Korean Farm Life* (c1948), which stars Ch'oe In-kyu's wife, Kim Sin-chaeh, with a Korean-American director Han Ken Lee.

Many other filmmakers were also involved in U.S. public information activities both directly and indirectly during this period. Kim Yŏng-hŭi and Kim Hyŏng-kŭn had been affiliated with CFP and later became the employees of DPI, OCI and USIS-Korea (KOFA, 2007: 9-67). Pang Han-chun and An Ch'ŏl-yŏng were bureaucrats for USAMGIK and later the Interim Government and had made feature films as directors during the colonial period (KMDB, n.d.). Another group of filmmakers were those who received outsourcing orders from U.S. agencies, including Yu Jang-san, Yi Kyŏng-sun, Yi P'il-u, Ham Wan-sŏp, Han Ch'ang-sŏp and Hong Kae-myŏng (KRECA, 2003; KMDB, n.d.). In addition, there were filmmakers who had indirect relationships with U.S.

agencies, and these included Han Hyöng-mo and Sin Sang-ok. The future famous director, Sin Sang-ok, practiced shooting with a Mitchell camera that the Ch'oe In-kyu Production rented from OCI (Kim Chong-wön, 2004: 318-322). He was apprenticed to Ch'oe In-gyu and trained with “various public information outlets” (Steven Chung, 2008: 21). This episode thus shows that Ch'oe In-kyu Production could produce films in affluent circumstances, in contrast to other film producers who pushed Chung-Ang Sinmun to censure the government.

In the meantime, other filmmakers who were inextricably involved in these autonomous group activities had to face obstructive power and went on the wane. Although CFA, established on December 15 of 1945, was considered to be inclusive of all filmmakers in the Korean Peninsula, including those in the North and the South (*Chayu Sinmun*, Dec. 18, 1945: 2), the intense social debate on the trusteeship in January of 1946 split the filmmakers and solidified the organization as pro-Leftist (Han Sang-ön, 2007(a)). After the proclamation of the Ordinance No.68 on April 12, 1946, filmmakers in CFA were continuously caught up in trouble with USAMGIK. The alliance submitted a petition to relax censorship regulations, but it does not seem that it was agreed to by the military government (*Tonga Ilbo*, May 5, 1946: 2). However, to the contrary, several restrictions of persons and activities were repeatedly imposed on CFA by

the government.¹² In April of 1948, the Seoul league of CNFCO, including CFA, made a statement in support of the South-North negotiations through the South-North Joint Meeting of Patriotic Parties (*Sŏul Sinmun*, Apr. 4, 1948). This act was the complete opposite of USAMGIK's goal for propaganda, which was the successful establishment of a separate government in South Korea. While OCI set up local branches and dispatched mobile units to rural areas, CFA rearranged its rivalrous activities at the local level and ran underground units to give lectures and mobile exhibitions (Han Sang-ŏn, 2007(a)). Thus, after the establishment of the ROK Government, CFA and other sister cultural alliances became illegal and filmmakers who wanted to participate in cultural activities had to certify their withdrawal from CFA (*P'yŏnghwa Ilbo*, Apr. 10, 1949). Many of the filmmakers and actors who had been intimately involved in CFA activities, including Ch'u Min, Sin Pul-ch'ul, Yun Sang-yŏl and Sŏ Kwang-che,¹³ defected to North Korea between 1946 and 1948 (Han Sang-ŏn, 2007(a)).

¹² The CFA Secretary Ch'u Min was arrested along with the actor, Sin Pul-ch'ul, and brought to trial by reason of audience disturbances at the special screening commemorating the Independence Demonstration in June 10, 1926 (*Chayu Sinmun*, Jun. 19, 1946: 2). Soon after, two CFA cinematographers who shot a trial on forgery were arrested, and their cameras were impounded by the police without ever knowing the reason (*Chayu Sinmun*, Aug. 1, 1946: 2). In September of 1946, USAMGIK banned a CFA-adapted documentary *Chosŏn Ŭiyongdae* (*Chayu Sinmun*, Sep. 1, 1946: 2). The CFA issued a statement to criticize Ordinance No.15 on October 18 (*Chayu Sinmun*, Oct. 20, 1946: 2). Early the next year, the CFA-produced films *Chosŏn nyusŭ* and *Haebang nyusŭ* were violently suspended during the show and seized by a right-wing group and the police, although these films had been permitted to be screened by the government (*Chayu Sinmun*, Jan. 27, 1947: 2).

¹³ Sŏ Kwang-che was one of the last filmmakers who defected to North Korea before the Korean War. As a leading figure of CFA, Sŏ wrote critical essays on USAMGIK's motion picture policies and led the discourses on Korean cinema at that time (Cho Hye-jŏng, 1997).

After the establishment of separate governments in the South and the North, Otherization of the Left became conspicuous. USIS-Korea produced *Fellow Soldiers* [*Chõnu*], the first genuine anti-



Figure 5. A newspaper advertisement of *Fellow Soldiers* (1949)

Communist film in South Korea, in 1949. Hong Kae-myōng, a veteran director from the 1920s and 1930s, directed this film, and Yi Myōng-u, one of the long-time cooperators of DPI and OCI, took on the role of producer.¹⁴ About 20 million wŏn was invested into this production and 20,000 actors and actresses were cast in this film (see Figure 5). The plot of the film was the story of two brothers' devotion to the eradication of Communism after defecting from North Korea (Kim Chong-wŏn, 2011). After this film, several anti-Communist films followed in the South Korean film industry, including *Sŏngbyŏk-ŭl Ttul'k'o* [*Breaking the Wall*] (Han Hyōng-mo, 1949), *Nara-rŭl Wihayŏ* [*For the Country*]

In "Chosŏnnyŏnghwa-ron [Discussion of Korean Cinema]" in August 1946, he censured the lack of facilities and cameras in the Korean film industry under USAMGIK (Sŏ Kwang-che, 1946). In the 1947 yearbook on Korean arts, he severely criticized the military government for censorship of films, suppression of CFA members, and ordinances related to the film industry (Sŏ Kwang-che, 1947). He ceased to publish his own newspaper and defected to North Korea after the establishment of the ROK Government (Han Sang-ŏn, 2007(a)).

¹⁴ According to film historian Kim Chong-wŏn, both of them were abducted by North Korea during the Korean War because of this film (Kim Chong-wŏn, 2011).

(An Chong-hwa, 1949), *Pukhan-ŭi Siljŏng* [*The reality of the North Korea*] (Yi Ch'ang-kŭn, 1949), and *Munŏjin Samp'alsŏn* [*The Collapsed 38th Parallel*] (Yun Pong-ch'un, 1949).

In this fashion, this period became a crucial moment for practicing new power relations in the new world order. The colonial expert system was successfully inherited with a related urgent demand for propaganda. The Korean Self started to be discovered, imagined and constructed through the cameras of foreign agencies, and part of the undifferentiated Self was split to become a foreclosed Other in preparation for further division.

Chapter 2. Show Them Where They Belong: U.S. Information Agencies

Films

The films imported, produced, and distributed by U.S. public information agencies during this period show that the U.S. propaganda strategy toward the Korean Peninsula was vague and uncertain at that time. Contrary to Japan, where SCAP set up a determined goal for propaganda and deployed relevant films in public screenings nationwide, Korea was not a target for an accurate propaganda plan. There were not nearly enough films for propaganda purposes. Many of the films which were supposed to be having been passed on to Korea after they were shown in Japan remained in the Archipelago. *Fury In The Pacific*, the first American public information film shown in Korea, seems to have reached the Peninsula early since SCAP excluded documentaries on the Pacific War from the list of films to distribute in Japan.

Nonetheless, the U.S. public information films during this period require careful consideration since they built a “primal scene” of the (re)presentations that followed in the later works of U.S. agencies (Sigmund Freud, 1996: 186-205; Kim So-yŏng, 2010: 18-38). DPI of USAMGIK replaced CFP in the Japanese Government-General and produced regular newsreel series in the name of the government. The DPI-imported American WWII films, which illustrated the U.S. Army as a liberator, and the titleback images of the DPI newsreels, which symbolized the American ideal of an independent nation, show how this

postcolonial, but pre-independent, nation of Korea was positioned precisely to imagine America as its new role model. The OCI-imported films for election education show the systematic representation of American democracy, which connected the local and the federal governments. The ethnographic documentaries produced during the transition period from OCI to USIS-Korea mirror the elements of the intricate Self/Other opposition.¹⁵

1. Sensing Society, Viewing Power: Newsreels

Of the 33 films produced under the supervision of the DPI from 1945 to 1946, the newsreel series *Sibo* [*Korean Newsreel*] was the largest in terms of its number as well as its weight. As *Haebang nyusŭ* was at the center of the conflict between the military government and the leftist filmmakers in 1946 (Han Sang-ŏn, 2007(b)), the newsreel format was understood as an effective political device due to its reportage-style neutral attitude. Production and distribution of newsreels were world-widely active and common before the advance of television, and many were parts of governmental public information activities. Collings (1995) points out that newsreel films functioned to deliver to audiences a shared identity and organize them into a nation-state and society,

¹⁵ Chapter 2 is modified from the original Korean article, Kim Han-sang, "The U.S. Film Propaganda In South Korea, 1945-48: The Study on Film Materials Discovered in the U.S. National Archives." *Miguksa yŏn'gu* [*American History*], vol.34, 2011: 177-212.

in the same manner that tabloids and the radio “Americanized the Americans.” *Sibo* also served that function.

Sibo was the first direct production of a newsreel by the DPI, dating from January, 1946 (*Yesul t’ongsin*, Dec. 3, 1946: 1).¹⁶ The first group of *Sibo*, owned by the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration (hereinafter NARA), deals with major governmental activities and social issues from January 14 to February 7, 1946. The film starts with the T’aegŭkki hoisting ceremony scene. It contains issues of grave national concerns, such as the Preparation Talk for the Joint Soviet-American Commission and the Emergency National Assembly, administrative pending issues, such as the re-formation of the National Guard and the trial of a pro-Japanese collaborator, and several new bulletins, such as a foreign guest’s visit and a march of the National Police Academy students. All these topics are organized to arouse shared concerns in Korean audiences. Especially, the headline for each topic was sometimes rather provocative: for instance, “Fire corrodes the national foundation!” an expression to call the attention of audiences to an everyday topic and make them consider that event as a national issue (see Table 4).

¹⁶ The US National Archive (NARA)’s collection of *Sibo* series also starts its first number with the news from January to early February, 1946. The NARA has catalogued this series under the title, *Korean Newsreel*.

Table 4. Contents of *Sibo No.1*

Headline	Expressed Issue
Overwhelming moment of hoisting T'aegŭkki on the ruins of Kyŏngbokkung – Jan. 14	The T'aegŭkki hoisting ceremony on January 14, 1946, with Gen. Hodge, Robert P. Patterson, and Cho Byeong-ok in attendance (<i>Chosŏn Ilbo</i> , Jan. 15, 1946: 2)
U.S. Secretary of War Patterson's Unexpected Visit to Seoul – Press Conference on Jan. 14	U.S. Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson's visit to Korean in January, 1946 (<i>Chosŏn Ilbo</i> , Jan. 14, 1946: 1)
The First Preparation Talk Opens the Eyes of 30 Millions! – Jan. 16	Preparation Talk for the Joint Soviet-American Commission on January 16, 1946 (<i>Chosŏn Ilbo</i> , Jan. 17, 1946: 1)
Fire corrodes the national foundation!	Two big fires in Seoul on January 21, 1946 (<i>Chosŏn Ilbo</i> , Jan. 23, 1946: 2)
With the consensus of the people! The opening of the Emergency National Assembly – Feb. 1	The opening of the Emergency National Assembly at the Catholic Auditorium on February 1, 1946 (<i>Tonga Ilbo</i> , Feb. 2, 1946: 1)
Re-formation of the Chosŏn National Guard	The formation of the National Guard of the USAMGIK, which started to recruit guard members in Kyŏnggi Province on January 14, 1946 (<i>Chosŏn Ilbo</i> , Jan. 12, 1946: 2)
Collaborator, profiteer! Kim Kecho's Last Day!!	The public trial of Kim Kecho, who conducted a covert action to establish a pro-Japanese government in connection with USAMGIK officials (Jung, Byung Joon, 2008)
A Flag for Service and Order! March of the Chosŏn National Police Academy! – Feb. 7	March of 300 students in the National Police Academy from the Military Government Office to City Hall on February 7, 1946 (<i>Chosŏn Ilbo</i> , Feb. 8, 1946: 2)

It is worthy of notice that this film does not contain social controversies and events going on in South Korea in January 1946. Since *Tonga Ilbo*'s false report on December 27, 1945, titled "The Soviet Union argues Trusteeship, the United States argues Immediate Independence," an intense anti-trusteeship movement had sprung up throughout early 1946 and a false landscape formed where the Soviets and Korean leftists were pro-trusteeship and the U.S. and

Korean rightist were their opponents (Chŏng Yong-uk, 2003: 53-96). The Korean Communist leader Pak Hŏn-yŏng and the Chosŏn Communist Party published an official statement on January 17 and held a press conference on January 18, to complain about the distortion in the false report (Chŏng Yong-uk, 2003(a): 53-96). However, the whole progression of this dispute is left out of *Sibo*. It even does not speak off the rightists' stance, but rather leaves the topic completely untouched. Instead, the film is filled with the events supervised by the military government and its affiliated organizations. On the one hand, that reporting attitude reflects the will not to restart a lulled controversy again early in February, but on the other hand, it also shows that USAMGIK's basic position was not to empower indigenous political groups to become main agents in South Korean politics.

Table 5. Contents of other *Sibo*, owned by the NARA

Number	Headline	Expressed Issue
No. 2	Touching in a New Way! Inauguration of the Korean Representative Democratic Council of South Korea – February 14	Inauguration Ceremony of the Korean Representative Democratic Council of South Korea – February 14, 1946
No. 5	(unknown headline)	The first Joint Soviet-American Commission on March 20, 1946
	Exchange of Mails at the 38th Parallel	The first mail exchange ceremony between North and South Korea, a consequence of the third Joint Communique of the Joint Soviet-American Commission
Breaking News	Opening Ceremony at the Inauguration of the Korean Interim Legislative Assembly	Opening ceremony at the Inauguration of the Korean Interim Legislative Assembly on December 12, 1946

2. Introducing a 'Free World' Superpower: WWII Films

Due to a shortage of American films, the DPI's distribution activities were difficult until April of 1946. *Fury In the Pacific* was the only American public information film, except for some newsreels, that was shown by the DPI before April among the films one can find in the existing records (*Chung-ang Sinmun*, Feb. 23, 1946: 2). This film is also the first film approved by the Motion Picture Section after its review (*Kukche sinmun*, Aug. 26, 1948). It was first screened in cinemas in February of 1946 (*Chung-ang Sinmun*, Feb. 23, 1946: 2), and was included in the selections for mobile screening in provincial areas in May (SCAP, May, 1946). Co-produced by the U.S. Army, Navy, and Marine Corps in 1945, this 20-minute documentary depicts the battles against the Japanese Forces on the islands of Palau, Peleliu, and Angaur during the Pacific War. Joint operations combat scenes crossing the borderlines of land, sea and air are distinguishing features. The film begins with a sortie scene of bombers on heavy carriers, and then 10 minutes of fast cuts with shooting and firing sound effects to follow, depicting aerial bomb-dropping, heavy artillery fire, and landing operations by the Marine Corps. Next are 10 minutes of capture scenes from the individual battle after landing, the conveyance of wounded soldiers, and the surrender of the enemy. Except for the voiceover narration, there are no dialogues or focal figures to form any narrative elements, but rather only images of battle and bombing continuously shown throughout the film. In particular,

the exterior of military machines and their destructive power are shown with verisimilitude and actuality as an entertaining element (see Figure 6).¹⁷ For a vivid depiction of warfare, scenes depicting actual combat in the air and at sea adopt viewpoints and angles made possible only because they were in the movie.



Figure 6. A scene from *Fury In the Pacific*

The surrender scene, which shows Japanese soldiers' lying down and some of their bare dead bodies, was probably an entirely new spectacle for South Koreans who were just liberated from the Japanese colonial rule.

After the opening of the CMPE Korean branch in April, more films were imported and released by the DPI for propaganda purposes. *Freedom of Education* was shown by the mobile unit in May and *Fury In the Pacific*, and *The Battle of Iwo Jima* in June (SCAP, May-June, 1946).¹⁸ Among other DPI-

¹⁷ Whether the initial emotion of the audiences was pleasure or fear, the shock of such actuality images can be defined as 'attraction' according to Tom Gunning (1995). In the shock of technology that enabled early cinematic audiences to watch the spectacular images, viewers remained "aware of the act of looking, the excitement of curiosity and its fulfillment." Gunning calls such experience as "the cinema of attraction" (Tom Gunning, 1995: 121).

¹⁸ The title, *Freedom of Education*, appears only in the USAMGIK monthly report, and the NARA does not possess any film material having this title. It is highly probable that the author of the report miswrote the title as *Freedom to Learn*, which was also released in Japan in 1946 (Yuka Tsuchiya, 2002). *The Battle of Iwo Jima* also does not have any relevant film

imported films, *Justice* (1944) is a good example that shows the popular narratives and images of American wartime propaganda films, which were introduced to Korea right after the Liberation. This film was produced by the U.S. Army Pictorial Service, Signal Corps, and was screened in Seoul in July of 1946 (SCAP, July 1946). It is a 2 minute and 30 second short film, appealing to American citizens for participation in wartime activities and arousing animosity towards Japan. American citizens' enraged feelings against Japan appear as they were

portrayed in this film.

Japanese are depicted as brutal enemies who kill infants and bury people alive in China without hesitation. At the end of the cross cutting of



Figure 7. A shot of American factories in *Justice*

reenacted performances and recorded scenes show the cruelty of the Japanese Army, the narrator asks what America must do to bring “Justice for the soldiers of Japan.” The next scene is a strong contrast with shots of highly-advanced industrial areas and urban centers in America, and the slogan “This is America!”

material with the same title. There is a possibility that the film's real title was one of these: *Activity on Iwo Jima* (1944), *To the Shores of Iwo Jima* (1945), *Iwo Jima Invasion* (1945), *D-Day at Iwo Jima* (1945), *Invasion of Iwo Jima* (1945), or *Action on Iwo Jima* (1945).

(see Figure 7). Then another unique cross cutting scene follows to end the film. When the narrator states that “Every forching kills a Jap!”, a scene of dead Japanese soldiers who seem to have been killed by the U.S. Army is paralleled as an image. Following the same pattern, whenever the narrator delivers similar sentences including a tank, truck, shell, and gun, corresponding scenes of dead damaged bodies follow. Notwithstanding its short length, the film is designed to shock audience with its brutal violence and extreme slogans. With such (re)presentations of Japanese enemies, the conventional opposition of the “pure Self” and the “brutal Other” during the colonial rule was destined to be deconstructed (John W. Dower, 1986: 293-317)

Both films proclaim the characterisitic of the DPI’s propaganda activities at the early stage of occupation. As mere a “bulwark” against the Soviet Union, South Korea was not considered as an unequaled advanced base. The region’s political stability was the major aim of the USAMGIK (Chǒng Yong-uk, 2003(b): 473-487). Along with the inadequacy of the American film supply, this expedient aim produced unclearness in early film propaganda activities. *Fury In the Pacific*, *The Battle of Iwo Jima*, and *Justice* were only a few wartime propaganda films which the DPI could procure under these poor conditions. These films are outspoken in their description of Japanese troops and extremely explicit, enough so to expose mangled bodies of the enemies. In contrast, America, the opponent, is depicted attractively. Modern equipment and the high technology of the U.S. are exhibited in a fascinating manner. Combat

scenes show off overwhelming fire and the mobility of the U.S. Forces and fetishized shiny skins of war machines with close-up shots. In a liberated Korea, this keen contradiction probably imprinted the image of the U.S. Army as the liberator in the mind of audiences.

Such a contradictory depiction of two warring sides was hardly seen in U.S. film propaganda activities in occupied Japan. According to the “Summation of Non-Military Activities in Japan and Korea No. 1, September-October, 1945” compiled by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (hereinafter SCAP), one of the initial aims for the public information activities in Japan was the “War Guilt Campaign” (SCAP, Sep. – Oct., 1945). While this campaign included an information and education program to let Japanese citizens know the true facts of Japanese atrocities during wartime, the U.S. officials also warned that they had to dispel the Japanese people’s common belief that Japan’s defeat had been due to industrial and scientific inferiority. Thus wartime U.S. propaganda films, such as *Fury In the Pacific* and *Justice*, which contained a sense of superiority over Japan, hardly seem to have been welcomed. The CAD’s “Breakdown of Documentary Films On Use or On Order for Occupied Areas,” as of November 21, 1947, shows that they did not distribute nor plan to distribute any films depicting WWII in Japan, while they listed 11 WWII films for Germany, 10 for Austria, and 17 for South Korea (CAD, Nov. 21, 1947) (see Appendix 1).

This difference in distribution, however, was not merely caused by the different situations between the former colonialist and the former colony. Although wartime films that contained expressions of hatred toward Japan might work in liberated Korea, distribution of those films was not a result of any elaborate plan. A significant distinction between the two occupied areas was already evident in the 1945 plans for public information activities by the U.S. occupation authorities. No specific guidelines are found in the plan for propaganda in Korea, whereas there were ten concrete objectives listed for the “Motion Picture Industry Guide” in Japan, including ‘life cooperating to build a peaceful nation,’ ‘resettlement of Japanese soldiers,’ ‘solving the postwar problems in Japan,’ and ‘tolerance and respect among all races and classes’ (SCAP, Sep. – Oct. 1945). This different depth in plans for the two areas seems to reflect the order of their strategic importance to the U.S. and the Allied Powers.

3. The Birth of A Nation Reloaded: (Re)Presentation of ‘Liberty Bell’

What is noteworthy about the DPI films during the early years is that the *Sibo* series started a tradition of unique opening and closing graphics that would remain in U.S. public information films in South Korea until the early 1970s. The USIS-Korea major newsreel series *Liberty News*, which were produced and

distributed for 15 years from 1952 to 1967, used bell-striking scenes for the title background. For instance, the opening of *Liberty News* in the 1960s starts with a man who wears Korean traditional clothes striking a bell with all his strength (see Figure 8). Then the sound of the bell mingles with the logotype of the



Figure 8. Title background of *Liberty News* in the 1960s

Liberty Production, the USIS-Korea's film company, to complete a comprehensive imagery of the production. Considering the patterns and the design, the bell is supposed to be the former Bell of Posin'gak Belfry (Bosingak Bell), which hung at a historical spot in the center of Seoul (Cultural

Heritage Administration of Korea, 2012(a)). This title background graphics remained an abstract image of the newsreel until the end of the follow-up newsreel series *Screen Report* in 1972 (*Kyŏngnyang Sinmun*, Jun. 15, 1993).

The typical use of bell striking scenes originated in the first issue of the *Sibo* series in February, 1946. *Sibo* seems to have used the T'aegŭk Mark Bell of Taehŭng Temple (Jikji Museum of Buddhist Arts, 2012). The film shows a still image of the bell in the opening, while the moving image of a bell striking comes in the closing (see Figure 9). Even though the production authority for this series had been the DPI, USAMGIK, the bell image remained after the USIS

years began. USIS-Korea put the image of the Sacred Bell of The Great King Söngdög in the title background for the 1950s Liberty Production films, including *Liberty News* (Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea, 2012(b)). After the 1960s, the Liberty Production replaced the bell image to the moving image, as stated above. This chronicle shows that the U.S. public information agencies consistently used the image of a bell to symbolize their products.

The use of bell in the title background images corresponds to a remarkable anecdote for the first New Year's Eve in liberated Korea.

The Posin'gak Bell, which is seen in the 1960s films, was used as the Watch-Night bell for New Year's Eve from 1946 to 1985. In December 1945, when the USAMGIK and the Chosön pangsong hyöp'oe [Chosön Broadcasters Association] jointly planned the Watch-Night Bell Tolling event, a difference of opinion about the title became an issue. While there was an agreement to keep the original title *Cheya üi chong* [*Watch-Night Bell*] and ring the bell on the night of December 31, a counterview was also suggested, namely that they could hold the event at noon of New Year's Day with a new title, *Chayu üi chong* [*Liberty Bell*] (*Chayu Sinmun*, Dec. 27, 1945: 2). Although the controversy



Figure 9. Opening and closing graphics of *Sibö*

seems to have been ended by ringing the bell at noon of New Year's Eve day at last (*Tonga Ilbo*, Jan. 1, 1946: 2), the coinage of *Chayu ũi chong* is still worthy of notice. The proposer of this name was the U.S. Captain Wills, who was working for the Seoul Chungang Pangsongguk [Korea Broadcasting Corporation] (*Chayu Sinmun*, Dec. 27, 1945: 2). It is highly probable that *Chayu ũi chong* was a Korean equivalent to the "Liberty Bell," the symbol of the U.S.A.'s founding and independence.

In Korea, since ringing of Posin'gak Bell had been strictly banned during colonial rule, it was understood as a national symbol (Pak Chŏn-yŏl, 1998). The U.S. information agencies also recognized this fact, so the OWI's radio propaganda "Voice of America (hereinafter VOA)" broadcast a program targeting Koreans under Japanese rule in 1944, titled *Posin'gak Chong* [*The Chongno Bell*] (Pak Ki-sŏng, 1994).



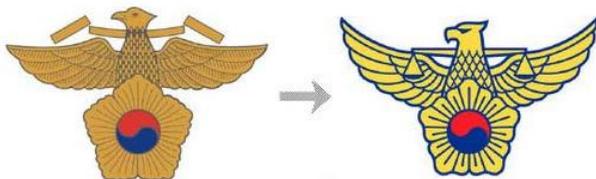
Figure 10. The Liberty Bell depicted in the USIS-Korea's television footage *Korean Entertainers* (1971)

U.S. public information agencies intended to connect the Posin'gak bell's pre-existing meaning of freedom and independence to the symbolic meaning of the Liberty Bell that originated in American history (see Figure 10). According to Paige, the

U.S. Government actively utilized the Liberty Bell as a symbol of the "Free

World” during the Cold War, by adopting it as an emblem for the U.S. Savings Bond campaign and inviting East-European visitors to Philadelphia to see the bell (John C. Paige, 1988: 69-71). Therefore, it was not a mere coincidence that Captain Wills wanted to call the Posin’gak Bell as *Chayu ũi chong* [Liberty Bell].¹⁹ In the same way, the DPI’s first documentary in 1945 was titled *Chayu ũi chong ũl ullyŏra* [Ring the Liberty Bell] (*Chung-ang Sinmun*, Dec. 11, 1945: 2), and another VOA program for Korean listeners in 1946 was titled *Han’guk Chayu ũi chong* [Korean Liberty Bell] (International Broadcasting Division, Aug. 7, 1946). This adoption of a Korean bell demonstrates the U.S. information agencies’ serious consideration of localization.²⁰

¹⁹ Another interesting case that shows the adaptation of the American national symbol is found in the emblem of the Korean National Police Agency (hereinafter KNPA). In 2005, KNPA changed its official emblem from the figure of a bald eagle to that of a Steller’s sea eagle (see figure below). The bald eagle figure had been used since October of 1945 under USAMGIK, but KNPA did not change the design even after the establishment of the ROK Government. It is said that there were criticisms of KNPA’s use of an American national symbol as a symbol of a Korean national agency. Steller’s sea eagles live in coastal Northeastern Asia (*Han’gyŏre Sinmun*, Oct. 21, 2005: 10)



²⁰ Such a strategy of localizing the idea of the Liberty Bell was not only applied to the Posin’gak Bell. *Sibo*’s T’aegŭk Mark Bell seems to be integrating the national symbol of T’aegŭk mark with the significance of the Liberty Bell. Further, the Liberty Production’s 1950s title background appropriated the symbolic national meaning of the Sacred Bell, which has a related folk tale called *Emille chong* [Emille Bell] (see Figure 11). Emille Bell was another name for the Sacred Bell, and because of its appealing aspect, the tragic story of Emille chong was enjoyed as a national tale. For instance, from the Liberation to the mid-1950s, the famous director Pak Ku, and his musical troupe Pando Kagŭktan presented an operetta titled Emille chong, and promoted the show as “the legend of the nation” (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Sep. 15, 1952: 2).

At the heart of the symbolic politics led by the USAMGIK, the signification of Posin'gak Bell tolling event showed a considerable change in discourses. Its original function of notifying the populace of a curfew was transformed into a notification of freedom and independence. On



Figure 11. Title background of the Liberty Production films in the 1950s

March 1, 1946, the first Independence Movement Day, the bell was tolled during the official commemoration ceremony (*Tonga Ilbo*, Mar. 1, 1946: 2).

4. Education for “Free World” Citizenship

Except for war documentaries, the DPI films produced or adapted for distribution in 1946 demonstrated a tendency towards practical topics, such as hygiene, manufacturing, agriculture, education, and vocational knowledge (see Tables 1 and 2). These might also have reflected the demands of governmental administration. To the contrary, the OCI's selection in 1947 and 1948 presents the image of America as a role model. American films such as *Tuesday In November* were imported to educate the electoral population in preparation for the South Korean general election on May 10, 1948. Other films like *New*

England, *The Story of Lincoln Tunnel*, and *Swing King* were intended to introduce American culture and civilization. After the end of the *Sibo* series in late 1947, the OCI's new series began immediately in January, 1948. It is remarkable that the title of the new series was *Taehan Chŏnjinpo* [*Progress of Korea*], in that *Taehan* was an expression mindful of the new state that would be established soon. In doing so, the OCI of the USAFIK claimed self-understanding as a nation builder.

This progress shows the changing role of the U.S. public information agency. As a foreign organization engaged in the mission of building a new state, the OCI reflected the dual aspects of the U.S. occupation: Direct intervention to establish a pro-American government and contain the Communist North, and devotion to leading the people of the new state to learn the American way of life so it could be integrated into the new world order. While concrete prescriptions for the latter had already been shown in the plans for Japan directly after the World War II (SCAP, Sep. – Oct., 1945), it arrived late in South Korea to prepare for that separate government (USAFIK, Jun. 20, 1947).

In publicizing the “American system of life” through films (USAFIK, Nov. 10, 1947), American values were presented as both ‘universal’ and ‘modern.’ According to the activities reported by the OCI in January 1948, at least four American public information films were released and adapted to Korean language for distribution between November 1947 and January 1948

(USAFIK, Jan. 15, 1948). These films were *Nation's Capitol* (1947), which introduced Washington DC and the U.S. Capitol; *New England* (year unknown), which introduced the traditions and cultures in the Northeastern part of America; *The Story of Lincoln Tunnel* (c1943), which depicts the construction of the Lincoln Tunnel in New York; and *Swing King* (year unknown), which is about the American tradition of jazz music. These films were selected to be the providers of information and knowledge about Western cultures, democracy, and social institutions. While they were considered to contain universal knowledge, an absolute majority were produced by American film producers.

One of the key examples among these films is *Tuesday In November* (1945). In April, 1948, just one month before the general election for a South Korean separate government, *Tuesday In November* was shipped from the U.S. (USAFIK, Apr. 15, 1948). This film was shown at local branch information centers in May right before the election (USAFIK, May 15, 1948). Produced by the Overseas Branch of the OWI in 1945, as Number XIII of *The American Scene* series, this documentary depicts an election day in the small city of California, Riverton, in 1944. 'Tuesday in November' refers to the Presidential election day. In a balloting place set in a school, the principal assumes the Election Board Chair, and two observers from the Democratic and Republican parties attend the election. After the voting scene showing the first voter, an animated scene follows to explain the principles involved in forming the U.S. Government. Then come scenes of Roosevelt and Dewey's electioneering, a

nationwide media campaign conducted through radio broadcasting, the actual election day, and counting of the votes (see Figure 12). Finally the film ends with Roosevelt's victory, depicting the crowd gathering in Times Square in



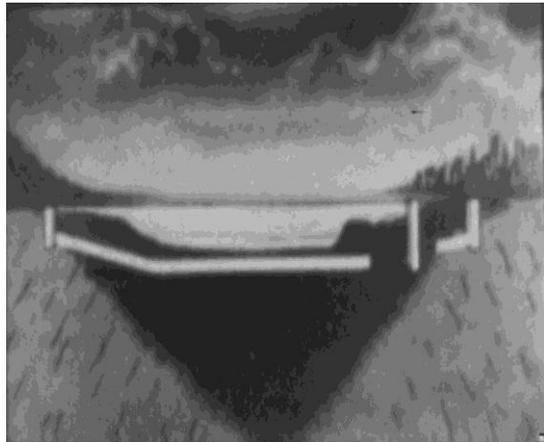
Figure 12. A scene from *Tuesday in November*

New York City to cheer under a neon sign notifying the name of the new President of the United States.

The lesson of this film, that legislative organs must be organized using a strict and rational procedure of election that represents individual voters' political opinions, might be appropriate to educate the general electorate in a month in South Korea. Abstract images of animation conveying the meaning of American democracy and montage scenes depicting the active election campaigns of both parties are part of the cinematic attraction of this film, well placed to catch the eyes of the audiences. In addition, a variety of American images, ranging those in from the small indistinctive city of Riverton to the fancy neon signs of Manhattan, turn the landscape of America into a spectacle. This attractive portrayal of American environmental diversity corresponds with the topic of political diversity, linking the local with the federal.

Nation's Capitol was released at a cinema in November, 1947 (*Hansǒng Ilbo*, Nov. 7, 1947: 2). It introduces the tourist attractions of the capital city, Washington DC, introducing the Lincoln Memorial, Washington Monument, and Arlington National Cemetery, and accompanying commentaries on the principles and systems of American political organizations and an introduction of the White House and the Capitol. The film is an episode of the *March of Time*, which was an influential newsreel series offered during World War II. Its style

of tourist guide film accorded a popular style to this film. *The Story of Lincoln Tunnel* rather takes the style of an educational film; for instance, an animated file picture offers an architectural exposition of the tunnel in a



crosscutting scene between actual real scenes of its construction (see

Figure 13. An animated scene of *The Story of Lincoln Tunnel*

Figure 13). By introducing a major city of America and a grand-scale engineering project, this film succeeds in exhibiting the fruits of American modernization in an appealing way.

5. Landscape of South Korea: The Ethnographic Korean Self

In preparation for the general election in May 1948, the OCI produced *The People Vote* for election education by outsourcing that task to Director Ch'oe In-kyu's production company (KOFA, 2006: 417-466). Then the OCI began to plan for the next period. One month before the election, a new project was given to the same outsourcing company that produced *The People Vote*. The new film would show a concert of "the Korean Symphony Orchestra and Chang Chu Wha" in a 20-minute short film. Chang Chu-wha was a Korean modern dancer taught by Ch'oe Sŭng-hŭi, a top dancer during the colonial rule. The production of this film started in May, 1948 (USAFIK, May 15, 1948; Jun. 15, 1948). It is a remarkable case that shows that U.S. public information agency concern was expanding to introductory and ethnographical depictions of Korean culture. While ethnography had been a common form of documentary since its first stage, this change is worthy of notice since it reflected the U.S. agency's strategy of localization at the very beginning of a new country.

Another case to investigate is *Korean Farm Life [Han'guk nongch'on saenghwal]* (c1948), which shows an aspect of USIS-produced films after the establishment of the ROK Government. This film was one of the earliest produced by USIS-Korea.²¹ Han Ken Lee, a second-generation Korean-

²¹ It seems that the film was cranked in as early as November of 1947 (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Nov. 23, 1947: 4), but CAD's request for license acquisition for the film came in February,

American First Lieutenant, shot and directed the film in 16mm Kodacolor. It was produced to introduce Korean farmers and their daily lives to the Korean community in Hawaii (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Nov. 23, 1947: 4). Thus, this film is not an example of films made primarily for Korean audiences. However, it does have the original form of a Christian narrative that would repeatedly appear in later works made by USIS-Korea, including *Ward of Affection* (1953) and *Building Together* (1955).



Figure 14. Opening title and scenes from *Korean Farm Life*

This film has a style of ethnography by depicting the life of a typical Korean farm village, but it is still more of a semi-documentary by starring a professional actress. A Korean film star, Kim Sin-chaе, took the leading role of ‘Tong-hae,’ and the actor who played the part of her brother ‘Hak-po’ also seems to be a professional (see Figure 14). They come from a farming family, living in a town at the foot of Namhan Mountain. *Korean Farm Life* introduces

1949, which allows one to presume the crank-up time was late 1948 (Robert L. Duncan, Feb. 4, 1949).

farm life, customs, and traditional festivities of Korea by following the daily routine of this brother and sister. Korean farmers are portrayed as diligent and cooperative, through depiction of farm work, harvest time, the marketplace, and harvest festivals. The voiceover narrator ends the film by saying in Korean “This is the scenery of farm villages in the Republic of Korea.”

Except for this last comment, the ROK as a political entity does not appear in this film. It only shows the daily life of farmers in a small rural village. However, this lack does not signify that the film is completely unconnected with any political context and the technology of government. As

seen in the small city in California in *Tuesday In November*, the emphasis on ‘the local’ stands out in this film as well. A similar move is shown in other



Figure 15. *Munhwa P'ungsok [Culture and Custom]*, vol.1, Iss.2

P'ungsok [Culture and Custom], the magazine first published in April, 1948 by the OCI, the second issue offered an article titled “Local Mail Delivery Wagon” (see Figure 15). In this manner, stress on local communities and cultures consistently appears in U.S. public information products. The farm village in *Korean Farm Life* offers a model for a healthy Korean community, one built on

self-help and cooperation, where the local person plays a role to support the central entity through self-reliance and self-improvement. It is a technology that might also work as a means of governing. This aspect is discussed in Chapter 10 and 11, when examining with the USIS-Korea film, *Korean Editor* (1958) and a Korean commercial feature, *P'aldogangsan* (1967).

In this regard, it is also worth paying attention to the rural village and its Christian characteristics. Its daily life is not so different from a Protestant Christian life in the West. The narrator comments that Christian churches in Korea had been in existence only for 60 years then, but emphasizes that “Millions of believers in over five thousand rural churches sincerely are holding worship every Sunday. There is no Korean who sees ever-growing crops on plowed ground everyday but is an infidel.” While other religions do not even appear in the film, Christianity, according to this film, had already achieved universality in Korean farm villages by the late 1940s. The beginning of mission works in Korea traces back to the eighteenth century; however legacies of a traditional society and the colonial rule of Japan prevented Christian values from becoming dominant in the first half of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, the everyday life of Protestant women illustrated naturally in this film makes such practice look universal as well as traditional. Korean rural Christian churches were, so to speak, just one of the many local examples of the ‘universal’ religion.

However, the real world situation seems to have been significantly different then from the film. According to a column written by Im Yŏngbin, Secretary of the Korean Association for Christian Education, on November, 1948, there were only 400,000 Christian believers in South Korea out of total population of about 21 million (Yŏngbin Im, 1948; *Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Sep. 15, 1948: 1). A 1949 survey on religious groups in South Korea tells that the total number of Christian believers, including Catholic, Protestant and Anglican, was around 500,000 while there were about 5 million Buddhists and 900,000 Ch'ŏndogyo [Heavenly Way Doctrine] believers. Moreover, though the film's narrator says that there were over 5,000 rural churches, the actual number of all Christian churches in South Korea including urban ones totaled only 340 (*Tonga Ilbo*, Jun. 27, 1949: 2).

This complete divorce from reality seems to have been rooted in the U.S. agency's intention to set forth a desirable model for this newly liberated country. As early as December 1945, two months after the establishment of the USAMGIK, the Section on Religions in the Bureau of Education of the USAMGIK reported the result of a survey on religions in Korea ([Anonymous], 1945(b)). This report classified the various religious bodies in Korea into six categories: Christian, Buddhism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism, Quasi-religions, and Shamanism. While it does not provide either the concrete numbers of each group of believers or a component ratio of the whole religious population, the reporter implies strong preference for Christianity and expresses

concern about its prospects: “The feeling is general that the field is open to Christianity, and that in the building of a New Korea there is no great competition to be feared from [of] other religious bodies” ([Anonymous], 1945(b)). Although the Section claimed to support the freedom of religion, it appears obvious that they also had another aim, namely, to set up a favorable environment for Christian bodies.

It was not just a matter of the reporter’s preference, but rather the consistent policy vision of the USAMGIK in terms of political factors. In November 1945, the SCAP set up the Department of Religion under the Civil Information and Education Section (hereinafter CIE) and began to reinstate Christian missionaries who had been deported from both Japan and Korea during the Pacific War (Pak Sŭng-kil, 1998). While this policy was set in the name of liberation from totalitarian rule, it also served as a momentum and means to absorb missionary families into important posts of the USAMGIK since they had considerable experience and knowledge about Korea. Thus, Korean Christian elites could easily build a network in the highest circles, while several groups of Korean elites who had reason to uphold indigenous religious traditions could not gain political power under the U.S. occupation (Pak Sŭng-kil, 1998).

Under the USAMGIK, Christianity resonated best with the ruling ideology. It was a religion with a strong anti-Communist propensity in favored the status quo, receptive to the Western ideal of democracy, and well equipped

with systemized churches in place (Pak Sŭng-kil, 1998). At the same time, other religions, tinged with national consciousness, including Ch'ŏndogyo, Buddhism and Confucianism, were in vastly different situation. Many of these religious groups opposed the establishment of a separate the government in South Korea. Claiming a national unity government to include the North, Ch'ŏndogyo and parts of some Buddhist groups joined together to build a united front with the Left. This difference, understandably, guaranteed the different political circumstances of the other religious groups after the establishment of the ROK Government (Kang In-ch'ŏl, 1994). It gave Christianity a stable social status, which Pak Sŭng-kil called hegemony in the religious market, even though its population was much smaller than other two religions during the 1940s (Kang In-ch'ŏl, 1994; Pak Sŭng-kil, 1998).

Everyday life, as depicted in *Korean Farm Life*, is a constituted picture rather than a reflection of reality. In other words, it delivers a normative model that realizes the 'universal' value of America at the level of 'the local.' Later in Chapter 5, other continuing aspects will be discussed when exploring two films of the 1950s: *Ward of Affection* and *Building Together*.

Chapter 3. Movie Comes to the Village: Film Spectatorship and The Negotiation of Identity

Under USAMGIK, the South Korean film market was dominated by Hollywood films. This control was mainly caused by USAMGIK's motion picture policy, which allowed CMPE to monopolize the distribution of films (Yecies and Shim, 2011: 141-167). Although this policy encountered ferocious opposition from Korean filmmakers, the proprietors who owned the means of distribution supported the government. Compared to filmmakers, major theater owners in South Korea had different interests in USAMGIK's open bidding policy to loan former Japanese-owned cinemas in March of 1946. Later they became highly cooperative with the government by not participating in autonomous movements when CFA and the leftist filmmakers were suppressed (Han Sang-ŏn, 2007(a)). Such consistent cooperation with restrictive policies was in many ways made possible through the past experience of the proprietors during the colonial period.²² Theater owners' fine-tuned teamwork with USAMGIK can be explained by "the Korean bourgeoisie's basic contentment with authoritarianism" that was indeed learned during the colonial rule (Carter J. Eckert, 1991: 253-

²² For instance, Hong Ch'an, who was the Chairman of the Sŏul-si Kŭkchang hyŏbŭihoe [Seoul Theatre Conference] in 1946, had been in charge of merging Korean film companies into CFP for the Japanese Government-General in 1940 and become Acting Manager of CFP in 1942 (IRCA, 2009). Some of the theater owners, including Kim Kap-ki, had experience in the entertainment business (Chŏn T'ack-i, 1941). Many other owners were not from the entertainment business, but had accumulated wealth under colonial rule (Han Sang-ŏn, 2007(a)).

259). In this monopolistic structure, newsreels and cultural films of DPI and later OCI were shown in cinemas as co-features before the commercial features were shown (Myöng-cha Yi, 2011: 393-673).

Such a stable dominance of USAMGIK films, however, was the case for urban show-places. Since the CFA filmmakers decided to popularize their movement and began to operate mobile screening units in September of 1946 (Han Sang-ön, 2007(a)), local communities became the battlefield of the film propaganda between the Left and the Right. Thus, the mobile units of CFA and other leftist filmmakers groups were regarded as a rival of the Mobile Education Unit of USAMGIK, which had been activated in May of 1946 (SCAP, May, 1946). OCI also had set up local branch information centers and operated its mobile units since September of 1947 (James L. Stewart, Jan. 15 1948). Their aim was to persuade South Koreans to understand the legitimacy of the general election for a separate government, which both the CFA and leftist filmmakers strongly opposed.

In the operations report of the Cheju Center, OCI, USAFIK in July of 1948, the OCI officials did not stop showing films to residents despite the acute situation in Cheju, where an uprising had started on April 3 of 1948 as a demonstration against the separate establishment of a South Korean government and later ended with the massacre of around 20,000 civilians (Ko Ch'ang-hun, 2004). The screening events were held in "a barn secured for the purpose."

At the same time, for purposes of psychological warfare, OCI continued air drops of leaflets (Ralph R. Busick, July 23, 1948). The OCI films were selected to publicize American democracy and the American way of life in the midst of a bitter conflict between local residents and the USAMGIK. It is highly probable that there were frantic negotiations in front of the screen, on whether the audiences would accept the world presented as a picture.²³

In this way, during state formation in postcolonial South Korea, the public was targeted as the audience for the movie screenings ‘delivered’ by the propaganda agencies of the new world superpower, the United States and its opponents. Mobile screening units conducted their missions by applying the techniques of maneuver warfare, infiltration of rural communities, and sometimes performing a ritual procedure to reconfirm the limits of the leverage possessed by the propaganda authorities. Local audiences thus were situated in the middle of the hard negotiation between the messages of the present supranational power and their own understanding of such propagandistic illusions.

²³ On the other hand, the place of negotiation was set in the middle of entertainments carried on with rare pleasure. In the same month in Kwangju, residents seemed to be deeply fascinated by these propaganda film screenings. The center operations report states that motion picture activities were limited at the Kwangju Center for two months due to a lack of electricity, and requests for the showing of the films became numerous, “with great enthusiasm” (Ralph R. Busick, July 23, 1948). This reaction shows how such film showing activities were attractive to the audiences of that time.

1. Opening of Local Information Centers and Election Education

Judging from the USAMGIK report titled *History of the Office of Civil Information, 30. May 1947 through 30. June 1948*, together with other operations reports from local centers, film propaganda activities were emphasized the most in May of 1948, when the OCI was educating Koreans in preparation for the general election on May 10 of that year (see Table 6). Starting with the opening of the Pusan Center on September 12, 1947 until that of the Kaesŏng Center on May 6, 1948, the OCI set up 9 local centers throughout the Peninsula south of the 38th parallel. These included centers in Pusan (Southern Kyŏngsang Province), Kwangju (Southern Chŏlla Province), Taejŏn (Southern Ch‘ungch‘ŏng Province), Taegu (Northern Kyŏngsang Province), Chŏnju (Northern Chŏlla Province), Ch‘ŏngju (Northern Ch‘ungch‘ŏng Province) and Ch‘unch‘ŏn (Kangwŏn Province) (James L. Stewart, Jan. 15 1948; Feb. 25, 1948; Mar. 20, 1948; Apr. 15, 1948; May 15, 1948; [Anonymous], Jun. 15, 1948). Each center secured screening facilities, a viewing room, and mobile units. As seen in Ch‘unch‘ŏn Center reports dating from June 15 to September 15, 1948, the mobile units of each local center covered all the *kuns* [counties] inside its province (see Table 6).

For election education, production of the OCI domestic film, *The People Vote*, was started in January of 1948, and the final cut was reviewed and

distributed on a nationwide scale in August. This film was released not only through the OCI channels, but also commercial cinemas. For five months, the whole process of film production, distribution, and release was completed with great speed. Total attendance throughout the country was approximately 3,000,000. Other election-related films, such as *Tuesday in November* and *Irök'e t'up'yo handa [How to Vote]*,²⁴ were also shown frequently (see Table 6). Centers operated different types of education and propaganda programs along with film screenings, including photo exhibitions, magazine and leaflet distributions, special lectures, library operations, and English classes. The Taejŏn Center's August 1948 report stated that film screening was an effective tool to combine with other activities (James L. Stewart, Sep. 15, 1948).

The OCI and its local centers continued their public information operations actively after the election, as seen in the report dated September 15, 1948. In that same report, a plan for transfer of the OCI function from the Department of the Army to the State Department is revealed. Stewart states that the OCI programs would not be reduced in any drastic scale after the transition (James L. Stewart, Sep. 15, 1948). Therefore, most of the functions at the local information centers were to be given to USIS-Korea.

²⁴ *Irök'e t'up'yo handa [How to Vote]* was a locally produced ten-minute long film showing the voting procedure (USIS-Korea, 1964: 51). Comparing to *The People Vote*, the production of this film was not described in the OCI reports. It is probable that this film was used as supplementary to *The People Vote* and *Tuesday in November*.

Table 6. Film Activities reported by the OCI in 1948 (James L. Stewart, Jan. 15 1948; Feb. 25, 1948; Mar. 20, 1948; Apr. 15, 1948; May 15, 1948; Aug. 15, 1948; Sep. 15, 1948; [Anonymous], Jun. 15, 1948; Ralph R. Busick, Jul. 15, 1948; Jul. 23, 1948)

Period	Report	Operations	Location
Nov. and Dec., 1947	Jan. 15, 1948	* Screened <i>Nation's Capitol</i> , <i>New England</i> , and <i>Korean Newsreel No.25</i> . Total attendance 60,000. * Preparation for distribution completed: American public information films including <i>Lincoln Tunnel</i> and <i>Swing King</i> , and Korean local film <i>Peace Returns to the Village</i> .	In general
Jan., 1948	Feb. 25, 1948	* Screened 5 documentaries including <i>Lincoln Tunnel</i> and <i>New England</i> , and newsreel titled <i>Progress of Korea No.1</i> . Average attendance 670 per screening. * Production of <i>People Vote</i> begins.	In general
Mar., 1948	Apr. 15, 1948	* Production of <i>People Vote</i> scheduled to complete April 10. * Importation and distribution of <i>Tuesday in November</i> scheduled * Importation of <i>World Food Problem</i> and <i>Lessons in Living</i> completed * Screened a total 8 films with attendance 162,205.	In general
Apr., 1948	May 15, 1948	* Production of <i>People Vote</i> completed. Preview on April 12. Distribution of 15 prints of 35mm film and 20 prints of 16mm to cinemas and local centers scheduled until April 20. * Preparation for production of a 20-minute short film depicting concert of Korean Symphony Orchestra and Chang Chu Wha	In general
May, 1948	May 12, 1948	* Screened election education films after opening of the Kaesŏng Center on May 6. Attendance around 3,500.	Kaesŏng
	Jun. 1, 1948	* Screened <i>Tuesday in November</i> , <i>Progress of Korea</i> , and <i>United Nations</i> .	Ch'unch'ŏn
	Jun. 3, 1948	* Acquisition of <i>People Vote</i> and <i>How to Vote</i> . Screened from April 23 to May 9, at 15 places including middle schools and village halls in 13 county towns, with attendance 11,000~12,000. * Numerous visits, from Center opening day on May 5 to May 9. Screened <i>People Vote</i> , <i>How to Vote</i> , <i>Tuesday in November</i> , <i>Children at Play</i> , and <i>Progress of Korea</i> at the information center and the city hall, with attendance around 8,000.	Taejŏn
	Jun. 8, 1948	* Screened <i>USA</i> and <i>The Nation's Capitol</i> , 5 times a day, with introduction given beforehand.	Pusan
	Jun. 15, 1948	* Screened <i>People Vote</i> at the Office of Civil Information, and cinemas. Total attendance around 3,000,000. * Screened at each information center, with total attendance 673,372. * Production of Chang Chu Wha film begins.	In general
		* Screened <i>People Vote</i> and <i>How to Vote</i> , with attendance 50,000	Kwangju
		* Total attendance 3,000.	Kaesŏng

		* Screened <i>People Vote</i> and <i>How to Vote</i> , with attendance 11,000~12,000. Branches and city hall attendance 8,000.	Taejŏn
		* Center attendance of 2,000 and 3 down town and 3 local area screenings, attendance of 6,000.	Ch'unch'ŏn
		* Information center attendance 10,192.	Pusan
Jun., 1948	Jul. 15, 1948	* Total attendance 448,110. * Production plans started for a documentary on the end of the U.S. occupation.	In general
		* Outdoor screening of <i>Peace Comes to The Village</i> , joint sponsored by the Ch'ŏngju Center and the Northern Ch'ungh'ŏng Provincial Government Bureau of Agriculture. Attendance 40,000.	Ch'ŏngju
	Jul. 23, 1948	* Film screening in a barn for security	Cheju
		* Mobile screening of <i>Tuesday in November</i> . In July and August, <i>Grain Collection</i> scheduled to be shown 24 times	Ch'unch'ŏn
		* Film screening postponed due to lack of electricity. Many requests for screenings.	Kwangju
Jul., 1948	Aug. 15, 1948	* Released <i>Progress of Korea Nos. 15 and 16</i> , <i>World News Nos. 307, 308 and 309</i> , a special feature of <i>Inauguration of President Rhee Syngman</i> , Korean adaptation of U.S. documentaries <i>The House I Live In</i> and <i>Blue Ribbon</i> . * Total attendance in all the local information centers of 1,402,000.	In general
		* Attendance of 2,500. Most screening shown outside.	Cheju
		* Mobile screening of <i>Peace Comes to the Village</i> . * Mobile team traveled approx. 500 miles and offered 14 outdoor screenings to 38,500 persons.	Ch'unch'ŏn
		* Screenings held 5 times a week to capacity crowds.	Kaesŏng
Aug., 1948	Sep. 15, 1948	* Total attendance of 63,000 for 21 different screenings.	Ch'ŏngju
		* Regular screenings 3 times a day to capacity crowds.	Chŏnju
		* Motion picture team visited every <i>kuns</i> , and showed <i>Peace Comes to the Village</i> , <i>Tuesday in November</i> , and also short newsreels. Up to mid-August, 80,000 persons watched <i>Peace Comes to the Village</i> , and more watched <i>Tuesday in November</i> . Seven combination music-movie performances given with great success. A crowd of 10,000 gathered for the show in Chumunjin.	Ch'unch'ŏn
		* First outdoor screening with attendance of 20,000.	Kaesŏng
		* Attendance increased from 19,000 in July to 24,000 in August, partially because of the U.S. Steel Co. documentary <i>The Making and Shaping of Steel</i> .	Pusan
		* Due to hot and sticky weather, indoor screenings in the center restricted to special groups. Group showing was held 2 times a day with average attendance of 200.	Taejŏn
		* Evening English classes used films for language instruction.	Taejŏn

It is significant to remember that the operation of local information centers started to prepare for a separate government. As obvious in the Cheju Uprising case, the establishment of a South Korean separate government was an object of intense controversy throughout the Peninsula, accompanied by violent conflicts between leftists and rightists, and sometimes even guerilla actions (Ko Ch'ang-hun, 2004). In the midst of the controversy, OCI information centers were set up in all provinces in South Korea to represent the policies and political aims of the U.S. Army for the Korean Peninsula. In other words, these centers became strongholds for the 'war of position' during an intense political divide (Antonio Gramsci, 1971: 206-276). Center activities not only increased the level of contact between U.S. authorities and Korean local residents, but also guaranteed strategic footholds for a stable operation of the propaganda machine. The programs were routinized, and local residents frequently visited center and packed their viewing rooms. Mobile units covered smaller areas than before, since they were assigned at the provincial level rather than the national level. In other words, securing these strategic footholds for propaganda activities assured effective actions in the 'war of maneuver' (Antonio Gramsci, 1971: 206-276).

2. Organization and Operation of the Mobile Education Units

In terms of the ‘war of maneuver,’ it is worthy to notice that both DPI and OCI conducted film propaganda activities in provincial areas actively and sometimes vigorously. According to a report on the public information affairs of the USAMGIK in May, 1946, the DPI established a tour plan for the Korean Mobile Education Unit nationwide. The report writes that this unit, consisting of 16 actors, actresses, speakers and technicians, was to visit all the provincial capitals on a special train and visit other small cities by motor vehicle. It also adds that two American films were to be screened with Korean subtitles, and that a drama would be presented by the actors (SCAP, May, 1946). A follow-up report in June writes that this unit had recently concluded a tour of Northern Kyöngsang Province, and finished its nation-wide tour on June 23 (SCAP, Jun., 1946). Another report in September of the same year states that attendance at some of the outdoor shows reached 15,000, while indoor audiences were smaller (SCAP, Sep., 1946).

More emphasis was placed on the provinces after OCI took over the propaganda authority from DPI. A report by Director Stewart on November 10, 1947, five months after the establishment of the office, states that OCI considered “decentralization in operation” as an essential aim and endeavored to “operate into the countryside” from “a smooth, impressive headquarters” located in Seoul. After OCI organized a field trip to rural communities directly from

Seoul, Stewart evaluates in the report that this trip was the single most successful feature of OCI (James L. Stewart, Nov. 10, 1947). From July to November of 1947, according to the report, OCI carried out 6 provincial trips and showed short documentaries to audiences of up to 5,000, traveling by jeep and truck. It writes that OCI procured 200 projectors for these events (James L. Stewart, Nov. 10, 1947). It seems also that this activity continued through the next year, when each local center began to operate on its own cycle. As stated above, each center's mobile screening operations seem to have been considerably successful. For instance, according to a report in July, 1948, over 40,000 farmers and their families attended outdoor mobile motion picture shows jointly sponsored by the Ch'ŏngju Center and the Provincial Bureau of Agriculture (Ralph R. Busick, Jul. 15, 1948).

However, these field trips were not an invention of the U.S. agencies during the USAMGIK years. As seen in Koons' plan for Korea during the Pacific War, itinerant film exhibitions were already common for Korean audiences. A news article from August, 1920 reports that the Japanese Government-General ordered a provincial tour of a motion picture for local heads in Korea that contained scenes from the organized inspection tour to Japan (*Tonga Ilbo*, Aug. 20, 1920: 2). This signifies that the colonial government utilized mobile projection as a tool of propaganda already in the early 1920s. The other news from 1922 reports that a Kyoyuk Ch'ŏngnyŏn Hwaldong Sajindae [Youth Educational Motion-Picture Squad], affiliated with the

T'ongyŏng Ch'ŏngnyŏndan [Young Men's Association of the city of T'ongyŏng], arrived in the town of Naju and screened educational films for two nights (*Tonga Ilbo*, Oct. 19, 1922: 4). In other words, there were specialized groups of people in charge of mobile film projection. They were called Hwal-sa-dae [活寫隊, Motion-Picture Squad].

It is probable that some Hwal-sa-daes were set up under the Japanese Government-General and its provincial governments, while others were affiliated with various half-public-and-half-private organizations, such as youth associations and educational institutions. The topics of their propaganda activities varied: Introduction of modernized civilization, lectures on current issues, moral education, public health and hygiene, and more (Kim Han-sang, 2009).²⁵ Since the 1930s, war propaganda film screenings through mobile projection were actively conducted, in relation to the outbreak and development of the war. There are several newspaper reports from this time that convey news of war film screening events or mobile projections operated by military organizations (Kim Han-sang, 2009).

This accumulation of experience in mobile cinema was what attracted Koons' attention. Thus, itinerant film exhibition was a typical form of film

²⁵ Another news piece from 1928 records that a Hwal-sa-dae of the Southern Kyŏngsang Provincial Government showed an educational film on hygiene to an audience of up to 1,000 in a schoolyard (*Chosŏn Ilbo*, Apr. 20, 1928: 4).

propaganda and shows continuity throughout both the Japanese and the U.S. occupations. Unlike urban areas that had been actively absorbing new culture and information from the outside world, the provinces suffered from a chronic information gap. Hence the ruling powers judged that these locals could receive messages from verbal propagation, performances and moving image exhibitions more easily than through usual printed media distribution. Mobile film screening, as a tool of information warfare, was a form of maneuver warfare. Film units infiltrated and penetrated the provinces. In particular during the U.S. occupation, there was a fierce competition between propaganda and counter-propaganda between the leftists and the rightists, so that field trips into the countryside were also as competitive as other ideological types of warfare. While cinemas in the cities fulfilled the role of a strategic foothold to lure the urban audience, itinerant film exhibition was significantly active to approach the everyday lives of people in the countryside directly and mobilize the rural audience.

3. Rural Audiences and the Spectatorship of 'Movie-Coming'

The U.S. public information agency operation of local centers and mobile screening units should be examined in terms of the formation of early cinematic

spectatorship in rural areas. While the culture of everyday movie-going had been already formed in Korea before the Liberation, it was confined to urban areas, mostly Seoul. For instance, although annual attendance in Korea in 1940 was 21 million, there were only 45 *ŭps* [towns] and 7 *myŏns* [townships] which had facilities to show films. In another 28 *ŭps* and 2,371 *myŏns*, there were no regular movie houses (Yu Sŏn-yŏng, 2009). Itinerant film exhibition was the alternative in those local villages. Even during the mid-1950s to the 1960s in South Korea, mobile screenings played a role by offering initial cinematic experiences to local people (Wi Kyŏnghye, 2010). That is to say, unlike the capital city Seoul which had already formed its commercial film markets in the 1900s, local areas had no basis for the formation of these markets and permanent theaters. Thus, mobile screenings, conducted both by propagandists and showmen, defined the early cinematic experience of local audiences. Movie houses, which might be stable channels for commercial film distribution, numbered only 30 in the whole country in 1953, and 7 of these were located in Seoul and 4 in Pusan. Many other provinces had no cinemas at the time (Wi Kyŏnghye, 2010). This gap in cinematic experience between the urban and rural areas shows that mobile screenings by the Japanese Government-General and later the U.S. public information agencies were crucial and did explain the nature of the local spectatorship in South Korea.

These facts raise an interesting question regarding early cinema spectatorship in South Korea. There have been meaningful analyses of the

urban visual culture and the formation of cinematic spectatorship in South Korea during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Yu Sŏn-yŏng, 2009; Yi Sun-chin, 2009; Kim So-yŏng, 2010). However, it is doubtful that this urban experience should be considered as a general model of Korean modernity, considering the extreme gap in cinematic experiences between cities and provinces until the 1950s. Itinerant film exhibition is the opposite of everyday ‘movie-going’ in Seoul, and could be called ‘movie-coming.’ Movie-coming defined the cinematic experience in rural villages for over half a century after the first film screening in Korea. Considering that the historical rural-urban migration began in earnest in the 1950s and 1960s, causing a concentration of population in major cities (Pak Sang-t‘ae, 1979), rural experiences should be regarded as one of the major factors in the formation of early spectatorship.

Tom Gunning’s theoretical framework on early cinema, which largely supports the precedent studies on urban cinematic experiences in Korea, should be reviewed in the following context:

While the impulse to curiositas may be as old as Augustine, there is no question that the nineteenth century sharpened this form of “lust of the eyes” and its commercial exploitation. Expanding urbanisation with its kaleidoscopic succession of city sights, the growth of consumer society with its new emphasis on stimulating spending through visual display, and the escalating horizons of colonial exploration with new peoples and territories to be categorised and exploited all provoked the desire for images and attractions (Tom Gunning, 1995: 125).

On the opposite side of “colonial exploration,” it seems difficult to adopt the

“form of lust of the eyes” when investigating the local spectatorship formed throughout the periods of colonization and foreign occupation. In Korea, prior to the expansion of urban-industrialization, three different dimensions of political governance were violently pushed on to the peninsula, by imperialists, foreign occupation forces, and founders of separate governments. Visual products were their favorite tools to use for propaganda to infiltrate the countryside on vehicles of armed squads. While “consumer eyes” in nineteenth century Europe were creations of craftsmanship and markets, most ‘local eyes’ in the twentieth century South Korea had to directly face the state powers standing behind the screens, whatever the substance of each of those states was. Therefore, for local audiences in Korea, duty of citizens took the place of “the need for thrills in an industrialised and consumer-oriented society” (Tom Gunning, 1995: 126).

Gunning’s criticism of the concept of “the enthralled spectator” is still effective, nonetheless, in that such local spectatorship was not a product of a singular process of mobilization and persuasion, but rather a “vacillation between belief and incredulity” (Tom Gunning, 1995: 117). Uproarious viewing in outdoor showings seem to have created a bigger distraction than viewing in urban indoor movie-houses with soundproof facilities. According to Wi Kyōngnye’s oral history research, itinerant film exhibitions in local areas were big “village events” for the residents and mostly combined with various other performances. It is said that a mobile screening was regarded as an

experience similar to watching exorcisms which were combinations of shamanism and performances in traditional agricultural society (Wi Kyöngnye, 2010). Although those local audiences were mobilized to watch these maneuvered screens, the audiences were dominated and influenced by heated distraction at the same time.

Considering these vernacular experiences, Gunning's definition of audience should be reconsidered. His naming of the "observer," the modern subject stimulated by subjective substances, is partly true to the situations of Korean local audiences (Tom Gunning, 2006: 36). However, the landscape they observed was not exactly one of modern markets and arcades, as the ideal "observer" was regarded. It was rather gained from movie screens as bullets were fired by mobile soldiers. Local audiences who were the targets of these bullet screens²⁶ had to be situated in hard negotiations between the present state powers and the illusions that came from the screens to the audiences. This status of heated negotiators could be assumed also to reflect the military and/or colonial aspects of "encountering with modernity" (Tom Gunning, 1995: 129). In other words, this was a spectatorship that emerged in the global historical context of Imperialist wars and the Cold War and, therefore, not an exceptional sample that could only be applied to Korean local cases. For instance, the

²⁶ The phrase 'bullet screen' in this study was created to define this vernacular experience of local screens, citing Virilio's idea that "cinema [...] effectively came under the category of weapons" (Paul Virilio, 1989: 7-8). It means the initial illusions of the film propaganda in the battlefields of the psychological warfare.

importation of techniques and technologies for mobile film propaganda activities from the Malayan Film Unit and the USIS-Singapore to the USIS-Saigon in 1951 was another noticeable event that witnessed the cinematic conjunction of postcolonial state-building and the Cold War strategy of containment, which were made possible by bullet screens (John Donovan, Aug. 28, 1951).

At this point, the positioning of these audiences as negotiators is based on the premise that propaganda films are not media that deliver the literal meanings intended by their senders. Propaganda films were a way of understanding the ‘world’ which could not be read in the written scripts but seen as a picture. When Korean audiences watched the American war film *Justice* in 1946, its scenes of a huge factory area were presented as a visual attraction. Such attractions are not mere copies nor translations from written languages, but originals per se, images through which audiences could learn a new way of life and a different vision of the future. They do not reflect nor do they represent the world, but rather ‘express’ it as images only. In this sense, Kim Hong-chung suggests using the term *Ausdruck* [expression], coined by Walter Benjamin when criticizing the concept of *Vorstellung* [representation]. While *Vorstellung* reflects the “mortal deficiency” in the existing methodologies of sociology of knowledge where the base is believed to be causally connected with the superstructure, *Ausdruck* is an alternative term that is conscious of the “expressive associations” where the superstructure appears “in formative ways”: “In the face of the desire to analyse and interpret every meaning to the last, the

visual does not let us see the truth of its own” (Kim Hong-chung, 2005). It is an approach from the side of interpreters; however, it also tells that there is a methodological deficiency on the side of the creators. Although propaganda films were considered as a means to convey certain intentions of these creators, they were not presented as a representation of the world, but as the ‘world’ itself as expressed in formative ways. Not as a medium delivering literal rationality, but as a bullet of images being poured into visually untried audiences, mobile propaganda films developed their *Weltbild* [world-picture] in front of the eyes of the audiences:

What is it — a “world picture”? Obviously, a picture of the world. But what is a world? What does “picture” mean here? “World” serves, here, as a name for beings in their entirety. The term is not confined to the cosmos, to nature. History, too, belongs to world. [...] Initially, the word “picture” makes one think of a copy of something. This would make the world picture, as it were, a painting of beings as a whole. But “world picture” means more than this. We mean by it the world itself; the totality of beings taken, as it is for us, as standard-giving and obligating. [...] Undersood in an essential way, “world picture” does not mean “picture of the world” but, rather, the world grasped as picture (Martin Heidegger, 2002: 67).

Using Heidegger’s conception, a world does not preexist as an object to represent, but is present as a picture. What appears in the face of the subject is not “the picture of the world,” but “the world itself constituted as a picture” (W.J.T. Mitchell, 2007). Hence, audiences of the bullet screens are affected by a sense that “the whole world” presented in the illusion is “within reach” (Tom Gunning, 2006: 25-41). They feel this world expressed as a picture spatially

and temporally, through which a variety of ununitable experiences and responses can be produced. At the same time, tension pulled by the state power behind the screen might push the audience to absorb the illusion as intended. This whole process becomes a field of intense negotiation.²⁷

²⁷ Some paragraphs in this section are modified from the original Korean article, Kim Hansang, "Cinematic Experience of 'New Order in East Asia': Japanese Imperial Propaganda Films on Joseon-Manchuria Tourism." *Journal of Film Studies*, vol.43, 2010(a): 81-114.

Part II. Gazing At the Rehabilitating Self

Part II deals with the period from the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 to the close of the UNKRA's rebuilding program in 1958. The impact of the war, ironically, provided the momentum to impart geopolitical significance to the Korean Peninsula. The aim of reconstruction of the damage from the war required an *ex post facto* construction of the Korean Self as well as an ideal model of the rehabilitated Self. Propaganda directed toward Koreans became an urgent task, and as stated in Chapter 4, the USIS-Korea film production system became remarkably innovative during this period. Its new studio in Sangnam was equipped with the most advanced technology and was a training camp for Korean filmmakers. UNKRA's Film Unit was also established during this period to reconstruct the South Korean motion picture industry.

The cultural films analyzed in Chapter 5 show how this mission of reconstruction created a heterogeneous model of the rehabilitated Self. In the narrative on self-reliance, America presents its long-lasting existence as an 'outsider which is that of a non-outsider,' or an outsider carved from the inside.

Chapter 6 problematizes the self-identity of the Korean filmmakers affiliated with USIS-Korea and UNKRA. They were located in a competition between the aims of nation building and Cold War bloc building. At the same

time, they were not satisfied with their role as employees of propaganda agencies and sought to develop their own world of art.

Such a heterogeneous and contested identity of the Self was imprinted in the mechanism of Self-gazing, as stated in Chapter 7. It was a form of identification with a self-relying subjectivity, in the same way that the mediator of the gaze was the American agency.

Chapter 4. Innovation through War and Reconstruction: USIS and UNKRA, 1950-1958

On May 19, 1952, during the Korean War, the first issue of *Liberty News* was released (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Mar. 7, 1963: 7). It was the third newsreel series from Liberty Production, the film production



Figure 16. *Liberty News No. 1* (1952)

company of USIS-Korea, following *Han'guk Nyusŭ* [*Korea News*] (1948-1950) and *Segye nyusŭ* [*World News*](1950-1952) (*Tonga Ilbo*, Aug. 16, 1959: 5; KBS, 1992: 1-2). *Liberty News No. 1* consists of several events from May of 1952, including President Yi Sŭng-man's audience with General Douglas MacArthur, opening of the Pusan City Council, the 20th ceremony for the honorable discharge of Korean disabled veterans, and the 360th anniversary of the Imjin War.

The launch of the *Liberty News* series was a symbolic event in the history of U.S. public information filmmaking in South Korea. It was not only the core newsreel of Liberty Production, but also an indicator that showed the rise and fall of film production. Above all else, this series represented USIS-Korea's film studio system. For USIS-Korea, the outbreak of the Korean War

was a catalyst for the tremendous strides in film production and the establishment of film studios in Chinhae and Sangnam. Especially, the film studio in Sangnam since 1952 had provided exceptional environments for both technology and techniques. A considerable number of newsreels and documentaries were regularly produced in this studio in the 1950s. *Liberty News* was one of the first products as well as the last product of this same studio system. (*Maeilgyōngje Sinmun*, Jun. 2, 1967: 3).

In this chapter, the internal and external conditions for such innovation in film production that were led by the two foreign agencies, USIS-Korea and UNKRA, both during and after the Korean War are examined and discussed.²⁸

1. The Korean War, and USIS-Korea's New Film Studio, June, 1950 – July, 1953

During the Korean War, Korea was considered an abundant source of film propaganda resources with real combat and rehabilitation scenes. In a secret internal memorandum of the U.S. State Department on October 2, 1950, George

²⁸ Sections 1 and 2 of this chapter are revised from part of the original Korean article, Kim Han-sang, "(Re)Presentations and Discourses in the USIS-Korea's Film Propaganda - The Rehabilitated Self in Rebuilding the Nation in the 1950s." *Society and History*, vol. 95, 2012: 243-279.

L. Harris, a cultural attaché of the American Embassy in China before the war, emphasizes the importance of the resumption of local film production in Korea:

“Korea today should provide many good subjects for pictures to be shown all over the world, as well as in Korea, for propaganda purposes. We should get pictures of the havoc wrought by the aggressors, [...] at the same time, we should photograph the beginnings of rehabilitation, emphasizing aid of the UN and US, and its progress through the ensuing weeks and months. Such shots should make excellent propaganda for months, possibly years, to come” (George L. Harris, Oct. 2, 1950; Leonard L. Bacon, 1990).

As Harris stressed, the United States Information and Educational Exchange Program (hereinafter USIE) resumed motion pictures operations in Seoul in October, four months after the outbreak of the war, along with radio, publications, libraries, exchange of persons, and an English language institute (Edward W. Barrett, Oct. 25, 1950). Imported films were dubbed in Korean for presentation in series. Locally produced newsreels and documentaries numbered 12 to 15 reels per month. The USIE Korea also operated 9 centers in the provinces and Seoul, and 10 mobile units. Films were shown throughout centers, schools, and governmental organizations by these mobile units.

The same month, the U.S. Department of the Army also initiated procurement action for film equipment and resources to conduct psychological warfare (Dept of Army, Oct. 27, 1950). 10 mobile film units, equipped with 16mm sound and 35mm slide projection equipment, public address systems, recording and record playing equipment, and related supplies, shipped from

Japan, along with 300 sets of 16mm projectors with screens and 25 prints of 16mm films in Korean language. The other 5 mobile units left New York for Pusan on February 3, 1951 by the U.S. Army transport directly, with another 5 units following on April 7 (Acheson, Apr. 9, 1951).²⁹

As of December 1951, the total number of the mobile units assigned to Korea was 19: 3 units were in Pusan, 3 in Taegu, 3 in Taejŏn, 3 in Seoul, 1 in Chŏnju, and 3 in Kwangju. Further, 2 units were held for operation in new branches, and 1 unit was used by the Motion Picture Production Center (W. Bradley Conners, Dec. 7, 1951). Mobile screening operations were sometimes exposed to guerrilla actions. In the USIE report in December, 1951, one vehicle was reported ambushed and lost to Communist guerrillas at that time. The report also emphasizes that the operational expenses for mobile units were considerably high.

Wartime audience reactions to the films were “enthusiastic” (Muccio, Sep. 3, 1950). The U.S. Ambassador Muccio states in a telegram to the Department of State that *Segye nyusŭ Nos. 416* and *417* received fervent response from Korean audiences. According to the operations report of the USIE in Taegu in September 1950, the film *President Truman’s Speech* and *5 Segye nyusŭ* were shown in the Taegu center with a total attendance at 75,960 persons,

²⁹ They were equipped with 50 Vitor projectors, a Wall camera with lense and accessories, a Model Q alignment gauge Eyemo camera, one 3-kilowatt generator set, and a Depue optical reduction printer.

and on mobile screens at rural villages around Taegu, with 37,870 persons attending (John J. Muccio, Oct. 6, 1950). Muccio requested more films that emphasized war shots, UN actions and UN military aid, since there were only newsreels on these topics in Korea at the time.

The USIS-Korea's resumed film production unit was withdrawn from Seoul and initially located in Chinhae, a Southern naval port city in South Korea. It started to increase its productivity. As of July 21, 1951, the unit was producing 2 newsreels, 2 documentaries and some adaptations of U.S. documentaries per month (Muccio, July 21, 1951). In the same manner as in the USAMGIK period, the wartime situation resumed the collaboration between the local film production unit and the U.S. Army Signal Corps. In November, 1951, the Corps planned to produce a new documentary on the POW camps in South Korea, and USIS-Korea was consulted for effective "world-propaganda angles" and requested to process the rushes (Muccio, November 23, 1951). The new production plant in Chinhae ran on a 24-hour basis. In a confidential report on USIE Korea on December 7, 1951, W. Bradley Connors, an official of the U.S. International Information Administration, reported that the Chinhae plant turned out "top quality" material (W. Bradley Connors, Dec. 7, 1951).

However it was not until the relocation of the production unit to Sangnam, a nearby small town, early in 1952 that USIS-Korea's film unit improved its production facilities to be a full-scale studio. Muccio explains in a

telegram to the State Department that the high maintenance expense and low operational efficiency of the Chinhae structure brought about the decision to find a new location (Muccio, Nov. 23, 1951).

In Sangnam, the unit could establish its own film studio equipped with a real sound stage, modern automatic development and printing equipment, a new processing machine, and sound recording equipment that used magnetic film. Ridgeway, the chief Production Officer of the organization from 1950 to 1958, recalls that the films made in Sangnam were much better quality than those in

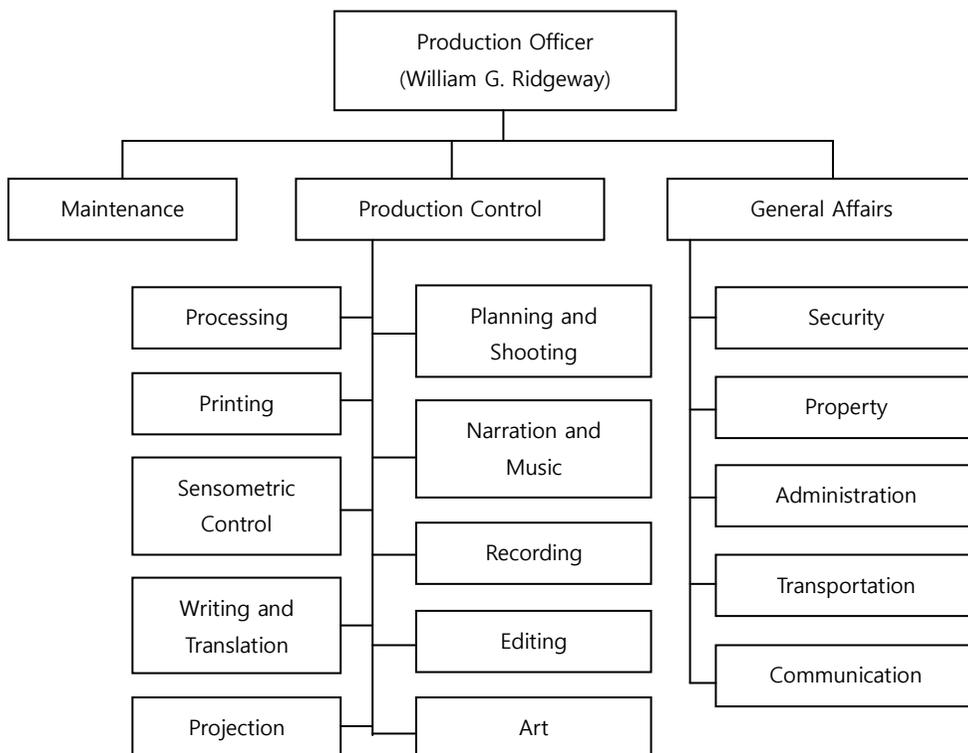


Figure 17. Organization chart for Liberty Production, USIS-Korea (Theodore Conant, Sep. 7, 1953)

Chinhae, because of the better performance of new machines (William G. Ridgeway, Feb., 28, 1989). While the motion picture program was still considered as “the primary weapon to enable USIS-Korea to convince Korea and the world,” the facilities of the Sangnam film production were indeed regarded as “unique” and requested to be mobilized “to the utmost” to greatly expand the program (Higgins, May 27, 1953). From 1952, the Sangnam film production studio continued to function as the center of the USIS-Korea’s film production activities for approximately 15 years until May of 1967 (*Maeilgyŏngje*, Jun. 2, 1967: 3).

After securing the better working environment, the film unit was able to regularly produce more works of better quality than before. Such works consisted of newsreel series like *Liberty News* (1952~1967), documentaries like *Building Together* (1955) and a few feature films including Kim Ki-yŏng’s debut film, *Boxes of Death* (1955) (Kim Han-sang, 2011(a)). These films were shown in cinemas regularly before the commercial features, in each branch projection room for public screenings, and in rural areas where mobile education units came on provincial tours. The extent of distribution was also considerably higher. For instance, according to a secret report to the State Department in October 1954, 75 cinemas in the nation regularly screened USIS films, 20 mobile screening units toured the country, and an average of 3,750,000 people watched the films per month (F.B. Tenny, Oct. 5, 1954).

2. The Eisenhower Administration and the Yi Sŭng-man Government,
January, 1953 – April, 1960

South Korea's changed status as a target of U.S. overseas propaganda activities became more significant during the Korean War. According to one report from the U.S. Embassy in Pusan to the State Department, U.S. propaganda activities were no longer merely a publicity campaign in an allied country. They were recognized as a weapon of information warfare which could act as a global model at the forefront of the Cold War battle (J.R. Higgins, May 12, 1953). For USIS-Korea, a simultaneous progress of "friend making" and "enemy making" was an urgently emerging mission in the cultural sector of that time (Chŏng Il-chun, 2003: 21-24).

In addition, USIS-Korea's film propaganda activities in the 1950s were conducted as part of a global procedure that USIA established as an U.S. overseas representative. From 1952 to 1953, when USIS-Korea's film department was moved to Sangnam as a full-scale film production system, the U.S. administration transitioned from Harry S. Truman to Dwight D. Eisenhower. It is important to examine the Eisenhower Administration's global strategy to explain USIS-Korea's activities at the time. While U.S. global strategy of the

Truman Administration had been characterized by “global imagery of containment,” including the Truman Doctrine and George F. Kennan’s blockade policy, a “global imagery of integration” now emerged as a new strategic model in the Eisenhower era (Christina Klein, 2003: 19-60). In other words, U.S. officials started to recognize non-Communist or pro-American countries not just as tools for blocking the spread of Communism, but as necessary members that could be integrated into a unified world through a process of mutual understanding. The 1953 measure to build the USIA with an “integrated” network of the USIS in each country must be understood as of the goals of mutual understanding (Nicholas J. Cull, 1998).

In a way, the transformation of U.S. global strategy during this period corresponds to the “rhetoric of peace” which was used as a tool of psychological warfare for coping with changed conditions, such as Stalin’s death and the Korean War Armistice in 1953 (Pak In-suk, 2005). While this “New Look” policy was carried forward to resolve the financial difficulties caused by the Korean War, its emphasis on effective military capabilities resulted in strategic nuclear arms enhancement on both sides of the rivaling superpowers (Pak T’ae-kyun, 2009), so the banner for “peaceful co-existence” remained as a rhetorical standoff (Laura A. Belmonte, 2008: 67-69). The Eisenhower Administration’s rhetoric of *détente* with the Soviet Union in the 1950s was not for practical purposes, but rather for psychological warfare to strengthen the U.S. position in

the Cold War environment (Pak In-suk, 2005). This development of psychological warfare explains the context for the establishment of the USIA.

However, this strategy was not conducted in smooth collaboration with the Yi Sŭng-man Government in South Korea. As has been pointed out in many other studies, the Yi Sŭng-man Government was frequently at odds with the Eisenhower Administration in terms of innerpolitical decisions, military diplomacy, and economic policies. Both entered compromise reluctantly after conflicts of opinions (Yi Wan-pŏm, 2007; Ch'a Sang-ch'öl, 2001; Pak T'ae-kyun, 2009). This circumstance influenced the status and activities of U.S. agencies, including the American Embassy in Korea. As for USIS-Korea and its activities, the Yi Sŭng-man Government regarded it as a "potential threat" (Hŏ Ŭn, 2008(a): 196-203), and took the position to be "indifferent or opposed to its activities" (Chŏng Il-chun, 2003: 34-37).

Hence, USIS-Korea's film propaganda activities during this period were conducted under conditions that could hardly be homogenized and lead to the ROK Government-led nation-building project. On the other hand, as stated in the previous section, its high quality production gave the USIS-Korea overwhelming superiority over the ROK Government in terms of propaganda agencies. This advantage allowed the USIS to have a major hand in a large proportion of the propaganda activities directed toward the South Korean public (Chŏng Il-chun, 2003: 42).

3. UNKRA's Rehabilitation Project for the Film Industry, December, 1950
– July, 1958

The role of the UNKRA in propagating motion pictures during the 1950s must be investigated. On August 20, 1952, three film specialists were dispatched to Korea to establish a special UNKRA Film Unit (Bill Reiche, Aug. 13, 1952). They included Alfred Wagg, the chief of the team; Richard Bagley, the cameraman; and Theodore Conant, the electrician and sound man. The writer Pat Frank (Harry Hart Frank) had been sent to Pusan a little earlier than the shooting crew. All were from the United States. One important objective of their initial ones was “to develop a Korean motion picture production unit” and train the team “for the production of educational films and film strips in such fields as sanitary education, agriculture, literacy training, etc” (Bill Reiche, Jul. 24, 1952; Don Pryor, Jul. 25, 1953). The UNKRA Film Unit aimed to hire and train local filmmakers, so they would be able to engage in actual work. Until then, the United Nations had been utilizing one cinematographer in Korea (Bill, May 19, 1952), but the public information officers for the UNKRA had been seeking a way to establish UNKRA's own film unit as early as September of 1951 (Michael Wilson, Sep. 25, 1951).

The Unit conducted its mission that way. On August 29, soon after the team had arrived in Korea, Conant and a Korean filmmaker, Yi Hyōng-p'yo, turned in a report to Wagg that described the conditions for motion picture production in South Korea and the environments related performing arts like theater plays and radio dramatic shows (Conant and Lee, Aug. 29, 1952). Yi Hyōng-p'yo, whose another name was Arthur Lee, had worked as an Assistant Producer for the USIS-Korea's motion picture branch from 1949 until 1951. He was going to become an Assistant Director and interpreter for the UNKRA Film Unit's first film, *Ko-Chip*. Yi had such a positive level of proficiency in English that non-Korean staff in the unit needed him as an accompanying interpreter. He began to live with Conant, sharing a house in Seoul (Yi Hyōng-p'yo, Nov.29 and Dec. 6, 2005). The partnership between Conant and Yi from that moment on is important in the motion picture activities of the unit, because they took over the role of Wagg and Bagley after December 1952 (Don Pryor, Jun. 9, 1953). The other Korean filmmaker, Im Pyōng-ho, was hired as an Assistant Cameraman and received living allowances every one to three weeks (M.M. Heath, May 25, 1953). According to an oral history interview, Korean recording engineer, Yi Chong-il, also was at work for the unit. Several other filmmakers, including Yi Kyōng-sun, Yu Jang-san, Hong Il-myōng and Kim Myōng-je, were hired to the unit on a freelance basis (KRECA, 2003: 56-57). They absorbed new technologies and know-how, including how to use new equipment such as Arriflex and Eymo cameras (Yi Hyōng-p'yo, Dec. 6, 2005).

Donald J. Pryor, the Director of Public Information, and Pat Frank started searching for Korean actors for the unit's first film, as early as when Frank arrived in Seoul (Pat Frank, 1953: 117-120). Conant and Yi's above-mentioned report also included information on Korean actors and actresses, such as approximate daily salary, acting style, and names of leading stars. Wagg finally decided to use an entire non-professional cast (Pat Frank, 1953: 159-160). The three principal children roles were assigned to Sin Tong-ch'öl, Hong Sa-hae, and Ch'oe Chi-suk. Sin took the title role (Sir Arthur Rucker, Nov. 2, 1952; G.E. Jones, Nov. 22, 1952). Each of the three children received an honorarium equivalent to a year scholarship in school (Pat Frank, 1953: 160). None of them continued their acting career after *Ko-Chip* (Yi Hyöng-p'yo, Dec. 6, 2005).

For reasons discussed later, the production of *Ko-Chip* was postponed in December, 1952, and Conant was put in charge of the unit (Don Pryor, Jun. 9, 1953). The training period for the Film Unit was declared completed during the first half of 1953 (R.J. Youdin, Jun. 4, 1953). However, since the basic purpose of the Film Unit's project was not only to "build an essentially Korean unit capable of producing" films, but also to gain "documentary motion pictures, film strips and radio and television material" primarily for their "long range fundamental education program" in Korea and overseas (Don Pryor, Feb. 17,

1953), Conant continued making other films.³⁰ There are no specific documents on the Film Unit's activities after May 1955 that were ever found in the United Nations Archives and Records Management Section (hereinafter UN ARMS). According to Conant, he worked as a freelance sound specialist and film director, for agencies like the BBC, CBS, and NBC during the same period of time (Theodore Conant, Oct. 1, 2010). It is highly probable that the Film Unit became nominal in influence after 1956.

UNKRA also allocated resources directly to the Korean film industry. Although the UN ARMS' collection of UNKRA's "Rehabilitation of Motion Picture Industry" files (Record Number S-0526-0339-0006 and S-0526-0339-0005) was missing in November, 2010,



Figure 18. A new studio dedicated to the ROK Office of Public Information by the UNKRA on July 23, 1958 (UN ARMS Record No. S-0526-0345-7330)

there is a photograph testifying to the UNKRAs rehabilitation project (see Figure

³⁰ Conant and his unit produced films and film footage on a "milk feeding program sponsored in Korean schools by the Unitarian Service Committee of Canada," "the arrival and floating of an UNKRA procured dredge at Kunsan," "Korean dancing," and "the Quaker relief and medical welfare project in Kunsan" from 1953 to 1955 (Theodore Conant, Jul. 2, 1953; Dec. 30, 1953; Jul. 12, 1954; May 23, 1955).

18). The overline information on the picture states the following:

“New movie studio dedicated – A modern new movie studio and sound stage that will allow the Republic of Korea Office of Public Information to turn out better documentary, educational and information-type films, was dedicated today in Seoul. 23 July 1958. The new studio, a two-story structure 140 feet long by 40 feet wide was built with the help of the UNKRA, which furnished materials valued at \$50,000 as a special project in the \$147 million United Nations programme of economic assistance to the Republic of Korea. Earlier, in 1955, UNKRA provided OPI with \$50,000 worth of motion picture equipment consisting of a 35 mm Mitchell camera with blimp, a 35 mm sound recording channel and a large amount of studio lighting and accessories, all of which have been in constant use since delivery” (UN ARMS Record No. S-0526-0345-7330).

According to Yi Hyöng-p‘yo, who had moved to the ROK Office of Public Information (hereinafter OPI) in 1953, the UNKRA’s initial assistance to the OPI in 1955 was made possible by his personal connection with the UNKRA officials (Yi Hyöng-p‘yo, Dec. 6, 2005).³¹

Among the UNKRA’s technological support to the OPI were, two sets of RCA’s magnetic recorders. The first outcome of that support was OPI’s English-language film *Until That Day* (1955) (Yi Kyöng-sun, 2000: 120-122). It is interesting that the film’s Korean title is *Pulsajo-üi öndök* which is a direct translation of *The Hill of the Phoenix*, the working title of Richard Bagley’s 1953 film *Encounter in Korea* (Bill Reiche, Dec. 12, 1952; Jun. 25, 1953) (see

³¹ This project seems to have been also offered financial support from other U.S. agencies including ICA and USOM (James McCarron, Apr. 4, 1960).

Figure 19). It is probable that Yi Hyŏng-p'yo, who cooperated with Bagley and then became the writer of the OPI film, picked the previously unchosen title (Yi Hyŏng-p'yo, Dec. 6, 2005).

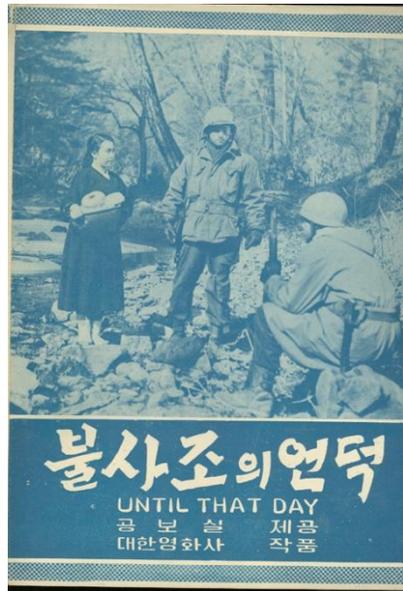


Figure 19. *Until That Day* (1955)

Chapter 5. The Rehabilitating Self: Troubles, Aleatory Solutions, and 'Restored' Everyday Life



Figure 20. Kim Sŏngjip in *Harabŏji Introduction Series*

During the Sangnam years, one of the studio's key characters was Harabŏji, an old Korean man. He was the hero of *Harabŏji Introduction Series*, an introduction footage series which was usually co-played as instructions at the beginning and end of other USIS-

Korea films. When a film begins, Harabŏji appears in that footage as a bearded old man wearing a *kat* [traditional hat] and introduces the films being screened (see Figure 20).

According to William G. Ridgeway, Motion Picture Officer of the USIS-Korea at that time, he used this character to give Korean audiences a familiar context and image before showing American films they might find confusing and unfamiliar. By seeing an old Korean man in traditional clothes and smoking a pipe, the Korean audience would feel comfortable and be able to accept all the foreign ideas and topics that they were about to see (William G.

Ridgeway, Feb. 28, 1989).³²

Interestingly, the symbol of old-fashioned values is used to introduce modern American life. Kim Söngjip, an employee of the USIS-Korea and the actor of several films including *Young Men's Fighting for Freedom* [*Charyu rül wihan chölmünidül üi t'ujaeng*] (1957), *Hands that Moved the Sea* [*Pada-rül mirönaen saramdül*] (1958) and *Korean Educational System* [*Han'guk-üi kyoyuk chedo*] (1958), took the role of Haraböji. He starred in *Korean Educational System* as a symbol of die-hard old-fashioned values, but in these greetings, he behaves like a modern American.³³ What is truly remarkable is that such a character was well received in theaters and Kim Söngjip became a popular figure (William G. Ridgeway, Feb. 28, 1989). Although the traditional values of the older generation were seen as barriers to be overcome, Kim Söngjip's character functioned as a buffer between tradition and modernity as a way of gently guiding audiences toward the acceptance of the modern values as espoused in American culture.

However, the problem with this approach is that the character was, in its

³² In this footage collection, this same introduction appears in 17 films, including locally produced films, such as *The Lighthouse on the Street* (1955) and *The Second Enemy* (1955), even though most of the films were produced in the U.S.

³³ He advocates women's rights in *American Working Women* and urging us to keep our eyes on our sanitation and hygiene habits in *Defense Against Invasion* and *The Second Enemy*. In the process, he speaks in a refined voice about Benjamin Franklin and the history of the U.S. while clearing his throat and stroking his beard, and in general portraying a traditional elderly Korean man that is familiar to his audiences.

essence, completely fictitious. The imagery of Harabōji is on the one hand a manifestation of the steadfast patriarch who would lead self-help with indigenous experience and knowledge and stick to traditional attire. However, on the other hand, the character is at the same time exceedingly open to foreign culture, especially to the American way of life. Harabōji is a mixture of such two conflicting propensities in one character.

This unique character arouses an intricate issue on the (re)presentation of the Korean Self, which was formed in between the reality of U.S. aid and the ideal of Korean self-reliance during the reconstruction period after the Korean War. Koreans were supposed to stand on their own feet both as builders of their reconstructed nation and as members of the “Free World”; however, it was impossible to acquire such citizenship without U.S. support. It is important to examine what filled the gap of such entangled and incomplete identity.³⁴

1. Cinematic (Re)Presentation of the Reconstruction of Korea

The USIS-Korea films produced in the 1950s stressed topics of ‘reconstruction’ and ‘the U.S. aid’ in many cases. These two topics were the targets of

³⁴ Section 1 and a paragraph of Section 2 are revised from part of the original Korean article, Kim Han-sang, “(Re)Presentations and Discourses in the USIS-Korea’s Film Propaganda - The Rehabilitated Self in Rebuilding the Nation in the 1950s.” *Society and History*, vol. 95, 2012: 243-279.

propaganda activities contained in specific plans (J.R. Higgins, May 12, 1953; Briggs, Aug. 25, 1953). However, from a larger viewpoint, they were the very reason for existence of the USIS-Korea's film department and Liberty Production. The procurement of the studio system in Sangnam was equipped with state-of-the-art production facilities and establishment of its brand identity, "Liberty Production," was involved in the whole process of aid and rehabilitation in the entire sector of the Korea economy. The task of Liberty Production in the 1950s was to promote and publicize these processes to Korean audiences. Therefore, the theme of economic aid was repeatedly stressed in narratives of the USIS-Korea films during the reconstruction period.

However, the U.S. attitudes toward aid were dealt with caution in these narratives, except in a few wartime films, such as *Gift of Friendship* [*Ujŏng-ŭi sŏnmul*].³⁵ On the one hand, these films were produced for Korean audiences, so Korean sentiments were probably taken into account, but on the other hand, that point of view was due to the fact that Korean filmmakers were also deeply involved in the production. The 'localization of production' was a

³⁵ *Gift of Friendship* is the earliest USIS film of the 1950s USIS-Korea, classified as RG306 in NARA. It seems to have been produced during the Korean War. The plot starts naturally with a scene of an American soldier writing a letter to his parents from the battlefield and moves to the introduction of aid by America's Relief for Korea, which was established in the U.S. during the war. In this film, Koreans are depicted as aid recipients, not as key actors. The U.S. civil society is the main focus of the film. It can be regarded as an initial aspect of wartime films.

recommendation to the USIA by the Jackson Committee³⁶ in the Eisenhower Administration, which was in charge of overseas propaganda action plans to “save on staffing in the United States and avoid annoying audiences around the world with inappropriate material” (Nicholas J. Cull, 2008: 81-96).

This degree of localization seemed considerably high in South Korea. For instance, according to Kim Hyöng-kün, who was in charge of cinematography and processing at the Sangnam studio from the end of the war until 1957, a great number of USIS-Korea’s cultural films were shot *without* scripts. In other words, Ridgeway and other U.S. officials did not have a firm grasp on the direction of their films at the preproduction stage, so the Korean filmmakers had great autonomy in that filmmaking. Kim’s reminiscence on *I Am A Truck* [*Na-nün t’ürök-ida*] (1954), which he shot with Director Kim Ki-yöng, exemplifies this view:

Kim: I and Kim Ki-yöng were shooting the film *I Am A Truck*, with no script, we got nothing. So, Kim Ki-yöng took charge of direction, and I, cinematographer, we two went out. Well.. we were supposed to shoot the vehicle recycling scene. But no script, nothing was prepared.

Inviewer: Did Ridgeway order you to shoot the scene?

Kim: Ah, yeah, he did. Kim and I, both of us, brought the Eymo camera to shoot the scene. To the recycling factory. There was not a special thing to shoot. “Let me see! I will make this a cultural film.” So he held the Eymo alone and ...

Kim’s daughter: Riding on the conveyor belt with the Eymo...

³⁶ The U.S. President’s Committee of International Information Activities

Kim: Riding on there, we finished it only in two hours. [...] Then, after we finished it, it was very much welcomed.

Interviewer: Oh, did people like that a lot?

Kim: Yes, *I Am A Truck*, very welcomed. Because, it was even released at the Sudo Cinema (Kim Hyöng-kün, Mar. 30, 2012).

In other words, while the initial direction to shoot the recycling factory was given by Ridgeway, the structuralization of the main narratives, the shooting, and the editing were all conducted entirely by Korean filmmakers who made their own decisions.

For that reason, it is noteworthy how U.S. aid is depicted in the narratives. Apart from the reflective aspects of the intent of the U.S. as a production authority of propaganda, the ‘discursive’ aspects that the Korean filmmakers shared at the time and the aspects of ‘(re)presentation’ in the context of film consumption by Korean audiences must be carefully considered.

Investigation into the visual and narrative discourses as well as (re)presentations of U.S. aid and Korean rehabilitation in the USIS-Korea films can provide clues as to how U.S. overseas activities were understood in the local context of South Korea.

1) The Rehabilitating Subjects in Trouble, and Aleatory Solutions Through the U.S.

Ward of Affection [Sarang-ŭi pyŏngsil] (1953) is the first documentary produced by USIS-Korea after setting up of the Sangnam studio (J.R. Higgins, Apr. 10, 1953). It was one of the earliest films directed by Kim Ki-yŏng (Yu Chi-hyŏng, 2006: 27). This semi-documentary film depicts an injured war orphan's rehabilitation, set in Severance Hospital immediately after the ROK Army's recapturing of Seoul during the Korean War. Using a format of first-person voiceover narration, Chŏng Bok-nyŏ, a nurse at Severance, relates the story of the boy, Hong Sun-kil, who lost his mother and a leg during the war. The film's main theme is on how she helps the boy recover.

Sun-kil is described as a strong-willed child who is "trying to get over his injuries as quickly as possible" until he "finally stood up leaning on a cane." The film shows his rehabilitation program in a time order, such as getting out of bed, standing up, walking alongside a bed rail, and walking on crutches, with the soundtrack featuring a fast tempo march. However, his triumph is short-lived since it means that he is ready to leave the hospital. Bok-nyŏ worries about the boy's future since he has to "go out with a great burden of being a cripple" "to the war-torn city, Seoul."

At this point, it is worthy of attention to see how the film depicts this crisis and resolution, as Bok-nyŏ's worries about Sun-kil getting worse. After her monologue, "Sun-kil, Sun-kil, where are you going? And how will you survive? Are you following the twist of fate to go where you even do not know?",



Figure 21. The extreme long shot in *Ward of Affection*

the camera shows the boy leaving the hospital on his crutches alone. In this scene, with its extreme long shot, Sun-kil occupies only a small part of the frame and is sharply contrasted with the large building and its long corridors where the small boy

moves slowly on crutches (see Figure 21). After he walks out the gate of the hospital, Seoul city is depicted as frenetic and chaotic with fast-moving traffic and noise. Then, suddenly the background music with its menacing atmosphere stops, replaced by the loud noise of the city. The sense of crisis has reached a boiling point.

Immediately after this scene, music returns with a positive and cheerful sound, and soldiers appear and lift the boy into their vehicle. Bok-nyō's narration continues, "See? We are not living in the world where people ignore an abandoned and dejected boy on the street! UN troops in Korea collected a hefty donation of 75,000 dollars from public sympathy for this boy, and Sun-kil can receive an artificial leg! This fund is enough to save all war orphans in Korea, and the newly built Chōnjae Sujok Jōldan Adong Chillyoso [War Amputee Clinic for Children] has become a great hope for disabled children."

In this way, the threat to Sun-kil's rehabilitation and self-reliance disappears quickly due to the sudden appearance of the UN troops and their support.

Despite the length of the film, 20 minutes and 30 seconds, the heroic UN troops have only 40 seconds of screen time. After this scene, for 6 minutes until the ending credits, the film's concern is only for Bok-nyŏ and Sun-kil, not only in terms of the duration of their appearance, but also their importance in the narrative structure. The UN troop support is not presented as an inevitable outcome. Although it plays a decisive role in solving the character's trouble, it is presented in an aleatory way. In other words, it is a factor that is not placed at the center of the rehabilitation narrative, but simply set aside on the sidelines.

The facile resolution of thorny problems' confronting rehabilitating subjects is also seen in *Hand that Moved the Sea* (1958). This is a documentary based on the true story of North Korean refugees who came down south from the Korean Iron Triangle, Ongjin Peninsula, and Yŏnp'yŏngdo and succeeded in supporting themselves by creating salt farms on the West coast as a reclamation project (*Chosŏn Ilbo*, Sep. 25, 1956: 2). Their story of success and overcoming the difficulties surrounding them is described as a good model for Koreans. U.S. aid is featured here, as a crucial element for that success.

Initially the reclamation project looks almost impossible, but as soon as a truck from the UN Economic Adjustment Bureau (hereinafter OEC) arrives with the proper equipment, the project becomes realizable. Three years of poverty

and starvation are alleviated by the sudden arrival of trucks loaded with food donated by the U.S. National Catholic Welfare Council and the World Food Service. Aleatory solutions for the problems of indigenous people, also seen in *Ward of Affection*, are repeated in the way they are rescued by the support of the U.S. and UN, but with no cause-and-effect relationship. This film also emphasizes Korean citizens' commitment to self-reliance.

2) Intellectuals Who Accompanied Americans

The hygiene educational film, *The Second Enemy* [*Che2-ŭi chŏk*] (1954), was produced by USIS-Korea in cooperation with the Korea Civil Assistance Command (hereinafter KCAC) in 1954. Unlike other films, this film was directed by an American director, Franklin Judson, but Kim Eui-hwan took charge of the basic story sketches (Franklin Judson, Nov. 15, 1954). Korean and English versions were produced at the same time, and KCAC planned to dub the film in 17 languages to distribute it overseas (USIS-Korea, 1964: 56; Hŏ Ŭn, 2008(a): 168-169). After the first scene that shows contrasting landscapes of wartime chaos and peacetime restoration, the voiceover narrator emphasizes that 'the second enemy' people are confronting after the war is disease and poor health. The narrator introduces a typical postwar South Korean village located in Naesŏng-ri Yangsan-kun Kyŏngsangnam-to with 625 residents and 141 houses. Mr. Kim has been newly elected the Sanitation Officer of this town,

which has no doctors, nurses, or drugstores. He struggles to improve the town's sanitation system. After seeing people suffering or dying from undiagnosed illnesses, he seeks to find solutions, keeping strict records of all the townspeople. In the end, Mr. Kim visits the Provincial Public Health Bureau to find out how to prevent these diseases.

It is interesting that he is almost always accompanied by the U.S. or UN agents in the process of improving the sanitary environment. He gets help from public health expert officers and sanitation experts dispatched from the KCAC and UNKRA. They are all



Figure 22. Mr. Kim and sanitation experts in *The Second Enemy*

Caucasian and wear UN uniforms (see Figure 22). These experts, doctors, and sanitary engineers carry out immunization and hygiene education for the residents, teaching Mr. Kim how to collect water samples and design and build sanitary wells. The mobile health clinic is operated by the UN, and the UNKRA's aid program plays a central role in building modern waterways and public toilets. Meanwhile, USIS-Korea helps Mr. Kim conduct poster exhibitions and hold mobile screening events for educating residents on health and hygiene. The narrator in this film says, "Korea's friends of the Free World

continue to share their strength to lend a helping hand to improve the health of the courageous people of Korea.”

Despite this narrative development, the American characters tend to remain on the periphery while Mr. Kim takes on the role of the central figure, similar to other rehabilitation films. In addition, there is a continuing distinction made between Mr. Kim and other Korean residents. In the scene where Mr. Kim watches the villagers’ exorcism ritual to cure disease, and in the other scene where Mr. Kim disagrees with others on pending hygiene issues, the film obviously Otherizes the villagers on the side of Mr. Kim. This film, produced by a team of American production crews, captures shamanism and the ancestral rites from time to time with the perspective of an outside observer. Adding to this element of Otherization, Mr. Kim’s Western style suits deliver a sharp contrast to the residents’ traditional outfits.

It is important to notice that villagers’ bodies in the film are ideal self-gazed models for the audiences of this to-be-mobile-screened film. That is to say, since this film was to be shown to other rural villagers, the human figures in the film might work as ideal objects of identification. Thus the mobile screening scene in this film might be a mirror image of real scenes from still to-be-offered screening events. This aspect is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7 dealing with *Lighthouse on the Street* [*Kōri-ūi tūngdae*] (1955).

3) Younger Generations Open to the American System

The issue of Otherization of traditional lifestyles from the perspective of young intellectuals is drawn exquisitely in *My 4-H Club Diary* [*Na-ŭi 4H kwajejang*] (1958) and *Korean Educational System* (1958) and shown as a generation gap. In both films, American values are exteriorized “modernized new agriculture” and “democratic new education.” The younger generation is more open to these values and actively tries to accept them for the development of their reconstructed country.

My 4-H Club Diary is the story of a 17-year old boy, Son Chong-ki, who lives in T’ap-ri Hwasŏng-kun, Kyŏnggi-to, and shows how 4-H, an American youth organization for rural development, took root in South Korea. Chong-ki is confused about what to do after he graduates from middle school. Then he decides to join the 4-H club on his sister’s recommendation. In a voiceover narration, Chong-ki explains that there are 3,400 4-H clubs in rural areas and about 120,000 students are engaged in after-school club activities by helping with farm work at home. Every year the club receives project plans for agricultural modernization from students and submits them to a nationwide contest. This year Chong-ki chooses a project for pig raising while his sister’s choice is sewing. After steady effort, they win the first and second prizes in the competition. The film minutely depicts how Chong-ki and his sister learn

ideals and skills for agricultural modernization through their club activities.

The OEC and USIS-Korea supported these club activities by issuing textbooks.

In this film, Chong-ki and his sister symbolize the younger generation which has a potential to achieve agricultural modernization. Their parents' generation used traditional farming methods, described as activities to overcome. For instance, in a scene where Chong-ki helps his parents on the farm and watches his mother tilling the soil and his father sowing seeds, his voiceover narration runs parallel with the moving images. "At this moment when science is advancing day after day, I think farming methods also should not be behind the times." This editing implies that his parents' farming methods are inferior to modern ones. The film includes minor conflicts that show different opinions on modernization exist between the younger and older generations. The 4-H

club students' passion for modernization is sometimes described as unappreciated and undervalued by their parents. Chong-ki's parents remain indifferent to his club activities. In

another scene, a father is so displeased with his son's



Figure 23. A father detaining his son in *My 4-H Club Diary*

volunteer cleaning of town that he forcibly hauls him from the spot (see Figure

23).

The generation gap is also shown in *Korean Educational System* with a more acute tension. With a father, his son and daughter as the central figures, the film shows the difference in pedagogy among the generations. While all are educators, the father is an old-fashioned village teacher, the son an authoritative education-oriented professor, and the daughter is a champion of new democratic ideas of education. They visit an elementary school, a middle and a high school, a special-education school, and a university one at a time, and discuss pending issues and the goals of each school. In a scene showing an industrial high school where students are receiving job training, the film narrates how overseas aid agencies, such as UNKRA, APEC, ICA and UNICEF helped the postwar educational reconstruction in South Korea.

Although the generation gap is set as a family issue, each character's opinion on education is so historicized that each represents the educational system of a specific historical period. The father's traditional views originated from his experience "only living in a *kulbang* [village school]," the son's authoritarian attitude toward education was learned from his youth "in the atmosphere of totalitarian education under the Japanese colonial rule" and the daughter's modern, American-style view of education was made possible by her "majoring in contemporary, democratic new education" (see Figure 24). It is interesting that this young lady is seen as the supporter of democracy, a common

feature of USIA propaganda films during the Eisenhower Administration. The USIA films frequently depicted women as equal participants in a democratic society. It gave an impression that American democracy guaranteed equal opportunity to women (Kenneth



Figure 24. The family in *Korean Educational System* (1958)

Osgood 2006: 257-262). This strategy also was an effective way to appeal to the female demographic who made up a large portion of the audience.

4) The U.S. as an ‘Immanent External Party’ in the Formation of the Self

It is suggestive that many of the USIS-Korea’s rehabilitation films focused on Koreans as ‘the principal manufacturers of the reconstructed nation.’ The point is that these films were produced in Korean language for Korean audiences, using local Korean labor forces, but the official production authority was owned by the U.S. governmental agency, USIS-Korea. In other words, it is important to pay attention to the complexity of the production and consumption process when interpreting these films.

In terms of the sequential order of the narratives, a sudden appearance of the U.S. and UN aids interrupts the smooth, linear development of each plot that narrates the self-reliance of the Korean subject. Such heterogeneity in subject formation reveals itself in a discursive structure that intellectuals and the young generation, who are Americanized, are the ‘enlightened,’ whereas the older generation, with its traditional beliefs and techniques, represents a ‘barrier’ to modernization. The older generation is positioned outside a new alternative subjectivity rather than seen as a target to integrate into the national identity. However, it is not possible for young intellectuals, who wear Western suits and support American democracy, to be identified as similar to their ‘aleatory’ supporters with white skin. Thus, (re)presentations of the Korean subjects in these films do not succeed in homogeneous identification, nor do they construct an alternative identity equated to the ideal model subjectivity of the U.S., the external party.

Meanwhile, the strong presence of America in USIS-Korea films also shows the ambivalent status of America which was both an outsider to the Korean nation-state and one of the state-builders in South Korea at the same time. The U.S. strongly presents its position as an “external party which is not external” or as an “immanent outsider” that is not Korean.

2. Protestant Ethics in Semi-Documentaries

Along with (re)presentations of American subjectivity, it is also worthy to notice how Christianity is depicted in most U.S. public information films.

1) Representation of Nurses: From Women in the Vanguard to Christian White Angels

The protagonist of *Korean Farm Life* (c 1948) is a young Korean woman, and female figures were commonly set forth as role models in U.S. public information films during the Cold War. This focus shows certain gender politics present in the film propaganda spectatorship. Women were usually characterized as highly adaptable to a new culture and thought. Such openness allowed them to enjoy the modern American way of life and become friends of democracy. As stated, a considerable number of USIA films during the Eisenhower period shared similar female characters who were both capable and professional in their social lives (Kenneth Osgood, 2006: 257-262).

For a similar reason, it is worthy to notice how nurses were depicted in USIS-Korea films. As early as August, 1946, one year after the Liberation, DPI produced a film named *The Korean White Angel [Paegŭi ch'ŏnsa]* (SCAP, Aug., 1946). It was one of the earliest films made by the U.S. public information agencies in Korea, and one of six documentaries produced in 1946 by DPI (*Yesul*

t'ongsin, Dec. 3, 1946: 1). This unknown two-reel documentary depicted Korean nurses and their services and was shown throughout South Korea in September of 1946 (SCAP, Sep., 1946). During and after the Korean War, such films as *Republic of Korea Restoring* (c1952) and *Highlights of 1959 Korean National Affairs [Nyusŭ-esŏ pon 1959-yŏn]* (1959) showed images of nurses who had been sent from UN member nations to help Korean patients (see Figure 25). This film contributed to promoting Korean public friendliness and sense of gratitude to allied nations by feminizing the images of their agents.



Figure 25. Foreign nurses in *Republic of Korea Restoring* (c1952)

The analogy between nurses and the ‘white angel’ had been commonly used since the colonial period. This image not only stereotyped the gender role of nursing, but also invested its mission with political significance by gendering it. During the Pacific War, war nurses were widely recruited from the whole Empire of Japan. Especially there were a great number of temporarily employed female nurses from colonies like Korea and Taiwan who were dispatched to Mainland China or the Southern Region (Sin Yŏng-suk, 2011). While women in general were regarded as located in the rear guard, *Ch’ong hu*, many military nurses were at the frontlines and their identity was complicated

(Kwŏn Myŏng-a, 2004). They were disposed to the battlefield, dressed in white robe, and glorified as brave fighters, thus who had been enhancing women's social role. However, at the same time, they were thoroughly gendered in terms of their role in the field as well as their 'motherly' emotional services given to the troops (Sin Yŏng-suk, 2011).

Straits of Chosŏn (1943)

captures this double-edged status of military nurses precisely. A volunteer's wife is taken ill, suffering from hearing nothing about him from the battlefield.

Those who connect this couple

through a phone call are nurses. In the final scene, when the injured hero looks out to the Straits of Chosŏn [Straits of Korea] beyond which his wife is waiting for him, a nurse keeps him company, helping him to walk (see Figure 26). The

strait symbolizes the distance between the battlefield and home. While the

soldiers' wife is at home, working in a field clothes factory on the home front,

the white-robed nurse is beyond the straits, helping the soldier. In this

depiction, nurses are defeminized in terms of conjugal roles, but at the same time,

they are shown an ideal female companion complementing the male subject who

is pursuing a national, sublime mission.



Figure 26. The last scene of *Straits of Chosŏn* (1943)

After the Liberation from colonial rule and during the anti-Communist war against the North, this lofty mission was modified into a broader one than a national one: the Christian faith. The film, *Ward of Affection*, shows that change clearly. Bok-nyō prays to God, feeling laden with care about him, and the whole plot of the film is occupied with her motherly affection for him (see Figure 27).

At this point, the representation of nurses has changed completely and gains a quite different meaning from that of military nurses during the Pacific War.

While the Japanese Imperial Army nurses were depicted as carrying

out a grave mission of national triumph, Bok-nyō's mission

acquires its sublimity from her Christian pursuit of redemption. Though she also mentions the importance of the war against the Communist Army, her main concern is in religious achievement than a political one. She thinks that Sun-kil's late mother would not be redeemed if he fail to be rehabilitated. After Sun-kil successfully receives rehabilitation treatment and a prosthetic leg, she



Figure 27. The nurse's religious behavior in *Ward of Affection* (1953)

lays flowers on the bed where Sun-kil's mother died and hangs a framed picture of Jesus Christ on the wall behind it. Bok-nyō's mission that gains a spiritual value in this 'motherly' way. This demonstration shows how the spirituality of Japanese imperialism made way for the new order led by the U.S. and Christianity in terms of the gender role portrayed on the battlefield.

2) 'Restored' Everyday Life: A Peaceful Village With Rebuilt Churches

Reconstruction after the Korean War was a favorite topic of USIS-Korea films in the 1950s. As *Ward of Affection* connected the theme of redemption to the orphan's rehabilitation, the mission of rebuilding the nation was usually likened to resurgence of individual lives in many USIS-Korea films. *Building Together – Uijongbu Story [Ŭijŏngbu iyagi]* (1955) is one such film depicting everyday life in postwar Korea. This film shows the reconstruction process in Ŭijŏngbu City with the support of the US Armed Forces Assistance to Korea (hereinafter AFAK).

What is noteworthy in this film is how churches are depicted in the restored town. The voiceover narrator emphasizes that individual soldiers have already conducted a fund-raising campaign for assistance before the AFAK aid. As the result, the film shows a Catholic church consecrated in Ŭijŏngbu in August, 1953. After the US Army troops are shown putting money into the

donation box, a mass scene of Korean believers with traditional Catholic clothing and a cross follows. It is significant that the first outcome of city rebuilding in the film is a Christian church.

The other sequence dealing with Christianity is in a later part of the film. Kim Chae-hun, the key person in this documentary, and his family are depicted enjoying the rebuilt city facilities in this sequence. After the narrator's introduction of the new facilities including a playground, a kindergarten, traditional houses and a Buddhist temple, the film shows the restored everyday life of Kim's family.

Following the scene where Sŭng-hŭi and Sŭng-jin, Kim's daughter and son, go to school to take classes, Kim's family goes to church on Sunday. It is a Methodist church constructed with money raised



Figure 28. Kim's family going to church in *Building Together* (1955)

by the U.S. First Corps. Kim's family, including his aged parents, enters the church and exchange greeting with the minister (see Figure 28).

The Catholic Church sequence in *Building Together* starts with a scene where the spire of the church is looked up to with a low angle shot. The materiality of reconstruction is accorded to these perpendicular church buildings.

Through these ascending images, a link between the ‘rebuilt’ subjectivity and Christianity is formed. The two church sequences, placed in the beginning and the end of the film, portray living in a routine Christian way of life as indeed ‘restored’ everyday life. In the same manner as *Korean Farm Life*, the reality of whether Christian Sunday worship was prevalent before the war damage is not considered important in the film.

Therefore, the everyday life depicted in these films is a constituted picture rather than a reflection of reality. It is ‘the landscape,’ of a sociological conception, which means a cognitive framework fulfilled via apriority, institutionality and visuality (Kim Hong-chung, 2005). These pseudo-ethnographies deliver an imagined picture of daily religious lives in Korea and reflect the social and political power among religions at the time of the production of these films.

Chapter 6. Contested Identity: Affiliated Korean Filmmakers and Auteurist Impulse

While USIS-Korea functioned as educators to Korean filmmakers before and after the Korean War, the Korean film industry and ROK governmental agencies, including OPI, were the things the filmmakers had to strengthen the basics. As seen in Chapter 1, such relationships between the Korean filmmakers and U.S. public information agencies were not new, but had already existed prior to the establishment of the ROK Government. These trends indicate that Korean filmmakers were torn between using U.S. public information activities to improve their craft, and commercial filmmaking to assume their discursive leadership in the Korean ‘national cinema’ market. The superior system of the American agencies was indeed something to emulate.

However, working as production agents in an American public information organization meant that these individuals could not conduct their activities from the ‘Korean’ perspectives. Although their films were made for a Korean audience, they clearly had an American voice. Their aim was to create a favorable environment to have an American subject speak to the Korean people. The format of *Liberty News*, a core product of Liberty Production from 1952 through 1967, was similar to that of wartime American newsreels like *Paramount News*. By inserting the dubbed *Hearst Metrotone News* section, the newsreel was more informative than Korean newsreels. The voiceover



Figure 29. *Liberty News: Special Issue on Super Typhoon Sarah* (1959)

narrations were recorded in stiff formal tones, and the opening credit “USIS-Korea Presents” showed its provenance (see Figure 29). Hence, an American sentiment was expressed, but in the Korean language.

In this chapter, the identity confusion of the USIS-affiliated Korean filmmakers and the UNKRA-affiliated American filmmakers is investigated. Both cases also show the existential choice each filmmaker made.³⁷

1. USIS-Korea’s Material Resources and Conditions for Korean Filmmakers

In the course of the Korean War, key crew members of the USIS-Korea film production were replaced. First, the former motion picture officer Tanner resigned because he could not bring his wife to Korea during wartime.

³⁷ Section 2, 3, and some paragraphs of Section 1 are modified from the original Korean article, Kim, Han-sang, “Cold War and the Hybrid Ursprung of South Korean National Cinema: On *Boxes of Death* and Kim Ki-young’s USIS Public Information Films.” *Film Studies*, vol.47, 2011(a): 87-111.

Ridgeway, his assistant, took over the role of motion picture officer (William G. Ridgeway, Feb. 28, 1989). USIS-Korea resumed its film production function in October of 1950 in Seoul, but then had to move all facilities and staff to the South after the Chinese Communist Army entered the war. A total of 350 people, including all the employees of USIS-Korea and their dependents and all equipment were loaded into railroad boxcars and sent down to Chinhae (William G. Ridgeway, Feb. 28, 1989; Yi Hyŏng-p'yo, 2005; KOFA, 2007: 9-67). Yu Jang-san, Im Pyŏng-ho, Im Jin-hwan, Pae Sŏnghak (cinematographers then), Kim Pong-su, Kim Hyŏng-kŭn, Sŏ Ũn-sŏk, Yi T'ae-hwan, Yi T'ae-sŏn (film development specialists then), Ch'oe Ch'il-bok, Yi Kyŏng-sun, Yang Hu-bo (sound recording specialist then), Kim Hŭng-man and Kim Yŏng-hŭi (editing specialists then) were the filmmakers who went with USIS-Korea (KRECA 2003: 41-58).

Then a major replacement of personnel happened during the preparation for the second relocation of the production group from Chinhae to Sangnam. Six filmmakers, including Yi Kyŏng-sun, Kim Hyŏng-kŭn, Kim Hŭng-man, Kim Pong-su, Cho Paek-pong and Chŏng Ju-yong, resigned from USIS-Korea, and set up their own recording and processing laboratory in August of 1951 (Yi Kyŏng-sun 2000: 92-97). It is worth noting that the reason for their resignations is remembered differently by the filmmakers and Ridgeway.

According to the filmmakers, they resented Ridgeway's refusal to rent

the studio for the ROK Army film unit's war film, *An Assault of Justice* (1951) (Yi Kyöng-sun, 2000: 92-97; KRECA, 2003: 41-58; Kim Hyöng-kün, Mar. 30, 2012). While USIS-Korea created its own film production system during the Korean War, the ROK public information agencies had poor financial and technical conditions in place for film production. Thus, Ridgeway's refusal was accepted as hurting their pride in their own nation. After a discussion, the six filmmakers decided to resign and establish their own laboratory:

Kim Hyöng-kün: Ridgeway said, "This is not the ROK Government's property, but the U.S.' This is sponsored by the U.S. Government with the U.S. citizen's tax. It is impossible to let the ROK Army use it." He allowed to use the facilities for a couple of times, and then didn't allow it. So, we said, "Well, drop it! We are Korean." To Ridgeway, we said "Goodbye! Sayonara!" Then six of us rented this Marine Corps building and built the laboratory (Kim Hyöng-kün, Mar. 30, 2012).

However, what Ridgeway remembers is considerably different.

According to him, the Sangnam studio advanced equipment became a threat to senior film specialists familiar with the old equipment. Ridgeway reminisces that although a great number of the main staff resigned simultaneously, better performance with the new equipment and facilities helped improve the quality of production, so the assistant staff could successfully replace their predecessors:

Ridgeway: All of the lab chiefs went on strike when the new processing machine arrived. They thought they would lose face in not knowing how to operate it, so consequently they quit. I don't know what they really expected us to do, but anyhow I was able to train their assistants in on the new machine. That was the end of the old lab chiefs and

their strike. They all had their own special formulas which were closely guarded, even from each other. It was assumed we would be helpless without their know-how. The film that we processed by the old system was terrible. [...] So, finally, for the first time we were now able to turn out reasonably good quality, consistent photographic material -- and, best of all, at the same time, at a much greater pace. The new equipment included sound recording equipment that used magnetic film. [...] The staff absorbed the new techniques. [...] First of all, they followed instructions and didn't have to unlearn anything like some of the older movie people. A good two-thirds of the staff were originally contract employees (William G. Ridgeway, Feb. 28, 1989).

This contradiction in memory shows the complex identity of Korean filmmakers hired by USIS-Korea at that time. They were, according to their life histories and discourses, remembered as the builders of South Korean cinema. However, at the same time, they were wage earners in wartime, who had to negotiate the most favorable terms. Ridgeway's comments on "contract employees" is important in this regard. According to Yi Hyōng-p'yo, at that time, many Korean filmmakers were not permanently hired, but worked in a sub-contractual relationship with USIS-Korea as an outsourcing production team. They actually preferred outsourced production because it guaranteed more profits. This scenario caused a conflict of interest between them and Ridgeway since he wanted to reorganize the system into direct management (Yi Hyōng-p'yo, Dec. 6, 2005). The resignation of old employees thus seems to have made way for direct engagement of employees.

The filmmakers' reluctance to be hired directly to USIS-Korea reflects

their understanding of their relationship with the U.S. public information agencies. They possibly considered their employment relationship with the U.S. agencies as not a permanent one. It is probable that they did not feel a sense of belonging to these agencies, nor a sense of ownership of the products, when pursuing serial single profitable projects from the ordering organization. Rather, they wanted to negotiate with the client to raise their market price. Ridgeway's prescription to acquire new machines and engage workers directly put their positions as skilled workers with know-how in jeopardy. Wartime situations gave them many alternatives, since filmmaking skills were in high demand from various agencies, including the ROK Army, Navy, Air Forces, and OPI (Yi Kyōng-sun, 2000: 91). Their sense of mission to build South Korean cinema, of course, might also have affected their final decision.

The situation of the newcomers, including Kim Yōng-gwōn and Kim Ki-yōng, was not remarkably different. Kim Ki-yōng was a playwright and theater director who became a screenwriter when taking refuge in Pusan during the war. The first films he directed were *Taehan nyusŭ*, the official newsreel series of the OPI, using equipment borrowed from USIS-Korea (Yi Hyo-in, 1994: 368-371; Hong-joon Kim, 2006: 65-87). Shortly thereafter, he was hired by USIS-Korea to make its new newsreel series, *Liberty News*. Since *Liberty News* was launched in May of 1952 and *Taehan nyusŭ* in 1953, Kim must have started

working for USIS-Korea in 1953 (KBS, 1992: 1-2). He earned 50,000 wŏn a month³⁸ when he was scouted by Liberty Production, a salary far higher than the average of 3,500 wŏn earned by physicians then (Yi Hyo-in, 1994: 368-371).

This kind of headhunting shows the rivalry that existed between the two public information agencies. Since the state used war-time newsreels to organize and mobilize the population, there was considerable competition and tension between nation-building and the “Free World” bloc-building forces, made possible by those American agencies’ having abundant equipment, techniques, and finances. Kim, nevertheless, viewed his USIS-Korea years as merely privity of contract due to his own ability, and stressed his auteurist will which stayed free from the propagandistic hirer (Yu Chi-hyŏng, 2006: 19-38).

2. The Complicated Status of USIS-Affiliated Korean Filmmakers

This section analyzes Kim Ki-yŏng’s USIS-Korea public information short films, *I Am a Truck* and *Diary of Three Sailors [Subyŏng-ŭi ilgi]*, in terms of the USIS-affiliated Korean filmmakers’ stylistic positioning in and out of the tradition of American wartime documentaries. *I Am a Truck* was released on March 26, 1954 (Liberty Production, 1954: 1), and *Diary of Three Sailors* was transported

³⁸ According to Kim Yŏng-hŭi, this 50,000 wŏn salary included extra pay for detached service. It seems that Chinhae and Sangnam were regarded as temporary placements during wartime (KOFA 2007: 9-67).

to the USIA's New York film laboratory on June 22, 1955 (Liberty Production 1955), although its release date is not known.

According to Ch'ŏn Hak-pŏm, who worked for the USIS-Korea's Film Department from 1948 to 1957, there were more than 8,000 American propaganda films with Korean dubbing in the USIS-Korea film library in the 1950s (Ch'ŏn Hak-pŏm, 2008). While 8,000 seem to be improbably high, this statement shows how large he did think the collection was. Pae Sŏk-in, who worked as a film director for Liberty Production from the mid-1950s, makes a similar claim (KOFA, 2009: 35-36). Thus, we can assume that Kim Ki-yŏng learned much from the USIS-Korea library. For Kim, "a film buff" who tried to watch "every foreign masterpiece" (Yi Yŏn-ho, 2007: 37-40; 145) and all the newly released films, the latest American documentaries housed in this library were must-see items.

The tradition of war time documentary and propaganda films began with World War I. The U.S. was one of the most successful countries to build up film propaganda system from the legacy of World War II. *March of Time* and *This is America* series were models of wartime propaganda (Richard M. Barsam 1976: 94-135). Given that American wartime documentaries, including *Fury in the Pacific* and *Justice* as seen in Chapter 2, had been imported and screened nation-wide in South Korea since 1946, such films must have become models for war films during and after the Korean War.

Considering this premise, Kim Ki-yŏng's 1954 film *I Am a Truck* is quite an interesting work. This first-person documentary narrated by a military truck, probably was influenced by a group of popular World War II American propaganda films. At that time, a "talking Jeep" was featured in numerous children's books, and one of the OWI films, *Autobiography of a Jeep* (1943), appears to have been part of this trend (NFPPF, 2000: 119-120). The Jeep's ability to cut through forests, navigate rivers, or board planes lends itself well to military purposes. It seems to set the goal of making people understand military equipment by anthropomorphizing them. *I Am a Truck* also partakes of this practice.

Meanwhile, *Diary of Three Sailors* (1955) also shows the influence of American war films. After March 1942 when the Signal Corps Photographic Center was activated, the U.S. War Department launched a newsreel series, *Fighting Men*, narrated by "a soldier speaking typical soldier language." This is said to have been influenced by the speech of Lt. General Wesley McNair at the Army War College, and the form of soldier self-narration became popular (Richard M. Barsam 1976: 138). Pare Lorentz's *Diary of a Sergeant* (1945), also produced by the OWI, is a soldier's first-hand account of rehabilitation following the loss of his arms.³⁹ Kim's *Diary of Three Sailors* is very much in

³⁹ Pare Lorentz is regarded as the leading figure of the American governmental documentary scene in the Roosevelt era (Patricia Aufderheide, 2007: 65-67).

this tradition as well. A sailor, who entered the ROK Navy at age 17 recalls his days in boot camp.

These films are not only examples of translation, adaptation, and mimicry, but also the director's self-conscious expressions to overcome a one-sided reception of the American war film tradition. *Diary of*



Figure 30. The narrator's fainting in *Diary of Three Sailors* (1955c)

Three Sailors well reflects the humorous and lively mood in American educational documentaries. In one unusual sequence, while sailors are undergoing metalwork training on a battleship, oblique-angle moving shots, high tension amplifying background music, and high-contrast lighting all call attention to a critical situation. The narrator's fainting spell could be calculated to make the audience perceive the event as an accident (see Figure 30).

However, this tension quickly disappears, and the film moves on to its next sequence using a stable long shot of the battleship against peaceful music. This urgent sequence is a signature found in Kim's later works, *Housemaid* (1960) and *Goryeojang* (1963). This sequence is in effect a self-conscious moment when the director refuses to be identified as merely a successor to American war

documentaries. Such intriguing subjectivation is made possible by accepting a stranger's worldview. When Kim rejects the label "Expressionist," he defined his works as "Freudian" (Yi Hyo-in, 1994: 368-371). In other words, his fondness for high-contrast lighting and extreme angles expresses certain mental states found in Freudian psychology. Regardless of whether this interview forty years later explains the film's original meaning or not, the stylistic unexpectedness of such a sequence shows a definite connection to European auteurism in which a subject tries to break free from the fixed conventions of typical U.S. public information films.



Figure 31. A talking truck in *I Am A Truck* (1954)

I Am a Truck also shows auteurship. While *Autobiography of a Jeep* creates an intimacy between the military vehicle and the audience, this Korean film is more like a horror movie.

After the sound of a car crash, the narration starts with scenes of a UN Army cemetery and a junkyard, which is "a cemetery of the dead cars." The narrator is an old truck dumped in this yard (see Figure 31). After passing through the ROK Army's recycling factory, this truck will emerge as a useful vehicle. Lines like "My rusty body showed much damage when it was disassembled," "At the end of that first day, I was

completely taken apart,” “I am now disassembled into tiny pieces,” “I was worried that I would not be rebuilt at all” are juxtaposed with the dark interior scenes of the factory, high-contrast lightings, heavy factory machines, and dismal background music. The narrator’s description of dismemberment is grotesque and far from the usual cheerfulness of children books.

These two cases demonstrate the gloomy sentiment during the reconstruction period using the stylistic legacies from American war documentaries. At the same time, it reveals a filmmaker who was conscious of the European ‘film auteur.’⁴⁰

3. ‘Auteurism’ and the Discourses of Korean Cinema in the ‘Germinating Period of Korean Cinema’

The years from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s are considered “the Golden Age of Korean cinema” (Yi Yǒng-il, 2004: 27). Korean academia did not offer film historical studies until 1969, when Yi Yǒng-il published *Han’guk yǒnghwa chǒnsa [The History of Korean Cinema]*. According to Yi Hyo-in and Yi Sun-chin, Yi Yǒng-il’s writing offered “the completion of the gigantic history of

⁴⁰ In interviews, Kim says that he was highly keen on the new aesthetics of the world cinema and always tried to catch up on the new trends. He also frequently talks about the influence of Italian neo-realism during the 1950s (Yi Yǒn-ho, 2007; Yu Chi-hyǒng, 2006: 19-38).

Korean cinema” covering “the entirety of Korean cinema” (Yi Sun-chin, 2004). Yi Yǒng-il argued that this Golden Age was when Korean cinema as established came into its own as an industry and an art form. According to him, Kim Ki-yǒng, Sin Sang-ok, Yu Hyǒn-mok and Yi Man-hŭi were the leading directors of the Golden Age and beforehand had achieved the aesthetics of national cinema in the “Germinating Period of the Korean Cinema” (Yi Yǒng-il, 2004: 25-27). As Yi Sun-chin explains, since 1969 “the critical discourses on Korean film history have mainly been generated by two thematic impulses-- realism and authorship” (Yi Sun-chin, 2004). In the center of this group of auteurs were those directors who had been highly exposed to Hollywood and the European cinematic aesthetics. Kim Ki-yǒng, who started his film career as a USIS-Korea member, and Sin Sang-ok, who learned film from the USIS-Korea’s outsourcing of production, makes us further deliberate the role of that American public information agency.

Kim’s first feature film, *Boxes of Death* [*Chug-ǒm-ŭi sangja*] (1955),⁴¹ is noteworthy in terms of this auteurist historiography. However, Kim’s first full-length commercial film, *Boxes of Death*, rather resembles the complicated aspects that his early short films revealed; it is more complex. *Boxes of Death*

⁴¹ Some secondary sources have recorded the film’s Korean title as *Chu-gǒm-ŭi sangja* [*Box of Corpse*] or *Chug-ŭm-ŭi sangja* [*Box of Death*], and its English title as *Box of Death*. However, its official titles both in Korean and English are *Chug-ǒm-ŭi sangja* and *Boxes of Death* (USIS-Korea, 1964: 151). This film had been assumed to be missing until the author found all nine reels of negatives in the NARA in July of 2010; however, the film still lacks sound.

was approved for screening on June 11, 1955 and released around July 1 (Hö Paek-nyön, Jul.1, 1955). There are only a few cases that show the direct link between the USIS-Korea and the Korean commercial film scene, including *Bird of a Feather [Ökchi pong jabi]* (1961), starring the famous comedic actor, Kim Hŭi-kap. Therefore, *Boxes of Death* occupies a unique position in the film production of USIS-Korea and builds interesting, even unique, bridges between USIS-Korea and Korean commercial film market.

According to Ridgeway, this film's script was a product of the collaboration between Kim and him to show "a different approach in anti-Communist propaganda" from that of the ROK Government's naïve propaganda films depicting "the communist as a bloodthirsty monster" (William G. Ridgeway, Feb. 28, 1989). While the film sound is missing in NARA, the analogical synopsis reconstructed from its available film images and news reviews published at that time is as follows (Kim Chong-mun, Jul. 24, 1955; O Yöng-chin, Aug. 4, 1955):

The mother and sister of a South Korean soldier, Kim, who was killed in the Korean War, have been holding memorial rites in preparation for the Great Funeral in the third year. One day, a North Korean partisan army officer, Pak Ch'i-sam, visits this house and pretends that he was Kim's comrade, telling them that he is a discharged South Korean soldier and that Kim is still alive in North Korea, having converted to communism. This helps him to use the house as a strategic position for his covert action. He persuades his comrades, who are staying in their hideout among the mountains, not to use armed force but to concentrate on political maneuvering like disturbing the hearts of people, manipulating prices and

interrupting the local elections. Along the way, Cho Sun-t'aek, a police officer and boyfriend of Kim's sister Chŏng-hŭi, happens to meet a discharged soldier who brings Kim's ashes in a box. Realizing this, Pak attacks them in order to escape detection. He holds Cho at gunpoint and drags him to hideout. In the process, Cho secretly switches the ash box with a bomb. Finally, Cho blows up the hideout and the partisan soldiers, along with himself. After this heroic death, the bereaved mother and sister hold another memorial rite with the returned ash box.



Figure 32. Pak Ch'i-sam's first appearance in *Boxes of Death* (1955)

The plot reflects the traditional anti-Communist narrative. However, this film also includes unnecessary cinematic expressions which can be seen as the auteur's signature. For

instance, in the sequence of Pak Ch'i-sam's first appearance, he helps Chŏng-hŭi to cut a hen's throat and, at this moment, the camera takes a close-up of his face underlit to illustrate Pak's insidiousness (see Figure 32). This kind of lighting also appears in the night scene when Chŏng-hŭi goes for a walk with her lover, Cho (see Figure 33). That outdoor scene contrasts light and dark with a candle held by the actress, seeming to convey her mental states. Kim Ki-yŏng states in the interview that he devised this high-contrast lighting after a brief demonstration by a lighting technician who had worked for the Toho Company (Yi Yŏn-ho, 2007: 129). However, the use of that signature was not unique to



Figure 33. A candle light scene in *Boxes of Death*

Kim. Film critics like Yu Tu-yŏn, who played a leading role in the discourse on cinema, introduced European aesthetic trends like Neo-realism and indeed

described “the spirit of a

film auteur” (Yu Tu-yŏn, May 10, 1954). This tendency influenced the nation-building discourse during the reconstruction of Korea (Pak Chi-yŏng, 2010), in that such spirit of a film auteur was understood to require a clear recognition of “the urgent social situation in the postwar era” (Yu Tu-yŏn, May 10, 1954).

Although it was intended as an anti-Communist film, the main issue with this film for critics was its entertainment value. In a review on July 24, 1955, the film received bitter criticism from the poet Kim Chong-mun, who said that the grotesque representation of the enemies and the use of Communist figures were only employed to stimulate curiosity (Kim Chong-mun, Jul. 24, 1955). He concluded that it was a sensationalistic entertainment movie thus “dimming the prestige of the sixteen allies” and that the work was “a big shame since it was produced by Liberty Production.” He added that “For the sake of Liberty Production and in order to deliver our truth outside, I hope that this kind of work will emerge no more and filmmakers will engage themselves in the creation

business with much higher self-consciousness” (Kim Chong-mun, Jul. 24, 1955).

In other words, Kim Chong-mun was defining South Korea’s geopolitical status in the Cold War system.

Today, all the cultural activities we conduct must contribute to the fulfillment of a worldwide mission: anti-communism. It is because all the cultural and artistic activities are the 'resistance' against the lack of freedom, which must be based on actual life, and because our national aim, furthermore the aim of all mankind, is summarized in a single thesis: anti-Communism in the name of the liberty. Therefore, under our special geographical condition that we are confronting the Communist forces on the opposite sides of the demarcation line, there is no doubt that our cultural activities must be built on a strong anti-communist foundation (Kim Chong-mun, Jul. 24, 1955).

For Kim, anti-Communist films had an important mission to extol the honor of the sixteen allies, and Liberty Production was to be admired for its commitment to that mission.

Against this criticism, the scriptwriter, O Yŏng-chin, offered a counterargument on August 3 and 4 (O Yŏng-chin, Aug. 3, 1955; Aug. 4, 1955). He identified four categories of anti-Communist films, using examples from American cinema, namely, polished satires such as *Ninotchka* (Ernst Lubitsch, 1939); action dramas like *State Secret* (Sidney Gilliat, 1950); realistic docudramas like *Man on a Tightrope* (Elia Kazan, 1953); and war films like *The Bridges at Toko-Ri* (Mark Robson, 1954). Through this array, he argued that the entertainment value of anti-Communist film did not compromise its worth as a tool of enlightenment. For him, *Boxes of Death* was an attempt to “pioneer

another ‘type’ of anti-Communist film” which could not be seen in foreign cinema since “they have only a small number of such films and the variety of certain types is poor” (O Yǒng-chin, Aug. 4, 1955). Nevertheless, there was an underlying geopolitical argument, namely, that Korean cinema should be experimental since it is located on the true front lines against global Communism. It is interesting that American films were also presented as universal. Thus, this controversy shows how producers of the discourse in Korean cinema recognized Korean cinema’s geopolitical location, and how it made these individuals take a certain position regarding their aim.

Kim Chong-mun’s criticism of *Boxes of Death* was similar to that of Hollywood films. Cho Sun-t’aek’s chase scene follows Hollywood conventions, and Pak Ch’i-sam’s portrayal of the Communist spy is similar to that of Cold War spies in Hollywood films. Hence, his insistence on using certain expressions reflects Hollywood’s influence. At the same time, this film shows the general characteristics of U.S. propaganda films. The way in which it calls attention to external enemies infiltrating a peaceful village is shared by many films produced by USIA, the homeland umbrella organization of each local USIS branch.

However *Boxes of Death* also shows a connection with the tradition outside Hollywood and USIS-Korea. As discussed in Kim Ki-yǒng’s filmography, this film is a “psychological thriller” (Yi Yǒng-il, 2004: 247-248),

which borrows from the stylistic features of 1920s' German Expressionist films. In several scenes that show Ch'i-sam's infiltration and convert actions, he and other characters and their states of mind are magnified by high-contrast lightening, distinctive camera angles, and unexpected actions. By the same token, these characteristics can be understood as results of a theatrical influence. In a documentary about Kim, he says that frequent use of provocative scenes in his films was an outgrowth of his theatrical engagement during his school days:

When I was a college student, I looked through many theatrical plays. From old Greek plays through Ibsen and Eugene O'Neill, I searched a lot. So, if you read my scenarios, there is a great deal of desperate scenes (KOFA, 1997).

Several outside scenes using real locations also display stylistic influences from Italian neo-realism (see Figure 34). Kim remembers that there were certain social conditions in postwar South Korea that were similar to



Figure 34. Ch'i-sam's maneuvering in the market area

those using Italian neo-realism after 1945: "They were all like that at the time" (Hong-joon Kim, 2006: 69). However, the intellectual concerns of filmmakers at that time also seem to have influenced these stylistic attempts. In 1954, neo-realism was a hot topic of Korean film criticism (Yu Tu-yŏn, May 10, 1954).

The remnants of Japanese colonialism are also noticeable. The portrait of Chŏng-hŭi's dead brother is said to have been prepared for the third year of the *taesang* [Great Funeral], while a news article at that time points out that such a long funeral was extremely rare in Korean custom (O Yŏng-chin, Aug. 4, 1955). It reminds us of the Japanese home memorial, *kamidana* or *butsudan*, or the first scene of the wartime colonial Korean film, *Straits of Chosŏn* (1943), depicting a portrait of a dead soldier. Moreover, the ending in which the officer Sun-t'aek sacrifices himself and destroys the enemies' hiding place evokes the images of *junshoku* [death in the line of duty] films that were frequently produced in Japan during the Pacific War (Peter B. High, 2003: 381-421). While the former elements are linked to the auteurist consciousness, the latter show continuity between a colony and a postcolonial society.

Still, the most important point is the lasting presence of America and USIS-Korea in the work of Kim Ki-yŏng. As Kim Chong-mun points out, the film is a product of Liberty Production, a part of a local branch of USIA, and this fact is significant among the discourses on Korean cinema. The same framework was shared by his rival, O Yŏng-chin, who supported this film based on the logic that it produced a remarkable achievement which even the headquarters in the U.S. had been unable to accomplish. This film was understood to have a mission — support the allies of the “Free World.” It was a geopolitical recognition that entered the narratives of postwar Korean national cinema.

Such geopolitical self-identification when constituting the national cinema was caused by Korean filmmakers' self-awareness as being actual military units on the frontlines of the global Cold War and also the local 'hot' one. At the same time, however, it was directly influenced by the strategic plans of the "Free World" and its bloc-building agencies, on which the filmmakers depended both technically and financially. According to the *Country Plan for Korea*, a report by the American Embassy in Pusan to the U.S. State Department in February 1953, Korea became "the vivid symbol of willingness to act knowing that forfeit to Communism in even remote lands promotes the Soviet technique of world conquest" (J.R. Higgins, May 12, 1953). According to that report, "a campaign of positive propaganda production in Korea for use throughout the world and, of course, in Korea" is necessary, and USIS-Korea "should lay out a master production schedule and systematically begin production." At this point, especially for motion pictures, "extra manpower" was needed (J.R. Higgins, May 12, 1953). The plan to obtain extra manpower shows the conditions that allowed the Liberty Production and its filmmakers to build the system. It also means that other propaganda activities in South Korea were made possible by their role in the strategic plans of the U.S.

Seen in this light, Kim Ki-yŏng, who was preparing for his debut as a commercial director in the Korean film market, found himself in a difficult position. He was a Korean who had to speak for America. He wanted, however, to choose his own position in the competition between nation-building

and bloc-building. He was one of those filmmakers who had been exposed to American film styles, but at the same time he was an auteur who wanted to modify the Hollywood and USIS conventions by drawing from European and theatrical aesthetics. Above all, he was eager to escape from such dilemmas. Therefore his USIS-Korea films were a result of intense competition among those very complex identities. As we have seen, Kim's early career in association with the U.S. public information agency was instrumental in forming his later identity as an auteur. This realization raises the need for further investigation into his later works to trace a possible continuity and full coherence.

Korean filmmakers' deep involvement in U.S. propaganda activities during the years of reconstruction is not only found in the particular case of Kim Ki-yŏng. External agencies like USIS-Korea and UNKRA intervened in the work of Korean filmmakers to deliver bloc-building, and those filmmakers availed themselves of the resources of those agencies. The hybridity of subject formation in Korean national cinema was a shared characteristic of many filmmakers at that time.

4. Disharmony between Motion Picture Unit Filmmakers and UNKRA Officials

There is another interesting case that shows the filmmakers' failure of self-identifying with the aim of the propaganda agencies during the Korean War and the postwar period. The UNKRA Film Unit's other major objective was to produce one 24-minute film for world distribution (Don Pryor, Jun. 26, 1952). It was a semi-documentary designated "to show what has happened to the people of South Korea, what can be done to help them, and tell why it must be done" (Pat Frank, 1953: 22-24). The film's working title was *Ko-Chip*, later changed to *The Long Journey* (Theodore Conant, Apr. 14, 2010). It was a story about a child, who was head of a household with his two sisters in wartime Seoul (Pat Frank, 1953: 117-120). The project was led by Alfred Wagg, the head of the Film Unit, and shot by the cinematographer, Richard Bagley.

However, Wagg and Bagley had to leave the unit as early as in December, 1952, and Conant took charge of the project thereafter. First, Bagley was fired by Wagg, and then Wagg had to leave the team because of a conflict with UN officials (Don Pryor, Jun. 9, 1953). According to Conant, the disharmony between the UN officials and the unit filmmakers was mainly caused by their different attitudes about filmmaking (Theodore Conant, Oct. 1, 2010). While filmmakers, like Bagley who was influenced by Italian neo-realism, were interested in the film's artistic value, the UN officials were more

into delivering propaganda. Don Pryor then approached Conant and Yi Hyŏng-p'yo, and asked them to finish the film (Theodore Conant, Apr. 14, 2010).

While Wagg had originally expected the film project to be completed between October 26 and November 1, 1952 (Alfred Wagg, Oct. 8, 1952), it was inevitable that the project would go adrift until Conant and Yi completed the film around July, 1953 (Bill Reiche, Jul. 10, 1953).

However, the film was still not accepted by the UN officials even after Conant's direction. It seems that the understanding of the project's main purpose still produced an unbridgeable gap between the filmmakers and the agency. In a letter to Sir. Arthur Rucker, Chief of the UNKRA's European Regional Office on March 2, 1954, Norman Michie, a public information officer of UNKRA in New York, criticized Conant's version because it did not "lend itself to lecture treatment," so it was regarded unusable for Rucker's purpose of talks in Europe (Norman Michie, Mar. 2, 1954). Bill Reiche, Chief of the Division of Public Information in UNKRA's New York Headquarters, even stated that *Ko-Chip* had been originally planned not necessarily for worldwide distribution, but mainly to train Korean film personnel (Bill Reiche, Jul. 10, 1953). It was a completely different point of view than that of the filmmakers, who had believed and told the American Broadcasting Company that the completed film would "soon be ready for distribution" (Bill Reiche, Jul. 10, 1953).

Meanwhile, after leaving the Film Unit, Bagley completed his own documentary, *Encounter in Korea*, the working title of which was *The Hill of the Phoenix* (Bill Reiche, Dec. 12, 1952; Jun. 25, 1953). It was first started as Bagley's personal effort, but after watching a rough cut of the film, Pryor decided to support the film as a UNKRA project (Don Pryor, Jan. 14, 1953). While both Conant and Yi thought of Wagg as rather aspirational, Bagley was considered an art-for-art figure (Yi Hyöng-p'yo, Dec. 6, 2005; Theodore Conant, Apr. 14, 2010). Conant's comment on Bagley was as follows:

Conant: It tells the... shows the one detail is that Bagley had very different ideas about the kind of film that should be made, and he hoped that Wagg wouldn't gig in some other gloriole he didn't care about that. He just wanted to just make a good film. And his, his ideas (to) some extent are included by, in the film he made of his own, after Wagg was fired. [...] Don Pryor, the former television and film maker who was in charge of films for UNKRA, wanted is a kind of publicity. And Bagley was interested in so much, is really in making good films. And they began really arguing about that. And... Wagg almost fired Bagley (Theodore Conant, Apr. 14, 2010).

Therefore, Bagley's making of *Encounter in Korea*, written and produced entirely by himself before Pryor's decision, resulted from a kind of auteurist intention to create a fine film. After returning to his home country, Bagley joined a documentary team to shoot *On the Bowery* (1956) as cinematographer (Kenneth Turan, 2011).

These cases illustrate the whole atmosphere of the Film Unit at that time. In the same vein, it is worthy of notice that Yi Hyöng-p'yo emphasizes the

importance of the American documentary filmmaker, Robert J. Flaherty, in a part of his oral history where he narrates the influence he received from Conant and the UNKRA (Yi Hyŏng-p‘yo, Dec. 6, 2005). Conant learned from Flaherty when he was a high school student at the Putney School in Vermont (Hee-bok Shin, 2012). Bagley’s next film, *On the Bowery*, is considered a film “in line with Flaherty's earlier work” (Kenneth Turan, 2011). Erik Barnouw compares Flaherty to the Scottish documentary maker, John Grierson, and explains that they are the origins of two contrasting attitudes in documentary film making (Erik Barnouw, 1993: 85-138). This contrast reminds one of the lack of consensus between the UNKRA and filmmakers. Grierson thought that documentary makers should be propagandists, and art should not be an end, but a means, while his target of criticism, Flaherty, emphasized instead ethnographical approaches and the filmmakers’ role, which was to document. Then Flaherty’s attitude toward the documentary encountered and mingled with the flow of ‘direct cinema,’ including *On the Bowery*, in the late 1950s and early 1960s (Erik Barnouw, 1993: 33-50, 85-138, 231-252). It was an attitude that stressed the role of documentary makers as observers and auteurs. Yi Hyŏng-p‘yo’s reminiscence shows how such an attitude did influence the formation of his identity:

Yi: Even after I had made fiction films quite a long time, I still thought, “This is not true cinema, documentary is true all the time,” in my mind I had, yes. It was closer to, so to speak, perfect art. And fiction films were, in some wise, decadent to me. Something like cheating, a little,

anyway, it was a fancy world, and secular. But documentary was not that secular (Yi Hyŏng-p'yo, Dec. 13, 2005).

It is important also to note that this influence was exerted on him at that point of time when he personally had experienced the conflicts between these two different attitudes toward documentary filmmaking.

Chapter 7. Who Watches Whom?: Repetitive Self-Gazing and the Ethnographic Other

In this chapter, a specific form of spectatorship during the reconstruction period is examined as one aspect of propaganda film reception. It suggests that a certain discipline might be conducted in the process through which viewers looked at themselves in training and education. This study calls that process the mechanism of ‘Self-gazing’ for the production of the Self. While the Lacanian definition of the gaze implies the act of seeing the Self in itself (Chu Ũn-u, 2003: 77-96), this term is coined to put more emphasis on the conscious arrangement of the audiences in a mechanism that was invented for propaganda purposes. The assumption is that it was the process of defining the ideal Self,⁴² as well as constructing the Other, using the procedures of identification with the modernized and civilized bodies, and the Otherization of those undisciplined bodies as projected on the screen.

In the latter half of this chapter, an interplay of the gazes in the documentary on the goodwill mission performance in Southeast Asia reminds one of Foucault’s analyses on the painting, *Las Meninas* (1656) (Michel Foucault, 1970: 3-16; Chu Ũn-u, 2003: 326-340). It is examined in terms of the

⁴² The analytical method used here, which places the definition of ‘‘ideal Self’’ and the projection of ‘‘a contemporary critique of self onto a constructed Other,’’ was taken from Eric Rentschler’s analysis of the stereotypical images of Jews in Nazi German films (Eric Rentschler, 1996: 149-169).

institutionalized gazes found in the ethnographic films and the production of cultural hierarchy in Cold War Asia. The recognition of cultural peculiarities in South Korea and the creation of the ethnographic Other in Korean cultural films by USIS-Korea pose a serious problem for the gaze both in and out of these films.

1. Spectators of Rehabilitation Films and Their Self-Gazing

Child relief and rehabilitation was a good means to provide that dichotomy between the modern Self and the Other. This study compares a film from the colonial period to one of the USIS-Korea's reconstruction films to investigate that continuity.

1) *Angels on the Street*: Who watches whom?

Until discovered after a long missing hiatus, *Angels on the Street* [*Chip ōmnŭn ch'ōnsa*] (1941) had been regarded as an early model of 'national' realist films. Its rediscovery in 2005 was an event that placed this film right in the center of the controversy over Pro-Japaneseness since people could see that it contains a scene on "*hwangguk sinmin sōsa* [the Pledge of the Imperial Subjects]" in its last sequence. However, the more the debate went forward, the more the

broader ideas were expanded regarding concerns about heterogeneity in the text and the historical context surrounding the production of this film. The central concern is the historical fact that the exportation of this film to Japan was stopped in 1941. Recent academic approaches show a tendency to trace its compositive or decolonial elements by presuming the grounds by which this film was reversed the original decision of recommendation from the Monbusho [Ministry of Education and Culture] of Japan and eliminated some sequences due to censorship. Chu Ch'ang-kyu argues that this film is a work of transition from popular cinema to collaborative propaganda, and the heterogeneous combination of Korea's popular attraction style and the political direction of *Naisen Ittai* [Japan and Korea are one] indeed resulted in the friction that led to the failure of its exportation (Chu Ch'ang-kyu, 2010). Yi Yŏng-chaе interprets the orphanage, which is the main setting of this film, as an unstable utopia led by Korean male intellectuals so that the colonial authorities might feel it as uncomfortable (Yi Yŏng-chaе, 2008: 155-205), and Yi Hyo-in reveals the possibility of a decolonial intention of the Director Ch'oe In-kyu by comparing the original story of the real orphanage, the politically adapted script written by Motosada Nishigame, and the film text twisted again by Ch'oe (Yi Hyo-in, 2010). The concept of Self-gazing adds another point of view that connects general characteristics of propaganda film viewing and post/colonial particularity in terms of both 'exhibition' and 'spectatorship.'

Angels on the Street, which is based on an original story of an existing

orphanage Hyangninwŏn and its founder, Pang Su-wŏn, seemingly tells the story of a social worker relieving poor children with conviction. Pastor Pang opens the orphanage in a suburban farm with the help of his brother-in-law, An In-Kyu, who is a medical doctor. Pang gathers street children and tries to guide them to self-reliance by teaching cooperation and vocational skills like noodle-making. The children at first complain, but gradually adjust themselves to this way of life.

The crucial mechanism of the self-relief described in this film is a ‘discipline of bodies.’ Discipline, regulation and enforced labor make their bodies useful enough to relieve themselves. Several child labor scenes in the film show the



Figure 35. A child labor scene in *Angels on the Street* (1941)

aestheticization of discipline and orderly action (see Figure 35). By instrumentalizing bodies, this exhibition of bodies in the film seems to have attracted viewers. Then “who” was expected to see this propaganda film? And “whose” bodies were exhibited in the cinematic attractions with an aestheticized machinelike motion?

Such aestheticization of collective body motions is also observable in other propaganda films of the time. *Ilbon sillok [Japanese chronicles]* (c1943), a newsreel series during the Pacific War, shows a training camp for ‘volunteer’

soldiers from colonial Korea. This film shows the rhythmical collective motions of the troops, their well-organized way of life, and their disciplined



Figure 36. Orderly motions in *Ilbon sillok*

bodies (see Figure 36). It is obvious that those who were expected to watch this film were those to-be-organized soldiers either at the battle front or on the home front. In other words, the soldiers in the film were a pre-

accomplished ideal goal, which many of the audiences would become equated with in the end.

However, it might not be easy for the audiences to identify with the owners of the bodies in *Angels on the Street*, who were street urchins and regarded as abnormal. This might create a problem for the characters being identified as the ideal Self. One solution was, as found by Yi Hyo-in, their hardships, ingenuousness and pure heart displayed in the narrative of this film. This characteristic enables one to blur the line between the Self and the Other. In other words, the immaturity of those urchins becomes understood as the Nation's sorrowful past, the 'pre-modern' Self. This theme might remind audiences of a collective loss, as they were to watch themselves in the film. Within this mechanism, the Japanese Self is outside the flow of Self-gazing. Therefore, the failure of exportation to Japan was predetermined.

2) *The Lighthouse on the Street: Infiltrating Screens and Repetitive Self-gazing*

The Lighthouse on the Street (1955) was sponsored by Taehan Sonyŏn Munhwawŏn [Korean Youth Cultural Institute] in Masan and produced by the USIS-Korea's Sangnam Production. The director of the film was Kim Yŏng-gwŏn (Masan Sisa, 1985: 858). The film is a reenactment of the rehabilitation of war orphans and teen-headed households in the Korean Youth Cultural Institute, a private school established by Lt. Pak Tŏk-chung for himself. The story centers on a 13-year old boy, An Hong-sik, who lost his father in the war and fled to Masan with his mother and sister. The boy has to overcome multiple difficulties by himself, sleeping on the floor of Masan Station, begging for money, and then stealing to survive. At last, Lt. Pak and his institute save the boy, leading him to the road to rehabilitation. Hong-sik stops begging and stealing, and begins to learn. He learns from other students how to shine shoes as job training and then becomes reborn as "a young professional." Like its colonial precursor, this film shows the logic of self-relief, namely, internalization of labor and discipline. Children like Hong-sik must learn vocational skills and earn money by themselves on the street. This wartime film tries to show how such logic is a natural progression.

They study in the yard with no ceiling, with pencils made from twigs and notebooks from sandy ground. Lt. Pak provides their education out of his own pocket, similar to the colonial social entrepreneur depicted in *Angels on the Street*. However his character has more complexity. As a ROK Army lieutenant who seeks to rebuild his country, he forges a certain relationship with the U.S. agencies,⁴³ which differs from the relationship between the Korean intellectuals and the Japanese colonial authorities.

In the film, there is a scene with mobile film screening conducted by the USIS-Korea for the children of the Youth Cultural Institute (see Figure 37):



Figure 37. A mobile screening scene in *The Lighthouse on the Street* (1955)

“When the mobile projection vehicle visited the school, kids were excited to see the movies. They liked watching movies, but they could not afford the tickets. However, the USIS-Korea provided news from all over the world and various cultural films for free. Hong-sik and Chŏng-sun never failed to watch this. In this kind of event, there were usually over a thousand spectators, including child students in daytime and nighttime classes, and their neighbors. After a brief notice from the teacher, the movie started soon” (The voiceover narration in *The Lighthouse on the Street* [26:55~27:43]).

⁴³ U.S. aid also appears in this film. Lt. Pak starts a class with the USIS-Korea magazine, *Chayu Segye* [*Free World*], and the voice-over narrator adds, “Textbooks are from the USIS-Masan.”

The film shows children watching the USIS-Korea's *Liberty News* in this scene. Interestingly, the film is about students' receiving rehabilitation training in vocational school. It showcases a newsreel report on the rehabilitation schools in front of actual students from a rehabilitation school. As the film inside and outside were made by the same production company, the narrators in both films have the same tones and voices. This kind of feature-long public information film was usually shown in mobile screenings rather than in commercial movie houses, so one can assume that the outside film, *The Lighthouse on the Street*, would have been shown in a similar way. That means that the Liberty Production film, shown in the mobile screening as well, recorded the mobile showcase of the other Liberty Production film. Considering that the film was screened by USIS-Korea, it can be inferred that these rehabilitating students might actually be watching their future Self by joining the screening and then their present Self in the course of rehabilitation would be shown to others. This repetition might blur the line between beginnings and ends and created the circle of Self-gazing. Meanwhile, the students in the film, as well as the student audiences outside the film, gaze at Lt. Pak, who has already rehabilitated himself as an Army officer of a reconstructed nation. This presentation shows the mechanism of gazing in these rehabilitation narratives.

3) Hyangninwŏn: A Crossing between the Colony and the Postcolony

In addition, it should be remembered that the history of mobile screening of educational films is quite long, as stated in Chapter 3. Hyangninwŏn was founded in 1940, and it seems to have expanded its social efforts during the Liberation period. A news article from December 1946 reports that Hyangninwŏn organized its mobile screening team for screening in schools, factories, institutions, and rural areas (*Chayu Sinmun*, Dec. 7, 1946: 2). In September 1947, other news recorded that a juvenile drama company, which consisted of Hyangninwŏn's own inmates, double presented a stage play and a child education film (*Chosŏn Ilbo*, Sep. 19, 1947: 2). It is remarkable that the U.S. XXIV Corps donated a camera to this institution, so they could conduct filmmaking activities as well (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Jan. 31, 1948: 2). In February 1948, they offered a petition to the Seoul Government Office for the movie house to show child educational films in Seoul. They said, "Inferior movies affect emerging of urchins" (*Tonga Ilbo*, Feb. 6, 1948: e2).

It is suggestive that Hyangninwŏn's inmates themselves became touring actors and a mobile screening team. They can be interpreted as the embodiment of circulation, that one is disciplined by gazing at its future Self's disciplined body. The 'real' disciplined bodies of the Hyangninwŏn inmates might be exhibited as a propaganda product while they were showing propaganda imagery besides. 'Urchins' who had gathered in 1940 thus became

the role models who then educated the younger ones.

It is important that USIS-Korea's rehabilitation films repeated this Self-gazing mechanism, and that, in the course of doing so, the U.S. public information agency became a mediator for the mechanism. Liberty Production was there as a mediator that could visualize the 'invisible' future of war orphans and street urchins. They were outside Self-gazing, which means that they were not the Korean Self, but they were able to let Koreans see the future. Between the lines of repeated Self-gazing in *The Lighthouse on the Street*, the U.S. was showing its superiority in visualization.

2. Discovery of Korean Traditional Culture and Cultural Hierarchy in Asia

Another case of USIS-Korea's strategy of visualization and spectatorship under that strategy can be observed in its representations of Korean traditional culture. As Klein defines the idea to explore and exchange cultural peculiarities as "global imagery of integration" during the 1950s (Christina Klein, 2003: 19-60), the USIS was an important tool for integration through mutual understanding. Its representation of local traditional cultures aimed at very mutual understanding. This kind of project to appreciate and learn obscure cultures of other nations can be understood in terms of the strategy of visualization.

In particular, it is necessary to contextualize USIS-Korea's contributions to represent and exhibit Korean traditional culture in relation to the nation-building project for ROK, a newly established postcolonial state. In rebuilding the nation-state, (re)establishment of 'traditional culture,' concealed under colonial rule, was a very important task. For many Asian countries, which had experienced colonial rule and imperialist wars, the process to excavate, assemble, and justify each nation's past was a belated, but urgent, task to accomplish. A nation had to serve as the strong basis for legitimizing the new regime by providing evidence of origin, genealogy, and history. Hence, cultural elements, which would be resources for such a linear model of historiography, had to be unearthed and reorganized in the early period of nation-building. This was not only a process of decolonization that reinstated elements disavowed and disparaged by the colonial power, but inversely, it was also a process of succession which allowed them to reappropriate the pride of a locality given and commercialized by the political economy of a former empire. Therefore, the project of integration driven by the United States in the 1950s needs to be understood as approaching Korean traditional culture so as to interlock that culture with the nation-building project that became South Korea.

1) Kim Paek-pong Live: Recognition of Cultural Peculiarities

An interesting case in point is USIS-Korea's serial filming of the Korean

traditional dancer, Kim Paek-pong (Kim Paik-bong). Kim personified the superiority of the “Free World,” since she had defected to South Korea during the Korean War (*Tonga Ilbo*, November 23, 1954: 2). Her teacher was Ch’oe Sŭng-hŭi, a top star on the colonial dancing scene for her talent and local identity. While Ch’oe had remained in North Korea, Kim became ‘the founder of Korean traditional dance’ (Ch’oe Hae-ri, 2009). USIS-Korea produced live-recorded films of her first recital in South Korea from November 26 to 28, 1954, and her original dance drama, *Story of Our Village* [*Uri maül-ŭi iyagi*], which was shown from April 12 to 16, 1956. The titles were: *Filial Piety* [*Chi-hyo*], *Fan Dance* [*Puch’aech’um*], and *Story of Our Village*.

The stylistic features of the introductory parts of these films are worthy of attention. They all show the credits and titles of the performances at first, freeze-frames capturing playbill pages with the narrator’s brief introduction of the performances in the second place, and then the beginnings of the live performances. This organization bears a close parallel to the style of



Figure 38. *Arturo Toscanini – Hymn of The Nation* (1944, left column) and *Story of Our Village* (1956, right column)

films on Western classical music which had been screened many times since the

Liberation by the U.S. Army and USIS-Korea. *Arturo Toscanini – Hymn of The Nation* (1944), a film which was distributed by DPI before February 1947 (Daniel Noce, Feb. 20, 1947), also starts with a similar style that shows the names of performers, title of the performance, screenshot of the music book, and the playing scene in that order (see Figure 38). The illustrations of the inter-titles produce an image of higher art, and the visualization of music books and playbills delivers educational impressions. Besides this film, U.S. public information agencies introduced many other films to South Korean audiences that showed live performances of Artur Rubinstein, Maria Anderson and Jascha Heifetz and also music festivals such as Tanglewood, and special features on the Toronto Symphony Orchestra (USIS-Seoul, 1958).

This parallel between live recording films of Korean traditional dance and introductory films on Western high art makes one reconsider the very function of Korean dance films. Since they were not parts of newsreels but self-contained documentaries, it is obvious that those films were not merely for reporting. It is probable that similar stylistic features of these live recording films might induce audiences to appreciate Kim Paek-pong's performance in similar conformity to Western classical art. This was a process not only of visualizing Korean cultural peculiarities, but also of showing the prestige of U.S. authority by taking on a role to acknowledge another nation's outstanding characteristics. Thus, this whole process should be understood as the dual work of South Korean nation-building and the establishment of U.S. cultural

hegemony.

2) Korean Cultural Goodwill Mission Southeast Asian Tour and Its USIS Film

Meanwhile, a feud between the Eisenhower Administration and the Yi Sŭng-man Government arose regarding U.S. strategy toward Asia. The U.S. Government's intention to integrate the Asian region economically with Japan as the central state was in discord with the ROK Government's stance to unite militarily with other Asian nations, but excluding Japan (No Ki-yŏng, 2002). The Eisenhower Administration was carrying out its New Look policy, which rhetorically placed an emphasis on 'peaceful coexistence' with the Communist bloc under the mutual deterrents of strategic nuclear weapons and prosecuted economical integration among non-Communist states. The Yi Sŭng-man Government's strong anti-Communist military alliance line was difficult to accept (Pak In-suk, 2005; Cho Mu-hyŏng, 2008). The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL), which later would organize a Korean cultural goodwill mission tour, was established in June 1956 in the midst of this disagreement and led by Yi Sŭng-man. Its first conference was attended by delegates from five governments, including South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand, and South Vietnam, and three regions that included Hong Kong, Macau, and Okinawa. APACL was tinged not only with anti-

Communism but also anti-Japanese sentiments, and was designed to prevent the U.S. strategy of giving Japan a leading role in Asia (No Ki-yŏng, 2002).

However, the U.S. also pushed to create the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in September of the same year, excluding South Korea, Taiwan, and Japan, and in practical terms neutralizing the status of APACL as a regional security alliance (No Ki-yŏng, 2002; Cho Mu-hyŏng, 2008). The Korean goodwill mission Southeast Asian tours in 1957 and 1958 were cultural events held after APACL were incapacitated in international politics. The basic anti-Japanese trend was maintained up to that time, so the two rounds of touring had designated member countries and regions, while excluding Japan.

In spite of the U.S. Government's noncooperation and attempts to neutralize APACL, the mission's tour in 1958 was accompanied and filmed by USIS-Korea. This approach should be understood as focus conducted on a cultural level. In other words, seen from the basic footing of USIS which claimed to support mutual understanding among all 'free people,' it was one of their aims to shoot and record any non-governmental cultural interchange by APACL and promote international friendship in the Asian region.

However, in the film, *Korean Cultural Goodwill Mission to South East Asia* [*Han'guk yesul sajŏldan tongnama pangmun*] (1958), USIS-Korea's involvement was more than reporting. According to inter-titles in the introduction, the filming was made possible by the 'united endeavors' of every

USIS branch in the visited countries, and all the events were shot by cameramen dispatched by USIS-Korea. That is to say, this film was a product of a transnational network of USIS branches with their own strongholds in major cities in East and Southeast Asia. This collaborative production was also a process of showing off the prestige of U.S. authority in Asia, by confirming its status and its ability to visualize the various cultural peculiarities in each nation and region.

It is useful to investigate the narratives of *Korean Cultural Goodwill Mission to South East Asia*. The mission's first destination was Saigon, South Vietnam. After depicting the welcoming crowd that took to the port, the film shows Vietnamese audiences viewing the Korean Products Exhibition installed in the ROK naval vessel LST-810. The next scene shows mission's audience with President Ngô Đình Diêm, and performance shots at the Dai Nam Theatre follow. Similar sets of takes follow to depict the next destinations: Bangkok, Thailand; Manila, The Philippines; Hong Kong; Taipei, Taiwan; and Ryukyu (Okinawa).

In this development of the narrative, a



Figure 39. *Korean Cultural Goodwill Mission to South East Asia* (1958)

repetitive structure is observed in each sequence depicting each destination:

Map of the destination → encountering the welcoming crowd → sightseeing native cultures and/or visiting local authorities → mission's performance of Korean traditional arts and Western classics (see Figure 39).

This structure mirrors a typical form of tourist films that panoramically exhibit the object region in calculable map images where the object natives represent their ethnicity and then the peculiar characteristics of the object culture. The use of tourist film convention tells that this film was not only a tool to show audiences their nation's diplomatic affairs, but also an opportunity to experience exotic culture in the form of tourism, given to people who did not have enough freedom to take overseas trips.

As seen from the traditional attire of the welcoming crowd and typical tourist attraction sites where the mission visited, authenticity is staged (Dean MacCannell, 1973). These authentic features are refined and re-performed via the procedures for film shooting and editing. Further, it is significant to bear in mind that both visitors and natives were performing their own authenticities to each other at the same time as a form of cultural exchange. The mission's sightseeing scenes are key examples of this tactic. In these scenes, members of the cultural mission are in Korean traditional clothes and strolling through the downtown streets of Bangkok and Manila.

In each ending of this repetitive structure, closing with the mission's performance, three different gazes coming in and out of the film suggest an

interesting composition. First, there is the gaze of Southeast Asian audiences who are watching the Korean performers. Second, the gaze of Korean cinematic audiences who watched the Korean performers, the Southeast Asian audiences and the U.S. authority signature should be considered. Lastly, the camera's gaze as that of U.S. public information agencies heads for the Korean performers as well as the Southeast Asian audiences. This composition of different gazes produces a kind of cultural hierarchy for the Asian region, in terms of the strategy of visualization. While the Southeast Asian gaze identifies Korean authenticity and collects knowledge of it, the Korean gaze recognizes and observes the process as a well-planned showing off of Koreanness.⁴⁴ In this process, Southeast Asians are reverse visualized as objects to be comprehended, and the knowledge of them is collected— How they look; how they live; what their authenticity is; and how they react to Korean authenticity. Nevertheless, this film, as a product of 'united endeavors' of every USIS branch, proves that the gaze of the U.S. authority is located at the highest rung of the hierarchy. In this point, the camera of USIS filmmakers becomes the gaze of the big Other, which "operates effectively because it is not visible" (Chu Ũn-u, 2003: 339). The whole process of Koreans' showing off and Southeast Asian appreciation is thus recognized and collected by the camera

⁴⁴ Korean audiences' gaze into the (re)presentations of Koreanness can also be explained following the discussions about "the third eye" that harasses the border between the viewer and the viewed (Fatimah T. Rony, 1996: 4-13; Paek Mun-im, 2012).

of USIS, as an object of visualization. At the same time, by screening the film at the cinema, USIS is showing off its power to see.



Figure 40. *Kim Paik Bong Dancing in Bangkok* (1958)

A similar structure of seeing is observed in *Kim Paik Bong Dancing in Bangkok* [*Pangk'ok-esö ch'un ch'unün Kim Paek-pong*] (1958), which depicts Kim Paek-pong's performance in Bangkok during the tour. This film takes a film-within-a-film format, containing USIS-Thailand's documentary on the performance. After the Korean movie star, Pok Hye-suk, introduces the content, the title back for USIS-Thailand follows and then the inner film appears (see Figure 40). This organization shows how technically the Korean authenticity is embraced in Thailand, and, at the same time, how the USIS combines and relocates all gazes, as the owner of a transcendental gaze.

This composition points to the remarkable positioning of South Korea between the U.S. and other Southeast Asian countries. The fact that this film was targeted to a Korean audience is important above all. In this exhibition, the Korean people's self-awareness as second-in-command and their sense of superiority over Southeast Asian people are both mediated. Followed by the

U.S., a supranational authority that could recognize and collect each nation's cultural peculiarities, South Korea displays the capability to exhibit its 'recognized' traditional culture and perform Western high culture which was imported and learned through a modern school system. This process corresponds to the Yi Sŭng-man Government's framing to gain leadership in Asia under U.S. hegemony, by leading APACL and excluding Japan (No Ki-yŏng, 2002).

3) Visualization of a Cold War Asia as the Technology of Government

Three focal points for attention are marked in these USIS films: The recognition of cultural peculiarity by a 'supranational' authority; Korea's positioning as second-in-command in the Asian region; and the Korean people's sense of superiority over Southeast Asians. All of these are also observed to have existed in colonial Korea as well. While Japanese colonial authority carried out a strict assimilation policy, colonial Korea's cultural peculiarity was not a target for destruction, but rather an attractive product to sue to display the diverse features of the Japanese Empire. In the mid- to late 1930s when modern tourism combined with Imperial expansion, a large number of propaganda films with tourist narratives were produced and induced colonial audiences to ride on Imperialist's gazes (Kim Han-sang, 2010(a)). Kim Paek-pong's teacher, Ch'oe Sŭng-hŭi, was a star of the Empire who showed local

peculiarity in a tourist propaganda film (*Tonga Ilbo*, Mar. 11, 1938: 2).

Nicholas Thomas paid attention to how the process of internalization and self-government had been followed by a colonial authority strategy to collect and preserve the knowledge of colonies and visualize an invisible indigenous culture (Michel Foucault, 1991; Nicholas Thomas, 1994: 105-142). Prakash also analyzed how the collection and exhibition of scientific knowledge had functioned as a technology of government in colonies (Gyan Prakash, 1999: 17-48). The process, by which cultural peculiarities were discovered and recognized as merchantable knowledge, exhibited after rational classification and then located in a certain cultural hierarchy, can be called ‘the governmentalization of the colonial state.’

In this sense, the second-in-command identity in colonial Korea is of importance in that it resulted from a specific combination of the technology of power and the technology of the Self. A classic example can be found in the representations of natives of Southeast Asia and the South Pacific, who were called ‘Southerners.’ As early as the 1910s when Japan first reached the South Sea Islands, the perception of this Southern region in colonial Korea changed from both a ‘savage and barbarous primitive society’ and ‘fertile and natural lands’ to ‘lands and society which must be cultivated by the Japanese Empire.’ This was a process intended to “schematize the hierarchy of civilizations” (Kim Sŭng-ik, 2009). Korean awareness and interest in the Southern region was

heightened in a concrete way upon Japan's occupation of Singapore in December 1941. Intellectuals in colonial Korea, the oldest colony of Japan, regarded themselves as second-in-command in the Pan-Asian region, and thought that they had a mission to enlighten the Southeast Asian uncivilized races.

According to Kwŏn Myŏng-a, this 'Southern fever' originated from 'a imperialist fantasy that composed themselves as a subject of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, a subject of the Japanese Empire' (Kwŏn Myŏng-a, 2005). In this 'Southern fever,' Southerners were represented as an ethnically and culturally inferior kind. Even when they were represented as 'rivals and cooperators' or perceived as a case of 'misery loves company' like the Taiwanese, 'a certain sense of superiority' was still persisting (Kwŏn Myŏng-a, 2005; Son Chun-sik, 2010). In these hierarchical representations, colonial Koreans were self-defined as subjects who were charged with a mission to civilize and enlighten these Southerners (Kwŏn Myŏng-a, 2005).

There was a similarity between colonial Koreans' self-awareness as second-in-command in the Asian region and that of South Koreans during the Cold War. Especially representations of Southeast Asians and their sense of superiority over them were presumed to result from the legacy of the colonial period. However, as is evident in the feud between the Eisenhower Administration and the Yi Sŏng-man Government, the relationship among South

Korea, the Southeast Asian countries, and the U.S. cannot be inferred from only the colonial experiences, as, by all appearances, each state obviously possessed the status of a sovereign country. Then, how could one define the true nature of this seeming similarity between two deferent periods?

It is probable that Hannah's insight offer a reasonable account of this similarity. He claims that governmentality formed by "colonial regimes of knowledge" has a similar structure to relatively modern "governmental observations in the metropolitan world," that is to say, "even quite *benign* governmentality retains a basically *colonial* structure"— a unilateral, coercive collection of knowledge and a consequent legibility, based on "the rule from a distance" (Matthew Hannah, 2000:113-159). USIS-Korea's one-sidedness in collecting information and its coerciveness of 'power to see' in film shooting can be explained using this structure. In particular, its showing off of U.S. authority through film screening signifies that, during the Cold War, there was indeed governmental power that "differed from panoptic power" in that "the agents of vision traveled to their objects using the same infrastructures available to the objects themselves" (Matthew Hannah, 2000: 128). In other words, the governmentality of Cold War Asia was formed through succeeding in the basic structure established in colonial regimes of knowledge and re-determining the relationship between the newly independent states and the U.S. in the new world order.

Part III. The Translated Self

Part III traces the decline of the American agency and the rise of the ROK Governmental public information agencies between 1958 and 1972. The new Korean Self, however, was rather an invention obtained through a translation of the idealized American Self, accompanied by a negotiation between the self-recognition of Koreanness in the World and the gaze of the Other— the U.S.

As indicated in Chapters 8 and 10, the changed conditions for public information agencies, through the U.S. and UN aids to ROK agencies as well as the political transformation in South Korea, provided an opportunity to institutionalize their activities. However, this shift also served as the starting point for the decline of the USIS film production and the rise of the ROK National Film Production Center (hereinafter NFPC).

Facing such difficulties, USIS-Korea and its affiliated filmmakers tried to identify solutions through several methods as described in Chapter 9, including the pursuing of auteurism in cultural film making, adaptation to a television system, and promotion of loyal intellectual groups. The closure of USIS-Korea film production in 1972, nevertheless, demonstrates the inevitable change in circumstances, including the establishment of the *Yusin* system.

In Chapter 11, as a compiled case, I examined the 1967 NFPC film,

P'aldogansan, which was made by a director and an actor, both of whom were closely related to USIS-Korea. The film's great success as a national icon shows the mechanism of translation and negotiation when defining the Korean idealized Self.

Chapter 8. From Institutionalization to Closure: USIS, 1958-1972



Figure 41. An outdoor screen of USIS-Korea televising the lunar landing of Apollo 11 (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Jul. 22, 1969: 3)

In July of 1969, when Apollo 11 landed the first humans on the Moon, USIS-Korea set up an outdoor television screen on the Mt. Namsan Park Bandstand and telecast the historic event from the rocket launch on July 16 to the lunar landing on July 20 (*Tonga Ilbo*, Jul. 16, 1969: 3; *Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Jul. 21, 1969: 7). On the landing night, crowds of more than 100,000 gathered at the park to watch the televised event (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Jul. 22, 1969: 3) (see Figure 41). It was also an indoor event. Television sets sold well in every store, and each house with a television attracted neighbors who wanted to watch the landing together (*Tonga Ilbo*, Jul. 17, 1969: 7). Such a glittering media event was made possible, as South Korea had become a member of the International Telecommunications Satellite Organization (INTELSAT), an

intergovernmental consortium of “Free World” countries (*Kyŏngnyang Sinmun*, Jan. 21, 1967: 5). The Apollo 11 moon mission was “the televisual inauguration of an American-led global satellite network” (James Schwoch, 2009: 1).

It should be pointed out that any inauguration of a new medium will be the beginning of the twilight of an old one. For USIS-Korea, which closed its film studio in Sangnam two years before Apollo 11, this pseudo-cinematic event might have meant the opening of the television propaganda age in South Korea.⁴⁵ However, such a shift of the center of audiovisual propaganda was not just caused by the overwhelming attraction of the new medium. Ironically, it also resulted from an overgrowth of the old medium. The significance of film as an effective means of governmental propaganda had been recognized by South Korean political leaders during the past decade, which led them to nurture ROK film production agencies that were fully controlled by the leaders. At the same time, the ‘self-reliance’ of the Korean film industry was achieved during the past decade with considerable support from the U.S. and other foreign agencies, including USIS-Korea and UNKRA. In this changed circumstance, Liberty Production films were not “sufficiently cost-effective” any more (Marks,

⁴⁵ Use of television as a means of propaganda, however, was developed in a different way from that of film. The role of USIS-Korea was limited to a program provider to Korean broadcasting stations (W. Bunce, Jul. 14, 1966). The Motion Picture and Radio-Television Section of USIS-Korea developed a videotape production and distribution program in 1971. The finished productions were placed at each of the branch posts and expected to be distributed through local television stations (Albert Hemsing, Feb. 28, 1972).

Aug. 3, 1966) when in competition with local governmental agencies and private productions in South Korea.

This chapter is about the history of the rise and fall of USIS and Liberty Production in the 1960s and the early 1970s, discussed in chronological order.

1. A Dissonance between *Liberty News* and the ROK Government, 1958 – 1960

Before investigating the general conditions for U.S. film activities in the 1960s, a remarkable event surrounding *Liberty News*, the staple product of Liberty Production, can show the delicate situation of a ‘foreign’ propaganda agency in a ‘recovered’ country. This view is not only linked with the change in political surroundings, but also with the U.S. public information agency’s own status in South Korea. Its unequalled role as the newly built state publicizing machine was questioned in the late 1950s. The ROK counterparts, the OPI, Taehan Film Production, and *Taehan Nyusŭ*, had developed enough to substitute for the U.S. ones, as messengers of ‘general’ information. Therefore, the foreign identity of the U.S. public information agencies was magnified. Controversies on *Liberty News* between the late 1950s and early 1960s reflect these emerging instabilities of U.S. propaganda activities in South Korea.

At first, the Yi Sŭng-man Government and USIS-Korea started with an amicable relationship. In May 1950, Yi delivered a congratulatory address to USIS-Korea on its performance (*Tonga Ilbo*, May 12, 1950: 2). *Liberty News* was shown as regularly in commercial cinemas as ROK OPI's *Taehan Nyusŭ* series was (William L. Grenoble, Sep. 21, 1955; *Tonga Ilbo*, Jan. 22, 1960: 4), since the Yi Sŭng-man Government required mandatory screening of public information documentaries in regular programming (USIS Seoul, Jan. 30, 1961).

While *Liberty News* was privileged with such special environments for distribution in pursuit of pro-American and anti-Communist state-building in the 1950s, the Yi Sŭng-man Government interfered with its own tone and coverage at times. USIS-Korea thoroughly identified itself as an outsider having occasional dissension with the Yi Sŭng-man Government. The Yi Sŭng-man Government was sometimes an opposer, imposing restrictions on USIS-Korea's activities (Chŏng Il-chun, 2003: 35). Especially as news media, Liberty Production became subject to an uncomfortable relationship with the Yi Sŭng-man Government several times after the mid-1950s.

A notable case was the request of the ROK Ministry of Education to cut certain scenes from *Liberty News* No. 164, which contained images of the deceased opposition candidate for President, Sin Ik-hŭi (*Tonga Ilbo*, Jun. 9, 1956: 3). Sin died suddenly on May 5, 1956, during his Presidential campaign, and footage of his successful campaign speech on May 3 was used as file pictures in

Liberty News. The Ministry of Education demanded deletion of those scenes for the reason that the campaign speech had no relation to Sin's death. This request ignited a social debate, and finally concluded with an uncut release and censure of the persons concerned (*Chosŏn Ilbo*, Jun. 13, 1956: e3). This was not only a case of infringement on freedom of the press following the Yi Sŭng-man Government's strategy of "ghettoizing the nation's attention by repressing any competitive and challenging images" (Yi Hwa-chin, 2007), but the case revealed USIS-Korea's privileged status, which the ROK Government could not fully control because of its identity as U.S. Government agency.

Two years later, in May 1958, there was another case tied to censorship over the same newsreel series. The Ministry of Education pointed out that news coverage in *Liberty News* No. 253 of the joint lecture by municipal electoral candidates of the Democratic Party on April 31 was "unfair since it contained only one party's lecture scene," and it requested it be cut out. This time USIS-Korea deleted the discussed scene, but they emphasized that it was carried out "from their own decision" after reviewing the Ministry of Education's suggestion (*Kyŏngnyang Sinmun*, May 16, 1958: 2). This circumstance can be understood as a declaration that the final arbiter of such action was not the ROK Government, but USIS-Korea itself.

Then, a case of much severer conflict happened at the beginning of 1959. After December 24, 1958 when the Yi Sŭng-man Government and the ruling

party had rushed through the third revised bill of the National Security Law (hereinafter NSL), the “NSL Scandal” followed and lasted (see Figure 42). On January 13, 1959, a USIS-affiliated Korean cinematographer was chased by Korean police officers for filming protesters of the opposition party (*Kyŏngnyang Sinmun*, Jan. 15, 1959: 1). Since the officers had tried to violate the American embassy building to arrest the cinematographer, the embassy made a formal complaint against the ROK Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Tonga Ilbo*, Jan. 15, 1959: 1).



**Figure 42. USIS-Korea's
footage of NSL Scandal**

This complaint basically resulted from the Eisenhower Administration's continuous criticism of the Yi Sŭng-man Government's suppression of political opponents, and President Yi's discontent about it (Hyŏn Sŭng-hŭi, 2000; Yi Ch'ŏl-sun, 2007). However, in terms of the social status of USIS-Korea's film unit, it was a result of an ambivalent identity: A whistle-blower who filmed and disclosed Korean political reality and an outsider who had extraterritoriality to protect his employees. As discussed in Chapter 6, Korean filmmakers were exposed to hybridity in their subject formation, identifying themselves as both nation-builders and “Free World” bloc-builders under the umbrella of the United States during the post-Korean War period. In the ‘NSL Scandal,’ the Korean

cinematographer's identity as "a whistle-blower who belonged to the outside" was a re-enactment and indeed a clear example of this hybrid subjectivity.

Because of this string of troubles, USIS-Korea and Liberty Production was recognized by the Korean press as a media organization with an emphasis on its criticism of the Yi Sŭng-man Government from the perspective of being an opposition (*Chosŏn Ilbo*, Dec. 26, 1960: e4). This definition seems to have raised certain hopes among the Korean public that *Liberty News* and USIS-Korea would contribute to democratization after President Yi's resignation in April of 1960. For instance, one Korean newspaper criticized *Liberty News* three times in November and December, 1960, for not taking an active role in relevant social criticism. The paper pointed out that the newsreel had been considerably critical of the Yi Sŭng-man Government, but became more bureaucratic after his resignation (*Chosŏn Ilbo*, Nov. 5, 1960: e4; Dec. 19, 1960: e4; Dec. 26, 1960: e4). Around the end of 1960 and the beginning of 1961, with the Presidential election in the States, USIS-Korea started to educate democracy in its films, including *Ideal Citizen* and *Screen Magazine No.2* (USIS Seoul, Jan. 30, 1961). This scenario is discussed in Chapter 9.

2. Institutionalization of Public Information Film Activities, 1961 – 1968

USIS-Korea had registered its film unit as a subsidiary film company in South Korea in 1948 (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Oct. 26, 1948: 3). However, the legal status of its film propaganda activities was unprescribed until the enactment of the Motion Pictures Act in 1962 and its revision in 1963. For instance, as of 1955, USIS-Korea's newsreels and documentaries were utilized by approximately 80 commercial theaters in South Korea (William L. Grenoble, Sep. 21, 1955), but it was not legally guaranteed that business.

After the coup in May of 1961, the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction (hereinafter SCNR), as a military junta led by Pak Chŏng-hŭi until his Presidential inauguration in December 1963, started to legalize cultural activities, including music, performance, broadcasting, publication, and cinema (Pak Chi-yŏn, 2008). In its course, the Motion Pictures Act was enacted on January 20, 1962. This was the moment that public information film activists were guaranteed through legislation. The new law defined 'munhwa yŏnghwa [cultural films]' as "films produced mainly with factual records to describe educational, cultural effects or social customs from social, economic and cultural phenomena." It made "screening of cultural films prior to screening of any films" compulsory (Act No.995, Jan. 20, 1962). The first revised bill in March 12, 1963 included newsreels as mandatory cofeatures (Act No.1305, Mar. 12, 1963). With this act, *Liberty News* and other Liberty Production films could be

shown in theaters obligatorily. This change was made possible under the firm state supervision of the film industry, including imposition of pre-censorship, strengthened registration requirement for film companies, and a strict import quota system (Pak Chi-yŏn, 2008).

Not only the surrounding environment was institutionalized; the film unit's own system also was. According to the inspection report for the activities of USIS-Korea in the 1961 fiscal year, Liberty Production consisted of 2 Americans and about 70 local employees. Of them, 60% were engaged in production and 40% in distribution, including 12 mobile units. The whole budget for a single fiscal year was approximately 65,580 USD. *Liberty News* was produced once a week, 10 other 10-30 minute documentaries were made, and 11 USIA films were imported and adapted to be Korean language versions. Liberty Production films reached 313 commercial theaters or about three quarters of the total 420 theaters in South Korea. The aggregate attendance in the 1961 fiscal year was 76,572,278, including 53,956,128 for *Liberty News* (52 issues) and 22,616,250 for other 218 films. USIS-Korea-owned film prints were also distributed through 5 film libraries in Seoul, Taegu, Pusan and Kwangju branches. Total print holdings of the libraries were 5,997, and 12 out of 17 mobile units assigned to the branches were used for regular tours. Mobile units showed films to a total of 1,472,708 audiences, USIS-Korea's own projection of 321,922, and library loans of 18,930,165 in the 1961 fiscal year (James L. Meader, Nov. 24, 1961).

After 13 years' service in Korea, William G. Ridgeway moved to the Philippines in 1958, and Lorin G. Reeder, his assistant, became the new Motion Picture Officer in charge of production in Sangnam (William G. Ridgeway, Feb. 28, 1989). Reeder relocated from Manila to Seoul on July 23, 1951, and worked as a photographic technician (U.S. Department of State, 1951: 75). He was not a film expert according to Kim Hyōng-kūn (Kim Hyōng-kūn, Mar. 30, 2012), but took the chief role at Sangnam Production until its closure in 1967.⁴⁶ There were also a couple of Motion Picture Officers in Seoul at the same time in charge of "distribution and the rest of the motion picture end of the program" (Isabel Cumming, Jan. 15, 1990). Niels Bonnesen was assigned to the Seoul Center from 1954 to 1961, and Humphrey W. Leynse from 1959 to 1966 (U.S. Department of State, 1954: 43; 1959: 48; 1961: 51-52; MASC, 2010).

However, institutionalization of USIS-Korea's film activities signified that its role in the Korean film industry was more specialized and separate. SCNR's systematization of 'cultural film' making and distribution promoted the growth of ROK public information activities. The Ministry of Public Information established its affiliated film production, the NFPC, in June, 1961 (*Kyōnghyang Sinmun*, Jun. 23, 1961: 1). Many of the NFPC's key personnel were trained through U.S. and UN agencies. Yi Hyōng-p'yo, who had been

⁴⁶ When USIS-Korea closed its studios in Sangnam in 1967, filmmakers made a documentary called *The Reederers of Sangnam* to show their gratitude to Reeder for his 11 years of service in Sangnam.

trained in the USIS-Korea and UNKRA Film Unit, became the office manager of the OPI's Daehan Film Production in 1955 and contributed to the establishment of NFPC (Yi Hyöng-p'yo, Dec. 6, 2005). Pae Sök-in, who had moved from the USIS-Korea to the OPI in 1958, became one of the leading directors of NFPC and educated other filmmakers at the center (KOFA, 2009). Film musician, Chöng Yun-chu, announcer, Kim Yöng-gwön, and animator, Chöng To-pin, had been trained in Sangnam studios in the 1950s and were absorbed into NFPC as skilled manpower (KOFA, 2006: 245-292; Kim Hyöng-kün, Mar. 30, 2012). Many other filmmakers, including Yang Chong-hae, received the opportunity to learn advanced filmmaking techniques with support from ICA and the United States Operations Mission to Korea (hereinafter USOM) in 1959 ([Anonymous], Apr. 8, 1959). All of these innovations in system and manpower further developed and modernized the ROK Governmental propaganda within a short period of time and made USIS-Korea lose further ground gradually. Their role as the leading propagator of the 'Free World' in the country was brought into question, and the rise of their ROK counterpart only deepened that crisis.

The Liberty Production Sangnam studios were closed on May 30, 1967 following the policy of the U.S. State Department, and all production activities were conducted in Seoul afterwards (*Maeilgyöngje*, Jun. 2, 1967: 3). The USIS-Korea Sangnam period was the core of its film production, so the closure of these studios signified a reduction of the whole scale of motion picture

activities in Korea.

3. Changing Surroundings: The Nixon Doctrine, and the *Yusin* Regime in South Korea, 1969 – 1973

The relationship between the Pak Chŏng-hŭi Government and the United States was in large part close and stable during the 1960s, solidified and guaranteed by the deployment of South Korean troops to Vietnam beginning in 1964. There was also a normalization of diplomatic relations between South Korea and Japan in 1965, promoted as part of the U.S. strategy toward Asia (Sin Chong-tae, 2009). Under these conditions, USIS-Korea's public information activities in South Korea, including Liberty Production filmmaking and distribution, also stabilized during the 1960s.

However, the war situation in Vietnam in the late 1960s and the unavoidable change in U.S. policy toward Asia in conjunction with the inauguration of U.S. President Richard Nixon in 1969 transformed the ongoing picture. The key point of this change was stressed in the Nixon Doctrine, which was deliberated on July 25, 1969 in Guam and basically indicated new military policy in Asia (Richard M. Nixon, 1970: 53-62). Its concept of Asian self-reliance did not pertain only in defense issues. According to Morton S.

Smith who became Director of USIS-Korea in 1971, the Nixon Doctrine played an important role on academic and cultural exchange, accompanying changes in the methods that USIS-Korea would choose for public information activities.

Smith emphasized that USIS-Korea new programs would encourage the Korean citizens more personal understanding of American foreign policy by increasing face-to-face opportunities, such as seminars, conferences and lectures

(*Kyŏngnyang Sinmun*, Jun. 15, 1971: 5). This was in reality a paradigm shift in public information activities, in that the activities began to put more emphasis on intellectual audiences who were active enough to participate in the events voluntarily, rather than anonymous citizens exposed to the distributed information at random.

The new U.S. strategy toward Asia directly affected the political situations in South Korea. Although the Nixon Administration promised to provide aid for modernization of the Korean military, the decision to withdraw 20,000 U.S. troops from South Korea raised a sense of menace within the Pak Government (Hong Sŏk-ryul, 2006). This worry became their justification for a total security posture and a convenient shield for the constitutional change that allowed Pak to run for a third term (Sin Chong-tae, 2009). While the Nixon Doctrine was a means of relaxing international tensions for the U.S. Government and also conclude the hardship in Vietnam, the Pak Government did not consider the change to be an opportunity for a South-North dialogue to bring peace, but rather as a crisis caused by a lack of foresight. Therefore, with that pretext, the

establishment of the *Yusin* [Revitalizing Reforms] Regime, which enabled President Pak to seize power permanently and exert unlimited authority, became possible (Hong Sök-ryul, 2006).

In February of 1973, the Pak Government announced a complete amendment of the Motion Picture Act. The revised law included a new legal obligation in the filmmaking business: “One who wishes to make a business of film production must obtain permission of the Minister of Culture and Public Information” (Act No.2536, Feb. 16, 1973). Film production companies only had had to register their businesses until then, but this new revision inaugurated a permit system and attached complicated qualifications to gain permission, including certification of capitalization at 50 million wŏn. This criterion made it difficult for smaller production companies to maintain their businesses (Pak Chi-yŏn, 2004). Further, the revised act tightened up the pre-censorship of films and scripts (Act No.2536, Feb. 16, 1973).

Moreover, the tone of the USIS-Korea films was not that of such a faithful cooperator that the Pak Government would employ an exceptional clause for its production company. Under the Pak Government, USIS-Korea kept all media content “out of the Korean political context” and “newsreel coverage was confined to straight, factual reporting” (William Phipps, c1964). However, these reports focused exclusively on “USAID and its service to Korea” (William Phipps, Jun. 4, 1965) in any *Liberty News* and *Screen Report* newsreels that

might have displeased the Pak Government.

All these changed surroundings, including television's encroachment on the film market in the 1970s (Yi Yǒng-il, 1988: 451-452), made USIS-Korea decide to close its film production. According to Alan C. Heyman, the film composer of several Liberty Production films in the 1960s, USIS-Korea dismantled the Motion Picture Section in the early 1970s.⁴⁷ As *Screen Report*, the follow-up newsreel series of *Liberty News* since 1968, completed shooting in 1972 with its 31st issue,⁴⁸ it is highly probable that USIS-Korea's film production was actually closed at the time when the revised Motion Picture Act took effect.

⁴⁷ Refer to the interview with Alan C. Heyman below (Alan C. Heyman, Jan. 12, 2012):

Interviewer: Didn't the USIS-Korea make films in the 1970s?

Heyman: No, they didn't. The Motion Picture Section was closed at that time.

Interviewer: Do you remember when it was?

Heyman: My memory... is not accurate, but maybe around 1970.

Interviewer: Around 1970? Oh, then, did all of your colleagues become engaged in setting up independent productions?

Heyman: Yes, yes, but not many. Then, only a few of them.

⁴⁸ NARA houses total 31 issues of *Screen Report* series, under the record group 306-SCRIP.

Chapter 9. Escapeways: Democracy Education and Expert Systems

In July 1966, USIS-Korea requested the Regional Research Center of USIS-Manila to undertake a study on *Liberty News* and compare it with the ROK governmental newsreel, *Taehan Nyusŭ* (L. Slaton Jr., Jul. 1, 1966). It was a pressing task for USIS-Korea since they were threatened with a curtailment in their budget for newsreel production by Congress (Marks, Aug. 3, 1966; Gordon Connelly, Mar. 24, 1967). A survey was conducted in 10 South Korean cities, interviewing 2,074 moviegoers age 16 and over until October 1966 (USIS-Manila, 1967: 2). Being conscious of Congress, the survey reporter suggested that “*Liberty News* be continued and strengthened,” in a summary of the report (USIS-Manila, 1967: i). However, a detailed research result clearly indicates that *Liberty News* did not arouse audience interest as differentiated from *Taehan Nyusŭ*:

“Relatively few moviegoers were able to articulate perceived differences between *Liberty* and *Taehan*. The most frequent comment, made by 15% of the moviegoers, was that *Liberty News* had more news from overseas while *Taehan* had primarily domestic news. When asked which of the two newsreels they like better, only 30% of moviegoers expressed a preference for one or the other. Among these more discriminating moviegoers, *Liberty* was somewhat more popular than *Taehan* (18% vs. 12%). But the national figures are misleading. In the largest cities, *Liberty* is preferred over *Taehan* by two to one; in medium size cities, *Liberty* and *Taehan* are about equally well liked; and in the smaller cities *Taehan* is more popular.” (USIS-Manila, 1967: 9).

Since the argument that *Liberty* could be unnecessarily immersed in an

awareness of the ROK governmental newsreel, this result does not seem to have justified the reason for the existence of the long-standing weekly film series.

Hence, despite the positive evaluation in the summary, it is highly probable that this report was an unfavorable factor for the retention of *Liberty News*. The series officially ended on June 1, 1967, with No. 721 as its last release (*Han'gug Ilbo*, May 28, 1967: 7).

This story of *Liberty News* shows the delicate situation of Liberty Production in the late 1960s. Its Korean counterpart, NFPC, had become equal or even superior to Liberty Production in terms of leverage and productivity. The South Korean film industry also had matured during the last decade and produced over 100 feature films annually in the 1960s (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Jul. 19, 1965: 5). Liberty Production films were not anymore able to take an advantageous position in the newsreel and cultural markets based on a technical and technological superiority over South Korean film productions.

Therefore, Liberty Production films in the 1960s demonstrate the foreign agency's struggle to gain its *raison d'être*. This chapter investigates such attempts to justify the social role of USIS-Korea film production to its sponsor, its audiences, and the affiliated-filmmakers themselves.

1. Democracy Education and the Strategy of Visualization

As the two newsreel series gathered more experience, *Liberty News* and *Taehan Nyusŭ* became in rivals in the late 1950s. The press frequently offered comments on both newsreel series and compared them (*Chosŏn Ilbo*, Dec. 19, 1960: e4; Dec. 26, 1960: e4). According to Theodore Conant, who was residing in Seoul and worked for several agencies as a free-lance filmmaker when Eisenhower visited Korea, there was competition between OPI and USIS-Korea to obtain footage of the U.S. President:

Conant: Before Eisenhower came, uh..., CBS [...] they did a program of Eisenhower. And I got a, uh, they sent me a 16mm print of that. And then I took that 16mm print to OPI. Eisenhower was coming in about 10 days, something like that. And we made, we blew it up to 35. And we, and we, they listened to the English and made Korean films in Korean, Korean subs... And they put it in the newsreel. And the USIS was furious. USIS didn't have any material on Eisenhower. Here, the government newsreel had it. "How did they get it?" (Theodore Conant, Mar. 25, 2012)

This scenario shows that the creators of both newsreel series were significantly conscious of each other. It is interesting that the two agencies were representing two different countries separately, but still competed with each other for hegemony over publicity in one country.

According to USIS-Seoul's assessment, *Taehan Nyusŭ* during the Yi Government impaired its popularity "by concentration on furthering interests of the party and President Yi." However, it improved greatly after the April

Revolution (USIS Seoul, Jan. 30, 1961). After the convulsion of April in 1960, USIS-Korea and Liberty Production faced demands for making a contribution to democratic change.⁴⁹ As stated above, the critical attitude of *Liberty News* toward the Yi Government gave the Korean public the impression that it opposed the undemocratic regime. Several precedent studies points out that this was a stand taken to preserve the dignity of the U.S. in South Korea, “a showcase for democracy,” by settling down a conservative two-party system and succeeding in a change of leadership (Yi Ch’öl-sun, 2007; Yi Wan-pöm, 2007; Hyön Sŭng-hŭi, 2000).

In response to the demands of Korean society, as well the changing political environment in the U.S., USIS-Korea began to make films on democracy and American political traditions. President Eisenhower’s visit to Korea in June of 1960 was a big event that attracted a great number of people to come out and welcome the “Freedom Fighter.” The newsflash edition of *Liberty News, Eisenhower’s Visit to Korea [Eisenhower taet’ongnyöng han’guk*

⁴⁹ Still, it is obvious that USIS officials were confident of their superiority over OPI at the end of 1961, in accordance with an inspection report on USIS-Korea’s activities:

“While unattributed, the Liberty newsreel is well-known as an American presentation. It is better in country-wide coverage than the government’s newsreel, which lacks cameramen permanently stationed outside of Seoul. The government’s newsreel includes only about three international items in each issue (acquired from Movietone), and has a fairly heavy diet of ‘official’ material depicting the movement of government leaders, etc. It reaches only about half of the country’s theaters – 25% less than USIS coverage. A certain amount of duplication between the government and the USIS newsreels is inevitable. Coverage plans are exchanged weekly, however, to permit avoiding overlap when desired.” (James L. Meader, Nov. 24, 1961)

pangmun] (1960) shows how the passion of the April Revolution was combined with the enthusiasm for the U.S. President (see Figure 43). In the film, instead of Yi Sŭng-man, Prime Minister Hŏ Chŏng welcomes Eisenhower, and the crowd waves placards saying, “We Welcome Ike, Freedom Fighter!” and “Students of the April Revolution Welcome President Eisenhower.” In a report on USIS-Korea’s project to develop democratic concepts and practices in Korea in January, 1961, President Eisenhower’s visit is assessed as having been “used to convey basic democratic concepts” (USIS Seoul, Jan. 30, 1961).



Figure 43. A newsflash of Liberty News: *Eisenhower's Visit to Korea* (1960)

The U.S. presidential election in the same year also served as a means of publicizing the American ideal of democracy. *Korean Screen Magazine #2* [*Han'guk yŏnghwa chapchi che2ho*] (1960), an 18-minute news magazine film, was made and released in December, 1960 (USIS Seoul, Jan. 30, 1961). Similar to *Tuesday in November*, which shows each procedure of the U.S. Presidential election through the example of 1944, this film narrates American elective democracy by depicting John F. Kennedy’s election campaign and victory.

Another 1960 film, *The Ideal Citizen*, gives the impression that its creators might have concern about the localization of the film's setting. The film starts with a couple of illustrations that remind one of the Chosŏn Dynasty and traditional Korean style background music composed by Kim Tong-chin (see Figure 44). Despite all the strong points of the "land of the morning calm"



Figure 44. *The Ideal Citizen* (1960)

that it praises, the film emphasizes that "a democratic type of government" should be established to achieve peace, freedom and

happiness. Citizens should be able to "govern themselves," and "freedom of discussion, and freedom of speech" must be guaranteed. The film does not directly present America as a role model; however, the "Liberty Bell" title back graphics are easily recognizable. By emphasizing the importance of the right to vote, this film reflects the atmosphere present after the April Revolution, caused by the Yi Sŭng-man Government's election frauds.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the U.S. public information agencies' role as an educator of democracy was set up as early as 1946 and maintained almost 15 years to 1961. Thus USIS-Korea's democracy education during the anti-authoritarian period looks rather unaffected by the new political environment.

However, another aspect should be considered for this “strategy of visualization” (Nicholas Thomas 1994: 105-142). The Korean public’s expectations that USIS-Korea would contribute to building a democratic government after Yi Sŭng-man might have been caused by the experience of witnessing its power to disclose domains concealed by the sovereign state. When the opposition candidate’s election campaign scene in *Liberty News No.164* became a political concern for the Yi Sŭng-man Government in May, 1956, the controversy maximized the promotion effects of the newsreel as credible journalism:

“Had it been released calmly, only reachable audiences might have seen it. However, after a nationwide ‘advance announcement’ for several days, it became the talk in every corner of the country. Hence, people rushed in theaters with curiosity in Seoul, and local villagers gathered to see the crowd of the campaign rally in the film. This number left a behind story that even those who go to the movies once in a year or less saw this film. So this number recorded an unprecedented attendance among the whole series and, frankly speaking, served as a momentum to make a big name for *Liberty News* through the entire country” (Kim Wŏn-sik, Jul., 1967).

For the audiences who had rushed into theaters to watch the ‘uncut’ *Liberty News*, its creators might be seen as possessing the power to reveal the absurdity of their government, namely, the power of visualization.

While the uncut *Liberty News* was a tool for showing Korean audiences USIS-Korea’s status, production of such films was also a way of securing visual evidence for whether the Yi Sŭng-man Government corresponded to the “Free

World” order led by the United States. USIS was a network of agencies that were not only in charge of distributing the U.S. Government’s public information, but also had a duty to collect and relocate the information from overseas. USIS-Korea visualization of the undemocratic political situation in South Korea, therefore, signified that such news was collected as comprehensible information and accumulated as useful knowledge by the U.S. Government.

2. Film Festivals and Auteurism in Cultural Film Production

Even though film was discussed in Chapter 5 to show the characteristics of the reconstruction films of the 1950s, it would be clear to say that *Korean Educational System* (1958) was one of the films resting on the border between the two different attitudes of USIS-Korea film production before and after 1958. Screenwriter Yi Ch’ōng-ki pointed out the difference of this film compared to previous cultural films:

The other significance is that this film, even though it is a work of the USIS, shows promise and a good sign of our documentary cultural film scene which has been remained a big hollow wall. Documentary cultural films do not just represent our everyday life on the screen, but dramatize a theme which has been brought into being through the representation in order to criticize, argue and create our living. They are living educational readers which make a great contribution to improving social welfare and culture, and to beautifying our living both materially and morally. Unfortunately,

except some governmental works of the Office of Public Information, there have been no documentary activities to speak of in our country. We have even lost any will to revive what we are missing. Consequentially, our people remain unlucky not to enjoy all the cultural and creative influences that documentaries can give to them. That is, in a sense, their functions of creating our living and society are paralyzed, and there is lack of the modern sense (Yi Ch'öng-ki, Apr. 30, 1958: 6).

This review raised the issue of documentary film making, which was not established as a separate field in South Korean cinema at that time. It was the vague definition of cultural films, in a manner of speaking, as Yi used an unusual term “kirok munhwa yöngghwa [documentary cultural film]” in this review. The category of cultural film embraced documentaries as an umbrella notion, but at the same time such categorization placed the potential of documentary film making limitedly under the educational function. For this reason, cultural films, consisting mainly of documentaries and semi-documentaries, were regarded as products that were monopolized by public information agencies, such as OPI and USIS-Korea (*Tonga Ilbo*, Aug. 5, 1962). Even though Yi did emphasize their educational function by defining documentary cultural films as ‘educational readers,’ what he found in *Korean Educational System* was the potential of a documentary film that such government-made cultural films could not demonstrate. His limitation for diagnosing the documentary scene in South Korea was that he still could not split the notion of documentary and its meaning off from that of a cultural film.

This point reminds one of Yi Hyöng-p‘yo’s awakening to documentary

filmmaking (see Chapter 6). What he learned from Theodore Conant and Richard Bagley during the training period of the UNKRA Film Unit, and mentioned in an oral history interview as “true cinema” and “perfect art,” was a kind of auteurist or romanticist intent wherein the documentary filmmaker expresses his/her own artistic point of view, regardless of the employer’s aim for publicity (Yi Hyōng-p‘yo, Dec. 13, 2005; Theodore Conant, Apr. 14, 2010). As seen also in the contrast between Grierson and Flaherty stated above, the documentary filmmakers’ role as propagandist sometimes was at odds with the role of serious observer or ethnographer. In public information documentary-making, distinct assertiveness of the former was recommended and mostly welcomed, while vagueness and indirectness of the latter were frequently regarded as inappropriate. What Bagley and Conant, and Yi Hyōng-p‘yo, could not compromise on regarding UNKRA’s criteria for making *Ko-Chip*, seems to relate to the sense of their role as observer-auteurist, clearly in line with Flaherty.

Further, the difference that *Korean Educational System* made in terms of documentary filmmaking related to just such a role. An obvious distinction between this film and previous USIS-Korea cultural films was the presence of the filmmakers in the film. Before 1958, USIS-Korea films did not contain lists of filmmakers on the opening credits, except for some USIA-made films and the feature film, *Boxes of Death*. In contrast, *Korean Educational System* started to show the lists in detail, even including film assistants (see Figure 45). Other

USIS-Korea documentaries made after this film, including *With Hand and Heart* [*Tasi sanŭn kil*] (1960), *Coal* [*Sŏkt'an*] (1961), *Litany of Hope* [*Hwangt'o kil*] (1962), *Tank* [*T'aengk'ŭbyŏng*] (1963), *The Inn* [*Sarangbang*] (1964), *The Island Doctor* [*Sae ilt'ŏ*] (1965) and *A Legacy* [*Charang sŭrŏun yusan*] (1965), also included such opening credits, thus



Figure 45. The opening credit of *Korean Educational System*

identifying the production staffs. These credits clarified who were responsible for each part of filmmaking, at the same time, bore signatures of the staffs and indicated their identity as creators. Considering that most commercial feature films had naturally adopted the staff listing practice for their opening credits, the absence of such listings in documentary films meant that these films were presented not as the works of filmmakers, but as products of their employers, that is, the public information agencies. In other words, the emergence of staff listings in the later documentary films signified the onset of the filmmakers' self awareness as documentarists.

The other noticeable characteristic of *Korean Educational System* is that film's verisimilitude. It starts with a long-take that shows children playing with sounds collected through real-time recording. This technique was unique in terms of sound-recording conventions in South Korea at the time. Both in the commercial and government fields, real-time recording was an unaccustomed

technique largely because of a lack of equipment and technology (*Kyŏngnyang Sinmun*, Sep. 27, 1958: 1). As Kim Ki-yŏng's *Boxes of Death* was the first sound shooting film made in South Korea, made possible by the Mitchell camera, USIS-Korea's rich resources were a good opportunity for Korean innovators in filmmaking. However, most of the USIS-Korea documentary films before this one, e.g., *Lighthouse on the Street*, *Building Together*, or *Diary of Three Soldiers*, had not made the most of this specialty. Real sounds were not tried or were merely set as background noises behind post-synchronized narrations and sound effects. The opening long-take scene in *Korean Educational System* is in that sense an original attempt to bring verisimilar moments to audiences. The film contains several sets of raw footage and sound that depict scenes at the schools in a convincing way. While there are still structuralized narratives and staged images blended with these raw elements to maximize the aim of publicity, this film does not move forward the existence of individual filmmakers and their artistic attempts, which cannot be just explained as governmental public information activities.

This film's Director, Yang Sŭng-ryong (Yang Seung-ryong), had worked as a recordist and Assistant Director for Manchukuo Film Association Ltd. during the colonial period (Sim Hye-kyŏng, 2011) and later became the recordist of *Boxes of Death* in 1955. The Cinematographer of *Korean Educational System*, Chŏn Sŏn-myŏng (Chun Sun-myung), had been at first employed as a guard at the Sangnam studios, and then became the Assistant Cinematographer

of *Boxes of Death* (Kim Hyöng-kün, Mar. 30, 2012).

Both of the individuals had not been leading players among production staffs until senior directors and cinematographers left USIS-Korea to work in the Korean film industry. Many of the filmmakers who replaced the first generation during the relocation of film studios to Sangnam between 1951 and 1953, including Kim Ki-yöng, Kim Yöng-gwön, Kim Hyöng-kün and Pae Sök-in, left Sangnam before and around 1958.⁵⁰ As their seniors had done earlier, these third-generation filmmakers, including Yang and Chön, began to replace the former leading players after 1958 and became directors and chief cinematographers.⁵¹ For newcomers like Chön, the USIS-Korea film production system was a means of attaining a vocational education. However, the third-generation filmmakers did not have such helpful connections with the

⁵⁰ Kim Ki-yöng immediately left USIS-Korea after the release of *Boxes of Death* and started *Yangsando* (1955) (Kim Han-sang, 2011(a)). Kim Hyöng-kün was one of six Korean filmmakers who left USIS-Korea and established an independent film production in Chinhae in 1951. However, in 1953, he decided to return to USIS-Korea since he wanted to learn the new equipment available in Sangnam. In 1957, he finally left USIS-Korea to work as the technical manager for Chöngnūng film studios of the Han'guk Yöngghwa Munhwa Hyöp'oe [Korean Association for Film Culture] (Kim Hyöng-kün, Mar. 30, 2012). Kim Yöng-gwön had been an anchor on a television station before his career at USIS-Korea. He directed *The Lighthouse on the Street* (1955) and seems to have moved to OPI between 1955 and 1959. In 1959, he directed an OPI-made animation *Chwi rül chapcha [Let's Catch Mice]* (National Film Production Center, 1994: 30). Pae Sök-in began his film making career at USIS-Korea in 1955 and moved to OPI in 1958 (KOFA, 2009).

⁵¹ Yang's filmography continued with *Hands that Moved the Sea* (1958), *My 4-H Project Diary* (1958c), *With Hand and Heart* (1960), *Birds of a Feather* (1961), *Coal* (1961), *Litany of Hope* (1962), *Tank* (1963), *The Mountain* (1963c), *The Inn* (1964), *A Legacy* (1965), *Our Wings Grow Stronger* (1966c), and *The High Hill* (1968c). Chön also later became the director of several documentaries including *The Mighty Han* (1963), *The Lighthouse* (1963c), *Shipmates* (1964c), *The Island Doctor* (1965), *Bright Future* (1967), and *Boom Town* (1968).

Korean film industry (Kim Hyöng-kün, Mar. 30, 2012). While their seniors were absorbed into the Korean film market and the ROK Governmental agencies, the third-generation filmmakers decided to remain in Sangnam.

This shift in generations indicates that Liberty Production was the place for self-realization of USIS-affiliated filmmakers from the new generation. The conditions that had allowed Kim Ki-yöng to enter the commercial film world immediately after the success of *Boxes of Death* were the technical and technological superiority of Liberty Production over the Korean film industry. Such conditions, however, did not last until the late 1950s when Korean cinema saw tremendous growth. The effort to make films with a polished style and a variety of topics in the late 1950s and the 1960s at Liberty Production seems to have originated with this changed industrial environment. As seen in *Korean Educational System*, it is distinctive that the films from this period were produced in the pursuit of completeness as documentaries. Yang's other works, including *Coal*, *Litany of Hope*, and *A Legacy*, show his own coherent style, which were an elaborate combination of verisimilitude in documentary scenes, re-enacted historical events and fictional situations. For instance, the opening footage of *A Legacy* shows a unique editing style that directly and effectively connects the documentary footage of a noisy and lively local market in contemporary Japan to the re-enactment of a sixteenth century Korean-Japanese pottery school. Between the two scenes and their very different time settings, the opening credits appear with the film title and the list of staff and performers

(see Figure 46).



Figure 46. The opening of *A Legacy*

This stylistic improvement corresponded with the emergence of the film festival culture. The first Asian Film Festival was held in Tokyo in 1954, and South Korea was included in its membership in 1957 (Sangjoon Lee, 2011: 165-221). Since the festival offered Best Documentary award, the lack of documentary film making in Korea became a conversation topic. Yi Pyŏng-il (Lee Byung-il), a Board member of the Asian Film Festival in 1959, expressed his feelings of regret that there was no entry in the documentary section from South Korea:

Although I always feel it necessary when we submit entries every year and I go abroad to join film festivals, the plan to send ‘documentary films’ from our private productions seems to be thwarted again this year. There is almost no country except Korea who submits feature films without any documentaries, and countries who even cannot send features at least submit some documentaries. Considering this, I would like to bring two or three pieces with the support from either the Association of Film Producers or the government, if individual submission is impossible. In my view, it would be good if we could select a couple of works from the OPI production (Yi Pyŏng-il, Mar. 6, 1959).

As he suggests, OPI directors Yi Hyŏng-p‘yo and Yang Chong-hae did

submit their documentaries as Korean entries to the sixth Asian Film Festival in Kuala Lumpur, Malaya for the first time that year (Yi Ha-na, 2010). As the establishment of the OPI film studios in 1958 was regarded as a chance to “develop the ‘lost territory’ of documentaries” (*Tonga Ilbo*, Jan. 21, 1959: 4), OPI’s official participation in the Asian Film Festival was a felicitous choice to encourage documentary film making. Falling a step behind, however, Liberty Production also participated in the festival beginning in 1962. Yang Sŭng-ryong submitted his films four years in a row, and was awarded two prizes in 1962 and 1964 (see Table 7). Chŏn Sŏn-myŏng also entered his color film, *The Island Doctor*, in the 12th Asian Film Festival in 1965 (*Tonga Ilbo*, Apr. 20, 1965: 6).

Table 7. Liberty Production Films Submitted to the Asian Film Festival (Yi Ha-na, 2010; *Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, May 16, 1962: 3; *Tonga Ilbo*, Apr. 20, 1965: 6)

Ord.	Year	Venue	Title	Director	Note
9th	1962	Seoul, Korea	<i>With Hand and Heart</i>	Yang Sŭng-ryong	B/W Shooting Prize
10th	1963	Tokyo, Japan	<i>Litany of Hope</i>	Yang Sŭng-ryong	
11th	1964	Taipei, Taiwan	<i>The Inn</i>	Yang Sŭng-ryong	Participation Prize
12th	1965	Tokyo, Japan	<i>The Mountain</i>	Yang Sŭng-ryong	
			<i>The Island Doctor</i>	Chŏn Sŏn-myŏng	

The political conditions in the early 1960s also improved the environment of documentary film making. SCNR and later the Pak Chŏng-hŭi Government fostered and encouraged production and distribution of ‘cultural films’ as a way to legislate and compel double-feature playing of these films in

commercial cinemas and establish NFPC under the Ministry of Public Information (*Tonga Ilbo*, Aug. 5, 1962: 4). The Ministry also created a new section on cultural films for its annual film awards in 1962, when the award was renamed Taejongsang (*Tonga Ilbo*, Mar. 31, 1962: 3). In the majority of cases, these Cultural Film Prizes were won by NFPC directors (Yi Ha-na, 2010). However, it seems that Liberty Production films were also submitted to the evaluation committee, as, for instance, Yang's *Litany of Hope*, which won the Achievement Award in 1963 (*Tonga Ilbo*, Mar. 9, 1963: 5).

The film festival culture apparently encouraged filmmakers in public information agencies to improve their film making styles and develop artistic presentations. The NFPC filmmakers made cultural films targeting the Asian Film Festival prizes (Yi Ha-na, 2010). Also, it is highly probable that both filmmaker groups in NFPC and Liberty Production competed with each other in evaluating the artistic value of cultural films and awarding prizes. However, it should be also noted that such film festival culture and the improved surroundings for documentary film making were actually the fruit of governmental accentuation of propaganda activities. The Pak Chŏng-hŭi Government was remarkably active in organizing cultural events to promote positive images of their government, and hosting the Asian Film Festival in 1962

and 1966 was one of the key examples (Yi Ha-na, 2010).⁵² The NFPC filmmakers were highly encouraged by the new political power they had to develop their artistic capabilities and actively participate in domestic and international film awards.

The filmmakers of USIS-Korea, who remained after many who were seniors left, were, thus, driven to compete with the NFPC staff under these new conditions. Many NFPC staff members were former USIS-affiliated filmmakers and included Yi Hyöng-p'yo, Kim Yöng-gwön, Pae Sök-in and Chöng Yun-chu. Other senior filmmakers, such as Kim Ki-yöng, Kim Hyöng-kün and later Yi Hyöng-p'yo, entered the commercial film industry and used their creativity with less constraint. The last choice that the remaining USIS filmmakers had was, so to speak, to engage in 'auteurism in cultural film making.' That is, they were not able to become full auteurs in documentary filmmaking, but rather had to negotiate to find their identity which lay between documentarists and public information officials. Their experiments in film style, such as with *A Legacy*, seem to have been in a way art for art's sake, but such stylistic improvements could not include any sharp criticism of the socio-

⁵² The 9th Asian Film Festival in 1962, which was the first one that South Korea hosted, seems to have been an unintended gift for the leaders of the coup (*Tonga Ilbo*, Jul. 31, 1961: 4), but they also knew how to maximize the effect of hosting the renowned international event. The festival was held from May 12 to May 16, 1962, and the closing ceremony on May 16 was a part of the serial ceremony honoring the first anniversary of the military coup (*Kyöngnyang Sinmun*, May 15, 1962: 3). The next hosting of the Asian Film Festival in Seoul in 1966 was understood by government officials as an opportunity to placate critics of the 1965 Korea-Japan treaty and the decision to send troops to Vietnam (Yi Ha-na, 2010).

political characteristics of their topics. Their counterpart, the NFPC filmmakers, were working in similar conditions, and even filmmakers outside the governmental bodies could not overcome the dilemma since there was no free environment for independent documentary filmmaking in South Korea at that time. Therefore, directors like Yi Hyŏng-p'yo were absorbed into the commercial feature film industry even though they longed for documentary filmmaking (Yi Hyŏng-p'yo, Dec. 6, 2005). Further, the negotiation of identity in documentary filmmaking was a kind of ironic fate for those filmmakers affiliated with public information agencies on a global level, as seen in the cases of the USIA filmmakers under the Kennedy Administration (Nicholas Cull, 1998).

3. Fostering Korean Expertise on America and Being American Experts on Korea

Some USIS-Korea films in the late 1960s and the early 1970s present interesting self-reflections on the U.S. strategies to foster mutual understanding between South Korea and the United States at that time. In comparison with the activities to encourage the mutual understanding as depicted in the 1950s films, it is remarkable that these films place emphasis on expertise and extensive understanding of each other. This development corresponded to the subsequent

change in the U.S. strategy toward Asia within the Nixon Doctrine, which concluded in the emphasis on Korean citizens' "personal understanding of American foreign policy by increasing face-to-face opportunities" in public information activities (*Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Jun. 15, 1971: 5).

The 1968 film, *American Cultural Centers and the Community*, provides a good example of such face-to-face opportunities. It introduces four American cultural centers in Seoul, Pusan, Taegu, and Kwangju.⁵³ Those centers were equipped with book and film libraries, assembly halls, and meeting rooms (*Tonga Ilbo*, Feb. 1, 1971: 5). These centers had changed their main scope of activity from direct and popular events to "indirect practices toward individuals and groups who could exercise influence on the public" (*Tonga Ilbo*, Jul. 11, 1978: 5).



Figure 47. Academic events and mutual understanding activities depicted in *American Cultural Centers and the Community* (1968)

The film shows the location of a new center of gravity within the social

⁵³ American cultural centers were originally called USIS Information Centers but the name was changed in 1953 to give the "most desirable" impression to the Korean public by pointing to "the cultural aspect of branch activity" (J.R. Higgins, Apr. 7, 1953).

sphere. When depicting academic events, such as the Second Americana Symposium, the camera captures the serious expressions among the attendees who seem to be students and intellectuals (see Figure 47). A scene involving American students who sing Korean songs provides the impression that the American cultural center is a place at which to make connections with those foreign visitors by developing expertise, including proficiency in the English language.

In designating the target audience of film screenings, it appears that more emphasis was placed on intellectuals and opinion leaders than previously. In August 1968, *Tonga Ilbo* and USIS-Korea



Figure 48. Morton S. Smith and Chŏng Chu-yŏng after watching *To Touch a Child* (1962) in August 1968 (O Chae-kyŏng, 2009).

co-sponsored an international conference titled “Community Action in a Changing World,” during which was shown an American documentary, *To Touch a Child* (1962), which was about the community school movement in Flint, Michigan (O Chae-kyŏng, 2009). After the successful screening of the film, there was another show in the house of Morton S. Smith, Deputy Director

of USIS-Korea at the time, at the request of participants of the conference who wanted to invite eminent persons from various circles (O Chae-kyŏng, 2009). With this screening as momentum, the Korea Association of Supporters for Community School was organized in January 1969 and Chŏng Chu-yŏng, who was the founder of the Hyundai Group and in attendance at the screening, was selected as the first president (KACE, n.d.; O Chae-kyŏng, 2009) (see Figure 48). This case shows the direct influence of USIS-Korea film activities on opinion leaders of South Korea.

In 1973, USIS-Korea started a retrospective screening event on avant-garde films made by American college students from January 17 to February 7 (*Tonga Ilbo*, Jan. 20, 1973: 5). Considering that avant-garde films are commonly regarded to as “the art of the intellectual élite” (Noël Carroll, 1998: 18), this event appears to be targeted to a small population who had the knowledge and intellect to understand the films. After the closure of film production, this symbolic event showed the significant change of USIS-Korea film activities, shifting the object from the general public to intellectuals.

Another interesting project that embodied the U.S. strategy to increase “face-to-face opportunities” in South Korea in the late 1960s and the early 1970s is observed in the USIS-Korea film, *Bridge for Peace* (c1970-72). This film was sponsored by the Peace Corps to show the activities of the Peace Corps volunteers in Korea. The Peace Corps was established by U.S. President John

F. Kennedy in 1961, as an organized group of volunteers who would be sent to “countries of the developing world” for two years to help “the people of interested countries in meeting their need for trained men and women, . . . promote a better understanding of Americans on the part of the peoples served . . . [and] promote a better understanding of other peoples on the part of Americans” (Peace Corps, Jul. 16, 2012). While South Korea was not included in the initial destination countries, an agreement on the Peace Corps was arranged between Korea and America on September 14, 1966, and the first 98 members arrived in Seoul on September 16 of the same year (*Tonga Ilbo*, Sep. 15, 1966: 1; *Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*, Sep. 17, 1966: 7).⁵⁴

The film shows the activities of the volunteer members. They were assigned to various sectors in Korea that needed professional help, including teaching students English, providing medical service in public health centers, developing indigenous products for rural villages, and volunteering at institutes for the disabled. The authorities of two countries, who are depicted in the film, evaluate the past activities of the Peace Corps to be very successful, having achieved outstanding results.

One notable point is that these volunteer members were not just providers of expertise. As *Bridge for Peace* starts with a scene that depicts a

⁵⁴ One of the members of the first group of volunteers who came to Korea, Edward J. Baker, states that the Peace Corps program in Korea was set up as “partial compensation for the dispatch of ROK troops to Vietnam” (Park Tae-Gyun, 2008).

Peace Corps member's performance of *kayagŭm*, a traditional Korean instrument, they were also recipients of unique knowledge which was only obtainable in Korea. The film shows Peace Corps members who became able to speak fluent



Figure 49. Peace Corps members and Korean students in *Bridge for Peace*

Korean after a couple of years' service in Korea. In the closing scene, some Peace Corps members sit together with Korean college students and sing a Korean folk song, *Kaptoli wa Kapsuni* (see Figure 49).

The volunteer service in Korea, in fact, made the members “seriously interested in Korea” and the effect was noticeable in the academic world (Park Tae-Gyun, 2008). The Peace Corps alumni formed a group of scholars who became key figures in Korean studies in North America, including Edward J. Baker (K-1), David McCann (K-1), Edward J. Shultz (K-1), Bruce Cumings (K-3), and Carter J. Eckert (K-7).⁵⁵ As Baker says, “The Peace Corps played an important role, and in fact it was much more than that” in Korean studies (Park Tae-Gyun, 2008).

⁵⁵ “K-number” indicates the ordinal number in the order of the Peace Corps groups sent to Korea. Therefore, “K-1” means that the person was in the first group which was sent to Korea in September of 1966 (Park Tae-Gyun, 2008; Peace Corps Korea, 2006).

Such acquisition of expertise in Korean peculiarities is also found in USIS-affiliated officials and artists. Eugene I. Knez, who had been assigned to USAMGIK as head of the Bureau of Culture, Department of Education from 1945 to 1946 and then to USIS-Korea as Chief of Branch Operations from 1949 to 1951, became an anthropologist of the Smithsonian Institution and established the Korea Gallery at the U.S. National Museum of Natural History in 1968 (Alan L. Bain, 2002; *Tonga Ilbo*, Feb. 1, 1968: 5). He was married to Ch'oe Chi-ae, who was an actress of Ch'oe In-kyu's Film Production during the Period of Liberation (*Tonga Ilbo*, Feb. 1, 1968: 5; Ch'oe Chi-ae, 2000: 79-90). Knez was one of the early sojourning employees of USIS in Korea; however, his remarkable activities in the late 1960s and 1970s at the Smithsonian Institution show an expert system of the United States that was established to reach Korea at that time.

Humphrey W. Leynse, who had been a Motion Picture Officer of USIS-Korea from 1959 to 1966, resigned his position and moved to Ullŭng-do, a remote Korean island in the East Sea, to engage in documentary filmmaking (MASC, 2010; *Tonga Ilbo*, Jan. 26, 1966: 3). After two years of recording "the harsh life of the fishermen and their families on Ullŭng-do," he finished an ethnographic film, *Out There, a Lone Island* (1968), and won several awards (MASC, 2010). This case shows how a U.S. official in charge of cultural film production in USIS-Korea became himself an ethnographer with a movie camera.

Another remarkable case of an American expert on Korea is the story of Alan C. Heyman, who became naturalized as a Korean citizen with a Korean name, Hae Ŭi-man. He first came to Korea during the Korean War as a soldier. Since he was fascinated by Asian traditional music during wartime, he came back to Korea as a student to learn Korean traditional music in 1959, against the wishes of those around him (Kim Bo-ram, 2010). For this self-supporting student, composing music for the USIS-Korea films seems to have been a useful way to finance his study. He composed and arranged original scores of several cultural films in the 1960s, including *Litany of Hope* (1962), *The Inn* (1964), *Ask Me!* (1964), *The Mountain* (1964), *A Legacy* (1965), *Our Wings Grow Stronger* (c1966), *The High Hill* (c1968), and *KATUSA* (n.d.). As a graduate of the master's program in Music and Music Education at Columbia University, he was already a music specialist (*The Korea Herald*, Feb. 11, 2011: 11); however, what attracted Liberty Production to Heyman's work appears to be his ability in Korean traditional music:

Interviewer: Then, did USIS-Korea request that you compose music because you did Korean music?

Heyman: Well, that is, until then USIS-Korea did not have works that contained both Western and Korean traditional music together.

[Ah...] I was the first one who did it.

Interviewer: Ah, yes. So, did they ask you to put many Korean music, I mean, Korean traditional music scores in their films?

Hyeman: Yes, they did.

Interviewer: Was it important to use Korean traditional music in the USIS-Korea films?

Heyman: Yes, yes, it was. (Alan C. Heyman, Jan. 10, 2012)

Heyman used traditional Korean instruments, such as the *kōmun'go*, *kayagŭm*, *buk*, *changgo*, *kkwaenggwari*, and *saenak*, in those films and won an award for best original score with *The Mountain* (Alan C. Heyman, Jan. 10, 2012; *Tonga Ilbo*, Dec. 2, 1964: 5).

Heyman was not only a competent staff member in publicizing certain topics of USIS-Korea, but he himself was also an interesting topic to publicize. The 1969 film, *My Friend Alan Heyman*, deals with his life in Korea. In the film, he participates in a Korean oratorical contest for foreigners and lives in a Korean-style house with a Korean wife.



Figure 50. Alan C. Heyman in *P'aldogangsan of Tomorrow* (1971)

His passion for Korean traditional music is presented in detail, with instances of his own performance. His unique character seems to have attracted ROK public information filmmakers as well. He was cast for the NFPC film, *P'aldogangsan of Tomorrow* (1971). In this tourist cultural film, Heyman plays the *changgo* and sings the traditional Korean folk song, “Arirang” (see Figure 50).

It is undeniable that Heyman’s presence in the films was an extension of the strategy of visualization which had been developed in the cultural peculiarity films in the 1950s, including Kim Paek-pong’s live recordings. Heyman was a

white American who recognized the importance and excellence of Korean traditional music and became the *kugak* musician. The depiction of his life and figure might have positioned Korean audiences on the stage where they were the object of the gaze of the superior authority with a discerning eye, the United States.

While the films of the 1950s were just an introduction to Korean culture, Knez, Leynse, and Heyman's cases show how certain expertise in understanding Korea had accumulated in the expert system fostered by U.S. public information agencies in the late 1960s. In this way, in the crisis of film production targeting the general public, USIS-Korea gradually shifted its center of gravity toward a priority system aiming to nurture a good condition for expert training.

Chapter 10. Building the Self Through Translation: Exchange Programs and Intellectuals

Yi Pyŏng-il, who was a Board member of the Asian Film Festival in 1959 and later became the Festival Director of its 9th festival in Seoul in 1962, was a rare filmmaker who studied film in America as early as 1948. He was invited to 20th Century Fox with a recommendation from the Director of the ROK Office of Foreign Affairs and joined the USC Cinema Department (Yi Pyŏng-il, 1977).

Yi Chae-myŏng, Chairman of the Cultural Film Association, was invited by the U.S. State Department to tour America from October 1962 to February 1963.⁵⁶ He was the first Korean beneficiary of the Film Specialist Exchange Program of the State Department (*Tonga Ilbo*, Feb. 11, 1963: 6; Yi Chae-myŏng, 1979).

While the hosts of invitation were clearly different and the invitees' purposes of stay in America did differ, both do show the close connection between the U.S. educational agencies and the leading figures in the Korean film industry.

Education and exchange programs were one of the core projects of U.S. foreign aid, the aim of which was to foster pro-American elites and experts in non-Communist countries.

NFPC, the crux of the film propaganda activities run by the Pak Chŏng-

⁵⁶ Yi Chae-myŏng was the Director of the CFP Production Department during the Pacific War and then became President of the Chosŏn Yŏnghwa Chusikhoesa [Chosŏn Film Production Co. Ltd.] which took over the management rights of CFP after the Liberation (Yi Chae-myŏng, 1979).

hŭi Government, in fact was the beneficiary of just such educational exchange projects. In 1958, ICA, a precursor organization to the U.S. Agency for International Development (hereinafter USAID), contracted with Syracuse University to assist OPI in developing the film production function (James McCarron, Apr. 4, 1960). The scope of the contracted work included the goal that the contractor should “train Korean personnel in all facets of motion picture production, including writing, directing, editing, use of magnetic and optical sound system and in mixing for sound film production, etc.” (James McCarron, Apr. 4, 1960). Seven instructors were sent from Syracuse to Korea to educate OPI personnel in film production; the curriculum was a combination of theory and practice (KOFA, 2006: 245-292).

Table 8. A breakdown of OPI personnel under the training by Syracuse instructors ([Anonymous], Apr. 8, 1959).

Field	Instructor	Personnel
Planning and Production	Thomas Layton Mabrey	Kim Yŏng-gwŏn, Kang Nae-sik, Yang Chong-hae, Yun Ki-pŏm, Kim Haeng-o, Pae Tong-sun, Ch'oe Ch'ang-kyun, Ra Han-t'ae, Im Hak-song
Editing	James M. Guthrio	Pak Yong-hun, Pae Sŏk-in, Im Ok-hŭi, Yi In-tŏk, Kim Wŏn-cha
Animation		Pak Yŏng-il, Hong Sang-kyun, Kim In-t'ae
Camera Department	James R. Connell	Pak Hŭi-yŏng, Ch'oe Sun-chin, Pae Sŏng-yong, Chang Yun-ku, Sin Hŭi-sŏng, Yi Chŏng-sŏp, Hŏ Tong-hak, Cho Kŭn-cha, Han Kyu-sŏl, Mun Kyŏng-chun, Yi Rak-hŭi, Cho Nam-cha
Projection		Hyŏn Chung-sŏp, Han U-sŏp, Kim Kwang-yun
Sound Recording	Theodore Conant	Son In-ho, Kang Sin-kyu, Yi Chae-ung, Chŏng Ki-ch'ang
Music	Theodore Conant	Chŏng Yun-chu
Maintenance	Ferris Large	Kim Hyŏng-chung, Pak Ok-pong, Kim Yong-man, Chŏng Chŏng-mo, Kim Kwang-sik
Processing	D. S. Pressley	Kim Hŭng-man, Ch'ae Kyu-sun, Cho U-ki, Kang Yŏng-ro, Kim Ok-kap, Chŏng Ki-ho, Yi T'ae-wan, Yi Hyŏn-ok, Chŏng Kyŏng-hun, Yu Mu-sun, Pak Sae-ki, Chang Sŏng-wŏn, Kim Hae-wŏn, Yi Ok-sŏn, Cho Sun-cha

As seen in Table 8, OPI filmmakers were placed in 9 field sections that encompassed the whole range of film production works. This 2-year training program was a stepping stone to the establishment of NFPC (KOFA, 2006: 245-292).

From September of 1964 to January of 1965, Pae Sök-in, a former USIS-affiliated director and one of the leading figures of NFPC, was invited to America through the same exchange program that had invited Yi Chae-myöng through the State Department.⁵⁷ Kim Hui-kap, a star comedian who had once appeared in the USIS-Korea film *Birds of a Feather* (1961), accompanied him (Kim Hui-kap, 1992: 215-254). Given that their future collaboration in *P'aldogangsan* was made possible by this trip and would become a big success in both NFPC and the Korean film industry, it was a momentous event that shows the relationship between Korean film specialists and the U.S. educational exchange program, and also Korean filmmakers' imitation, translation and appropriation of American public information films. This chapter examines Pae's early USIS films, USIA's television show about Korean students in America, and a special show on Pae and Kim's U.S. trip.

⁵⁷ Earlier in 1964, another NFPC director Yang Chong-hae was invited to America by the U.S. State Department. He first visited the United Kingdom with a grant offered by the Colombo Plan and met British documentarists there, including John Grierson and Basil Wright (*Tonga Ilbo*, Oct. 6, 1964: 6). Then he traveled to America to meet his Syracuse colleagues (KOFA, 2006: 245-292).

1. Translation of the 'Local' as an American Democratic Value

- 1) Localism and U.S. Public Information Films

According to Han, an American political scientist, localism and cosmopolitanism are often adversarial concepts that represent the basic difference in the political attitudes toward the American political systems, including city, state, and federal governments, formation of public opinion, and policy decisions (Harlan Han, 1974). Kirkpatrick points out that the history of localism as a political ideology – “middle-class moral-reform movements acting on the belief that the small local community provided the ideal setting for spiritual and moral uplift” – has been a central doctrine of American democracy for more than two centuries, but the taste for local culture only formed during the first 50 years after the American Civil War. “Loving stories of small-town life awash in local color, populated by the parsons and schoolmarm of places like Friendship Village, a literary cliché that critic Carl van Doren called ‘the cult of the village’” dominated American literature from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and typical localist features, such as the Victorian small town images depicted by D.W Griffith and Mary Pickford’s prototypical girl-next-door images, were formed in early Hollywood films (Bill Kirkpatrick, 2006).

The film propaganda distributed by the U.S. public information agencies also reflected these trends. Although it was a deliberate attempt at propaganda

conducted by the Federal government, a considerable number of these films seem to have been made with localist touches. *Tuesday in November* is a good example. While it is clear that this film was produced to spotlight the triumph of the newly elected Federal government in 1944, it is not incidental that the film was set in Riverton, a small city in California. From the opening narration which intones, “This is an American city, a city that is not very large, not very rich, not very old,” via the images of a farmer riding a slow horse-driven hay wagon along country lanes, to the background flute music behind the scene with the public school principal, Mrs. Dawson, serving as the Chairman of the Election Board for the town’s 15,000 citizens, the film succeeds in illustrating a typical, slow-paced, peaceful local American town (see Figure 51). The film shows local democracy as the

basis for democracy on a national scale and provides a foundation for the U.S. Federal government; that is, a combination of American localism and federalism.

The first scene depicts the Election Board greeting the

voters, and they are all neighbors. The following animated scene shows how the U.S. administration is organized. Then, actual election scenes follow with,



Figure 51. A farmer riding a hay wagon in *Tuesday in November*

the long lines of voters in a larger city, the election campaigns of the Democratic candidate Roosevelt and his Republican opponent Dewey, and the counting rooms. The last scene ends with Roosevelt's victory and the celebration of the crowd in New York's Times Square. This film is a key example of U.S. propaganda films used to introduce American democracy to foreign countries; it was chosen by OCI of USAFIK to screen nationwide before the general election to establish the separate government of South Korea in 1948.

In addition, there is an abundance of films that championed localism and were imported and released by the U.S. information agencies in South Korea. According to USIS-Korea 1964 catalogue for their film library in Korea, there were several films that introduced New England as the birthplace of Puritan localism, including *New England*, *New England Calling*, *New England Farmer*, and *New England Portrait*, and films depicting American local culture and rural life, such as *American Village Storekeeper*, *Small Town USA*, *Creative Art in Rural America*, and *Country Store* (USIS-Korea, 1964: 2-232).

2) American Films on Local Newspapers, and *Korean Editor*

Small Town Editor (1952), produced by USIS, *Country Editor* (1954), produced by the Television-Radio Workshop of the Ford Foundation and released by USIS, and *Small Town Newspaper* (1956), produced by the USIS as

the second issue of the *Reports from America* series, are also localism-oriented public information films. The former two films were identified as ready for public viewing and loan by USIS-Korea's film library as of 1964 (USIS-Korea, 1964: 55). Based on Pae Sök-in's oral statement that he used the closed library of non-fiction films, including *Bronenosets Potemkin*, and *Night Mail* which were not listed in the USIS-Korea catalogue for the public library, while he was working for Liberty Production between 1955 and 1958, it is likely that these two films were also equipped for staff viewing during Pae's service (KOFA, 2009: 35-36). Therefore, it is probable that those film influenced Pae's USIS film, *Korean Editor [Chibang sinmun p'yŏnjipcha]* (1958), both directly and indirectly.

Small Town Editor

introduces the local newspaper *The Littleton Independent* in the town of Littleton, Colorado (see Figure 52).

The film follows the day-to-day working life of chief editor

Houstoun Waring, including

collecting of news materials, selecting items with news values, and covering

cases. Waring covers trials in the District Court, cases in the Sheriff's Office, a

revised law for the security of residents, newly installed night lights, and

residents' concerns at town meetings. In bright and positive tones, the film



Figure 52. Opening graphics of *Small Town Editor*

depicts how the local newspaper and its editor intervene in local thorny issues, such as the pros and cons of establishing a community health center. Waring attends the town meeting and gives a speech on that matter as a guest panelist. After the newspapers are printed, the next scene shows how the papers are distributed in the neighborhood by paperboys. The last scene shows the editor receiving feedback about the newspaper published that day.

Country Editor features a first-person narrator who is introducing a town-based newspaper *The Archive*. Downingtown is located in Pennsylvania's Delaware County and has a population of 5,000. It is where General George Washington engaged in the Battle of Brandywine against the British Army during the American Revolutionary War. The chief editor and hero of the film, Bob McIlvaine, explains that his father was an architect who designed the Brandywine Creek Park, a town historic site. McIlvaine and his wife



Figure 53. *Country Editor*

Jane are in charge of editing *The Archive*. The paper is currently undergoing a financial crisis and is likely to be sold. The majority of this film is devoted to showing the efforts of these two co-editors to save the paper. To overcome the paper's financial problems, Bob tries to persuade local merchants to advertise in his paper. At first, he seems unable to convince them of the effectiveness of

newspaper advertisement. However, these efforts to publicize local issues are finally recognized by the local society and they receive funds from the Community Chest. *The Archive* is taken off the auction block. In the final scene, the printing presses are shown back in full operations churning out papers (see Figure 53).



Figure 54. *Korean Editor* (1958)

Pae Sök-in's *Korean Editor* seems to have been strongly influenced by these two films. The protagonist in this film is the chief editor of *Masan Ilbo*. The film is similar to *Small Town Editor* in terms of its overall narrative construction and also *Country Editor*, which has a first-person narrator narrating his own story. The basic plot of *Korean Editor* shows the editor's daily routines, such as interviewing reporters, attending local policy discussions, covering activities, selecting, editing, and proofreading articles, and printing and typesetting the paper (see Figure 54). This schedule corresponds to a significant extent to the format of *Small Town Editor*. Especially, the conference scene for the reconstruction and repair of the Masan City Library reminds one of the establishment of the Littleton community health center in *Small Town Editor*, with the hero intervening in the conference as a public

advocate and finally reaching an amicable settlement. In addition, in the oral history interview, Pae Sök-in testifies to the American impact on him. He and other filmmakers who were affiliated with USIS-Korea were more aware of Hollywood-style production systems than were the outsiders who would later be their colleagues at NFPC (KOFA, 2009: 42-45).

On the other hand, this film features a number of details that contribute to the vernacularization of American values and emphasize “local media” beyond the mere acceptance of them. For instance, in a sequence on feedbacks from readers, the readers’ letters include a request by a Chinese restaurant owner who asks for help to oust beggar children from his restaurant, and a tenant’s complaint about his landlord’s daughter playing the piano every night. There is also a scene that shows an informant asking the reporter to expose a group of violent creditors who are assaulting a debtor. These scenes are intended to win the sympathy of the ordinary Korean audiences by evoking caring emotions. In another scene, the editor refuses a bribe to avoid press coverage and is threatened by the briber. Background music creates a disquieting atmosphere, and over-the-shoulder shots depicting two figures in turn create a dramatic sense of urgency as well as a sense of social tension that corruption was a ‘social evil’ assigned to South Korean society at that time.

In the interview on his career at USIS-Korea, Pae specifies that he selected *Masan Ilbo* as the main setting because the U.S. Government was

“delicate” about the matter. “Since the publication was neither leftist nor rightist, but a neutralist,” the local newspaper was a suitable candidate, but his script had to be translated and censored by the U.S. State Department (KOFA, 2009: 78-80). This situation was particularly relevant to the policy where the Eisenhower Administration wanted moderate opponents, such as Democrats and soft-liners in the Liberal Party, to maintain the status quo and maintain a distance from the Yi Government’s hard-liners (Yi Ch’öl-sun, 2004). The important point here is that localism, a principle of American federalism, was adapted out of necessity to meet the U.S. Government’s propaganda strategy toward South Korea. It shows that localism in the former two American films and *Korean Editor* might differ in quality. This issue will be discussed later when discussing Pae’s feature film *P’aldogangsan*.

2. Intellectuals and the ‘New World’: An Exhibition of Technological Development and Industrial Tourist Films

1) Introducing America: Korean Students Studying in America and the Imaginative Geography of *Korea-America Today*

During the stay in America, Kim Hŭi-kap, appeared in a USIA-produced television program called *Korea-America Today [Miguk-ŭi onŭl]*. This program was produced in Korean language for providing for a Korean

broadcasting station (Pak Chŏng-su, 1984), on cultural programming to introduce the American lifestyle by reporting on the lives of Koreans studying in America. On the special talk show filmed in mid-January 1965, four months after he came to America, Kim gave his impressions after visiting each region of the country.

Korea-America Today was moderated by Pak Chŏng-su and Yi Pŏm-chun, a couple who were pursuing their PhDs at American University in Washington DC.⁵⁸ The original format of the program was a combination of a partial documentary and a partial talk show to depict the lives of students or trainees staying in the U.S. They were invited to the studio and asked questions. The other two issues of the program are housed in NARA. An issue addressing Michigan State University in Lansing shows the Korean students' daily lives, including coursework, lab experiments, dormitory life, leisure time, and graduation ceremonies. These students majored in a variety of subjects, including sociology, political science, business administration, agriculture, chemistry, and metal engineering. Another issue introduces the facilities of the U.S. Naval Hospital in Oakland, California, the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, and the Defense Language Institute. It shows Korean army surgeons working or learning at the U.S. Navy's medical and educational facilities by

⁵⁸ They both received their doctorates in the Science of International Politics at American University in 1965 (*Tonga Ilbo*, Jun. 17, 1965: 6).

inviting them into the studio and listening to their experiences of American life.

Such characteristics of this program build imaginative geographies in two ways.⁵⁹ First, they narrow the imagined geographic distance between America and Korea. The students and trainees featured, as well as their hosts are all Koreans speaking Korean, which gives audiences a sense of kinship. Their efforts to adapt to the American way of life give the impression that the program is providing a firsthand introduction of American society to those not familiar with it. It also played an important role in bringing American life to Korean audiences at a time when there were restrictions on overseas travel. Second, the shows build an imaginative geography of America. Starting with the complete-US-map-style logo in the opening, each issue introduces a particular American city and visually locates the city on the map of the region (see Figure 55). This combination of images helps one create a strong geographical sense of different American places and the nation as a whole.



Figure 55. A map introducing American geography in *Korea-America Today*

⁵⁹ The concept of “imaginative geographies” comes from Edward Said’s theories on the Orientalist and colonialist discourse (Edward W. Said, 1978: 49-73).

In a special issue featuring Kim Hŭi-kap, these characteristics noticeably stand out. At the time when he was on air right after he had traveled across the U.S., Kim could be still seen at the cinema in Korea in such films as *Yokt'ang-ŭi minyŏ sakŏn* [*The Beauty Murder Case in Bath*] and *Pae-man naomyŏn sajang-inya?* [*Are All Potbellied People Presidents?*] in late 1964.⁶⁰ This exposure works to narrow the cognitive distance between the two countries by showing a celebrity, whom audiences could still see until a recent time, on a program produced in America. Pak Chŏng-su and Yi Pŏm-chun, who introduced America from a foreigner's perspective in other issues, are now receiving a visitor in the character of these U.S. residents. After talking about adjusting to American cultures in episodes in conversations with Americans, Kim describes his travelogue all around the country (see Figure 56). Starting from Hawaii with its "serene water and summery weather all the time," Los Angeles with its "endlessly huge land but painful smog," the Hollywood studios and filming locations with their "beautiful artificial trees of the jungle which looked natural," San Francisco with "very beautiful hilltops," Niagara Falls with "earthshaking rumbles," Phoenix in Arizona with "the desert turned to a fertile," the Grand Canyon with "majestic cliffs with countless gorges," New Orleans with "a flamboyant French style," Miami with "a helicopter I took for the first time in my life," and New York with "high skyscrapers as if being on a plane" follow

⁶⁰ Kim Hŭi-kap states in his memoirs that he had to push ahead with appearances in films in order to go to America after fulfilling his contracts in 1964 (Kim Hŭi-kap, 1992: 215-216).

with photo slide shows. At the part on Washington DC, the film allots a full quarter of the entire program to introducing major tourist attractions and famous sites in the capital. This narrative structure, combined with the exhibition of a stereotypical image of each individual city, creates a sort of tessellated picture of America as a whole. It is probable that this format was used effectively to help Korean viewers form a geographic recognition of the United States.



Figure 56. Kim Hŭi-kap's appearance in *Korea-America Today*

2) Building a High Intellectual Society and Global Hierarchy of Regions

Another notable characteristic of this special issue of *Korea-America Today* is the specific collectivity that the hosts and the guest construct. It is clearly shown in the following conversation:

Pak: Oh, by the way, where did you spend Christmas?

Kim: Christmas was incredibly exciting!

(All laugh)

Kim: For Christmas, I was in New York, at a party held by the Alumni Association of Kyōnggi Girl's High School, uh... that party where we Korean all gathered. I joined the party. (Pointing at Yi) The chairman is here. I really appreciated that. (With a laugh)

Yi: Oh, well, it was also the first time for us to have such a party since we

had come to America. With listening to your talk and singing, it was a terrific night wallowing in homesick.

Kim: (With a smile) Ah, Thank you. So, who was that... the announcer of *Voice of America*... Mr. Hwang!

Pak and Yi: Right, Hwang Chae-gyöng... Yes.

Kim: Yeah, he wrote the scenario. (Looking at Yi) Didn't we perform a one-act play? The play. (Yi: Yes) That old guy put mustaches here, my goodness!

Yi: (Laughing) You were almost frantic looking for the mustaches.

Kim: Oh dear, the set was decent... I mean, almost perfect! I think I spent a very exciting day.

Pak: Such an opportunity... yeah... it's a very rare opportunity for us Koreans here.

Kim: Yes, at 5am, maybe... yeah, I went to bed around five in the morning. (Laughing) I had a blast!

Pak: Oh, in the next morning, you know, I took you for a sightseeing tour, didn't I? (Kim: Yes) Well, would you please explain again with pictures?

In this scene, the boundary between questioner and answerer disappears, and it turns out that these three people do share the same experiences. When Yi, as Chairman of the Alumni Association of Kyönggi Girls' High School in the U.S., discusses the party held by the association, and Kim talks about how he hung out with Korean residents there, the story calls precise attention to the social status of the individual moderators.⁶¹ Based on the fact that there were only about 2,500 Koreans in any course of study in the U.S. at the time (Office of Research, Jan. 1966), the 'Korean student group in America' represented a highly educated, selected few, and Pak and Yi actually stood before Korean viewers on behalf of

⁶¹ The Kyönggi Girl's High School was one of the top-ranked schools in South Korea when there was a high school entrance examination system until 1973 (*Tonga Ilbo*, Feb. 3, 1978: 3).

that group.⁶² On the other hand, this scene, in which the three people share experiences that most typical Koreans then could not relate to, also works to emphasize the geographical distance in the U.S., and the chasm between the wealthy, educated elite, and the lower classes.

Such a hierarchy between the elite and general audiences is also shown in the life of the ‘star’ Kim Hŭi-kap, who had the rare opportunity to travel around the U.S. As stated above, Kim and Pae Sŏk-in were the second group of Korean ‘specialists’ to be invited by the U.S. State Department for training. In the November 1964 issue

of *Chayu Segye* [Free World], published by the USIS-Korea, Kim Hŭi-kap is described as “a buffoon like Charlie Chaplin, a jack-of-all-trades comedy actor like W.C. Fields, and a character actor like Victor Moore,” and evaluated and seen “in an unutterable style of his own



Figure 57. An article on Kim Hŭi-kap, *Chayu Segye*, vol.13, no.6

⁶² At the same time that Yi took charge of the Alumni Association of the Kyŏnggi Girl’s High School in America, Pak was Chair of the Korean Students’ Association in Washington DC. After returning to Korea, Pak became a National Assembly member five times and held various posts in succession, including the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Yi was also elected to the National Assembly in 1973, and became a professor at Ewha Women’s University and the Dean of the Graduate School at Sungshin Women’s University (Pak Chŏng-su, 1984; *Kyŏngnyang Sinmun*, Dec. 26, 2003: 17; *Tonga Ilbo*, Jul. 15, 2011: 27).

unique Korean appearance” (see Figure 57). The article goes on to state that he was “well-known among foreigners” and that “many Americans in Seoul go see his movies even without English subtitles” (*Chayu Segye*, Nov., 1964). While his popularity was made possible mostly by his folksy image (*Han'gyŏre Sinmun*, May 20, 1993: 9), the invitation from the U.S. State Department, indeed high praise by USIS-Korea, and his popularity among American residents in Korea positioned him as an appropriate figure for introducing American civilization. Kim hosted a USIS-Korea television show, *Little Angels of Korea* [*Ŏrin ch'önsadül*], in which he interviewed the Sönhwa Children's Dance Group after their tour in America for the second time in March 1967. In 1968, while he was touring the U.S. for filming *P'aldogangsan 2* [*The Land of Korea*], the sequel to *P'aldogangsan*, he wrote a series of travelogues called “Nutcracker Face Reports Traveling Around the World” for a daily newspaper (*Chosön Ilbo*, May 26, 1968: 5). The meeting scene in *Korea-America Today*, following the Christmas episode, depicts Kim shaking hands with senior Washington diplomats. This moment confirms that Kim Hüi-kap, ‘an American expert,’ was also a member of the specialists mainly composed of highly educated elites.

The elite status of those who introduce Western culture reminds one of the hierarchy between the colonizer and the colonized, often shown by the role of the colonial intellectuals. In an analysis of colonial elite intellectuals under the British Empire, Prakash argues that those intellectuals had a kind of “second sight.” They developed such sight that rested in between the “superstitious eye”

of the colony and the “scientific gaze” of the Empire. This second sight is not the product of scientific training, but rather the performative process, such as an “amazement and wonder” to encounter “the spectacle of science,” as well as “the bewilderment experienced when confronted with alien knowledge while encountering the objects in the museum” (Gyan Prakash, 1999: 17-48). Kim Hŭi-kap’s position is to show wonder at seeing the artificial jungle set of the South Sea Islands built for Ernest Borgnine’s Hollywood feature, show envy towards the Hollywood production system which had advanced technologies “inconceivable” in Korea, and admire the dignity of American audiences “who tried to improve their culture as their scientific improvement.” His position and attitude are similar to those of the colonial elite intellectuals, that is to say, the elite status of Kim and the student moderators might not only create a social hierarchy between themselves and their Korean audiences, but also identify the regional hierarchy that exists between their home country and the U.S. which they have encountered with amazement and wonder.

Chapter 11. Defining Koreanness?: *P'aldogangsan* and the Idealized Self

The film *P'aldogangsan* (1967) was released in March 1967 and directed by Pae Sök-in, starring Kim Hŭi-kap. It was the first commercial full-length feature film sponsored by the ROK Ministry of Public Information and its affiliate,



Figure 58. A crowd congregated to watch the second sequel of *P'aldogangsan* (1971)

NFPC. The total budget for the film was 18,000,000 wŏn, which was recorded as the highest for the films produced that same year (Kim Han-sang, 2008: 131-132). The movie was a big hit, drawing an attendance of 325,904 in its first run at the Kukto Cinema. While free screenings in rural areas were offered by the Ministry of Public Information as a nationwide campaign for President Pak Chŏng-hŭi's reelection, the film also proved to be popular enough to be released commercially in urban cinemas. The film was publicly promoted along with the 6th Presidential election about two months earlier, and its success made the Ministry decide to make sequels (Kim Han-sang, 2008: 10-24). It is worth noticing that the film was brought out the same year that USIS-Korea terminated the *Liberty News* series. In that year, cultural film making in South Korea

faced a crossroads where NFPC displayed its ability to prove successful and Liberty Production made a decision to give up its core product.

Until five years later, four film sequels of *P'aldogangsan* had followed to celebrate the opening of the *Yusin* Regime. Of particular importance in this regard is that the film and its sequels were understood to be showing the national imaginary. The term *P'aldogangsan* literally means the scenery of all parts of Korea, and this film was the first attempt to compile and integrate every regional representation of the nation into a national narrative. After the success of this film, a considerable number of films with similar titles were produced.⁶³ Therefore, it appears that this film and the following trend provided support for the “Korean-type” or “Koreanness” discourses of the *Yusin* period.

One remarkable fact was that the star of the film, Kim Hŭi-kap placed great importance on his experience in the exchange program in America with director Pae Sŏk-in, as the origin of this film project (Kim Hŭi-kap, 1992: 215-254). Pae was affiliated with USIS-Korea to make *Liberty News* and cultural films, such as *Korean Editor*, from 1955 to 1958. Kim also had gained

⁶³ These films were *P'aldo Kisaeng* (1968), *P'aldo Sanai*(1969), *P'aldo Sawi* (1969), *P'aldo Myŏnŭri* (1970), *P'aldo Kŏmgaek* (1970), *P'aldo Noraengi* (1970), *P'aldo Kasinai* (1970), *P'aldo Singmo* (1970), and *P'aldo Yŏgun* (1970). While each film featured varied characteristics of a genre film that were different, they also shared a similar narrative structure that enumerated the characteristics of all regions in South Korea and embraced them as showing the nation's diversity. Although the original *P'aldogangsan* series focused more on national unity than other films had, by going on location to each region to introduce local residents, indigenous culture and industry, other “P'aldo-” films just made an effort to showcase a variety of local flavors and colors.

collaboration experience with Liberty Production by appearing in *Birds of a Feather* (*Chosŏn Ilbo*, August 1, 1961: e4). Both were invited to participate in the film specialist exchange program offered by the U.S. State Department and visited nineteen American cities from September 1964 to January 1965.

According to Kim, the idea to go sightseeing throughout South Korea began while they were staying in New York after a nationwide tour of America (Kim Hŭi-kap, 1992: 215-254). The associations between these two film specialists and USIS-Korea suggests an interesting interpretative connection that suggests that this film was the epicenter of a popular trend in the Korean film industry in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

This chapter investigates the series *P'aldogangsan* in terms of its (re)presentation of national landscape and ethnographic gaze on the Self and the Other. In comparison with the cultural filmic imagery of USIS-Korea, it also seeks to reveal the true nature of the opposition between the “Korean-type” and the Western.

1. Performed Localism, Translated Federalism

The film's main plot is about an old couple, Hŭi-kap and Chŏng-sun,⁶⁴ who

⁶⁴ This series adopted the real names of the performers for the names of its characters.

travel around the country to visit their daughters and sons-in-law. The couple lives in Seoul with their youngest daughter, and their other five daughters are scattered all over the country. Interestingly, the daughters live in five different provinces: Ch'ungch'ŏng, Chŏlla, Southern Kyŏngsang, Northern Kyŏngsang, and Kangwŏn Provinces. Hence, each local color and dialect appears as a convention when the parents visit each daughter. From Seoul to the DMZ where their only son is performing his military duties, the couple takes a big roundabout trip counterclockwise. After the tour, the whole family gathers in Seoul to celebrate the father's 60th birthday.

As Kim Hŭi-kap wrote about the film, the narrative of traveling around the country looks considerably similar to Kim and Pae's visit to America in terms of its structure. After touring nineteen representative cities in the United States, Kim appeared on *Korea-America Today* and told of his experience with a slide show. The panoramic visual composition of American local attractions, which were mostly stereotyped images, constructed an overall view of that nation. In a similar way, Hŭi-kap and Chŏng-sun's tour in *P'aldogangsan* gathers typical images of local attractions and key industries as mosaic tiles that are then put together. After the long trip, the map of the nation is finally completed.

Tourism with the purpose of drawing the national imaginary, however, was not entirely new, considering that an emperor's great Imperial tour had been

a means of inventing the national centripetal symbol of Meiji Japan (Takashi Fujitani, 1998: 31-92), while Emperor Sunjong's tour in 1909 had been designed by the Japanese government as a political event to show the collaboration between the Korean Empire government and the new colonial power (Yi Wangmu, 2007). However, there is a distinct difference between imperial pageantry and the cinematic experience shown through *P'aldogangsan*. According to Fujitani, the presentation of the roaming ruler made "his spectacles visible to all the people of the nation" and, at the same time, coerced "the people into becoming objects of the emperor's gaze" (Takashi Fujitani, 1998: 24). In contrast to such panoptic relations, the cinematized tourism of the film stimulates Self-gazing as an assembling method. It is obvious that *P'aldogangsan* and its sequels showed a strong attachment to local living and culture. In the panorama of local imagery, local people were invented/described/emerged as both the ethnographed Self and Other. Local specialties, attractions, and customs, which had not been exhibited in such a big-budget film with such an expositional manner before, do construct the imaginary of each region of South Korea. Seen from the similarity to the epigonic films that followed and adopted the "P'aldo-" narratives, the (re)presented local identities seem to have been attractive elements for audiences. It is highly probable that local audiences consumed their own local images without repulsion, considering the nationwide success of the *P'aldogangsan* series.

In this process of Self-gazing, then, what mattered may be the way that

different local identities are combined and integrated to become a national one. The localist vision of American public information films is an interesting object of comparison. As stated in the previous chapter, images of “a typical, slow-paced and peaceful local American town” were frequently found in American public information films. Such images produced the stereotyped imaginary of local living, detoxifying any conflict factors caused by differences and misunderstanding among local residents. Differences among local communities become standardized and stereotyped so as to build an immune system for cultural integration. Similar attempts are observed in *P’aldogangsan* and its sequels. Each location acquires a typical image to explain the place.

Ch’ungch’ōng comes with a slow and easy pedestrian image, Chōlla offers a strong accent and pastoral scenery, Pusan (Southern Kyōngsang) delivers crowded



Figure 59. A scene depicting a son-in-law living in Chōlla Province in *P’aldogangsan of Tomorrow* (1971)

downtown streets and a huge export port, Ulsan (Northern Kyōngsang) offers

magnificent factory districts, and Kangwŏn provides a sequestered fishing village. Dialects and the customs of local communities are placed in proper positions to season the film humor and form solid intimacy with the characters. In particular, the sons-in-law of the protagonist embody local stereotypes of their own to further close the psychological distance (see Figure 59).

However, in terms of an integration strategy, there is a major difference between these pseudo-localist stereotypes and American localism. As Kirkpatrick explains, localism in the United States originated from its historical experiences in forming that nation state, including the issues of Puritanism, Federal and state governments, and the Civil War (Bill Kirkpatrick, 2006). Hence, the logic of integrating diverse local identities depended on the Constitutional principle of American democracy. *Tuesday in November* is a typical example of such logic; it links localism with federalism.

Despite many similar techniques used to visualize local culture that the former USIS-affiliated director Pae Sŏk-in possibly learned from American public information films like *Small Town Editor* and *Country Editor*, his NFPC film *P'aldogangsan* took a different path from the American localist films. The central set-up for integration here is a kind of familism. The fictional family ties in this film prevent the audience from sectionalist deviation. Minor shortcomings of the stereotyped local characters, such as the pinchpenny Pusan businessman, the loud and old-fashioned Chŏlla farm worker, and the needy and

isolated Kangwŏn fisherman, are covered up by their family affairs. As a metaphor of national integration, “seven households from different regions, class and strata unite behind the leadership of their father in Seoul.” The nation state is thus analogized by a family in this “political landscape” (Kim Han-sang, 2008: 53).

Since the localist elements in American films were imported and performed outside their original context in a Korean film, the federalist political vision, which shared the American context with localism, also had to be translated arbitrarily. This transformed federalist leadership now turns up in the father figure, Hŭi-kap. He is a gentle, humorous and rational character, of economic ability. This vision is contrasted with the then common father figures in Korean cinema, who were sincere but poor, and indeed created a new model of the “hegemonic father” (Kim Han-sang, 2008: 45-48). It is interesting that such a conjunction of familism and transformed federalism concluded in simple personalization. This focus might provide a clue to help explain the success of Pak Chŏng-hŭi and Pak Kŭn-hye’s father/daughter model.

2. My Car Modernity: Nuclear Family, Highway, and Liberty

P’aldogangsan and most of its sequels were made during the Second Five-Year Economic Development Plan (1967-1971). One of the most highlighted

national projects during this period was the construction of the Kyŏngbu Expressway. The Pak Chŏng-hŭi Government started the construction of highways in February of 1967, and the pivotal route between Seoul and Pusan was completed with four lanes of that road in July of 1970 (Kim Han-sang, 2008: 61). The second sequel, *P'aldogangsan of Tomorrow* (1971), therefore, became a significant stage for publicizing highways. In the film, Hŭi-kap appears on a television talk show as a guest and praises the opening of an era where the entire nation is entering a one-day life zone thanks to the construction of these highways. To exemplify the one-day life, he explains that he can receive fresh fish within a quarter of a day from his son-in-law in Pusan. After watching the show, the son-in-law actually visits him with these fish, driving his own car (Kim

Han-sang, 2008:

63-64). In this scene, the highway is not the only target used for

emphasis. The

son-in-law, a successful businessman, offers an object of envy — a privately-owned car (see Figure 60).



Figure 60. The son-in-law in Pusan visits the old couple with his own car, in *P'aldogangsan of Tomorrow*

In this wise way, the *P'aldogangsan* series promoted the ownership of a private car as a positive vision for the future. While the son-in-law case shows

a symptom of that desire for cars, another scene in the same film exposes the wish in a more obvious manner. The old couple's grand-daughter Chǒng-hŭi starts to date Sǒng-il who is a roomer of the couple. In the scene that shows



Figure 61. A convertible car riding in *P'aldogangsan of Tomorrow*

their dates, Sǒng-il drives a convertible car with Chǒng-hŭi as a passenger (see Figure 61). Their car takes the overpass in down

town Seoul. In truth, this scene is entirely unrealistic, as such a car was too expensive to be owned by a young, working-class roomer. Therefore, the image of Seoul in this scene is not that of the present time, but rather a dream for the future (Kim Han-sang, 2008: 78-79).

These wish-images of privately-owned cars in fact show a significant change in the modern politics of speed and transportation in South Korea. When the Pak Chǒng-hŭi Government was faced with opposition to highway construction, one of the core arguments of the government against the criticism was that the existing Kyǒngbu Railroad Line was “an old vestige of Japanese Imperialism” while the new highway was expected to bring “qualitatively different modernization” (Kim Han-sang, 2010(b): 191-194). The contrast between the railroad and the highway systems in this argument was both inappropriate and emotionalistic in many ways. However, such wish-images in

films indicate that there was a considerable distance between the two systems when mobilizing the public.

The railroad system had been characterized as “locomotive modernity” and conveyed people in quantity and at regular intervals, following the standard procedure. Tourist cultural films that were made and shown by the Japanese colonial power had provided audiences with a then new vision of speed and space, but that vision was only made possible by boarding mass transportation (Kim Han-sang, 2010(a)). To the contrary, the brand new vision of a highway and privately-owned cars enabled audiences to imagine a self-regulating and untrammelled unit where they could choose their own destination, speed and companions. Above all, this new transportation means was something that could be owned personally even though no one knew when that would be.

Such a sense of the new paradigm, which could be called “my car modernity,”⁶⁵ was in fact an importation from the U.S. public information films. In contrast to the colonial vision of locomotive mobility, American-made cultural films showed a liberated and unlimited mobility through privately-owned cars. In *Tuesday in November*, one can see a female principal leisurely driving her own car to the school and parking it on the side of a broad road. When watching *American Working Women* (n.d.), audiences could see a Western

⁶⁵ “My car” is a Korean coinage that uses English words to mean one’s own car. It became a trend to use this phrase to refer to the popularization of privately-owned cars in the late 1970s and the 1980s (*Maeilgyŏngje*, Oct. 7, 1977: 6).

female white-collar worker picking up her husband with her own car after work (see Figure 62). In this way, the my car modernity projected in American film stimulated a sense of possession and a desire for self-regulated units that were privately owned.



Figure 62. A woman picks up her husband to go home in *American Working Women*

The ideal type of these self-regulated units would be the nuclear family, which also could be easily observed in American-made films. *P'aldogangsan* and its sequels were, in fact, a kind of visual textbooks that were teaching about the nuclear family. Despite the appearance of a large family, the old couple and their married daughters are not living together, and each household is economically independent of the other. In the analogy between the family ties and the nation state, the nuclear family is itself the basic labor unit that completes the reproduction procedure inside based on a gendered division of labor (Seungsook Moon, 2005: 1-43; Kim Han-sang, 2008: 40-44).

In the last sequel, *P'aldogangsan of Our Own* (1972), the Chŏng-hŭi couple makes a promise about their future after confirming that she is pregnant. Sŏng-il dreams of their own house with a large yard, and Chŏng-hŭi responds

with her dream about traveling around the country in their own car.



Figure 63. Chǒng-hŭi couple promising a bright future in *P'aldogangsan of Our Own* (1972)

Interestingly, the film ends with a montage following this scene, which depicts their father Hŭi-kap's speech, a writing by Pak Chǒng-hŭi emphasizing the spirit of *Saemaül undong* [New Village Movement], and an express bus cruising on the highway (see Figure 63). The young couple's hope for a bright future is embodied in their desired house and their desired car. The young bride's spoken wish to travel nationwide by their own car is visually connected with the scene of an open stretch of highway. Between the wish that is

spoken and the highway scene, the writing of Pak Chǒng-hŭi comes through to agitate the appropriateness of his leadership for realizing these wishes.

In this way, the future goals of nuclear family units were promised in the forward movement on the highway, which was not only a symbol of high economic growth through government-led mobilization, but also a reified system

of free movement of goods and capital.

3. Old Korean Men Modernized: Haraböji and Hŭi-kap

It is obvious that the protagonist, Hŭi-kap, was one of the major success reasons of this film. The actor, Kim Hŭi-kap, became far more popular after than before he appeared in this film, and he and his partner, Hwang Chöng-sun, remained in the series to its end, even though most performers for the other characters were replaced when the series was adapted for television (Kim Han-sang, 2008: 10-24). Hŭi-kap was a unique father figure which had hardly ever been seen in other family films in Korean cinema of that time. Until the mid-1960s, the most popular father figure was played by Kim Sŭng-ho. He appeared in such famous films as *Romaensŭ Ppappa* [*A Romantic Papa*] (1960), *Mabu* [*A Coachman*] (1961) and *Romaensŭ Kŭrei* [*Love Affair*] (1963) (Kim Han-sang, 2007). While Kim Sŭng-ho was a rigid, old-fashioned, incompetent but warm father, Kim Hŭi-kap was a witty and competent character who had leadership qualities. Hŭi-kap's success and Kim Sŭng-ho's decline in the late 1960s show that the public's taste for father figures in cinema changed at that time.

As this point, it is worthy to note that there was another unique old male

character in the history of USIS-Korea film. Haraböji, who was a film moderator of USIS films shown in the 1950s in South Korea, was in fact a considerably similar character to Hŭi-kap. Both wore *hanbok*, traditional Korean clothes, and looked like

stubborn, indigenous old men in their first appearance. Haraböji slightly tells a secretary off when she acts impolitely; and Hŭi-kap scolds his daughter's boyfriend for giving her a ride on a motorcycle.



Figure 64. Haraböji introduces *American Working Women*

However, it soon turns out that

both are not that conservative but instead have very modern ideas. Haraböji introduces independent American women who have their own careers, when introducing *American Working Women* (see Figure 64), and preaches the necessity of cleanness and vaccination, when introducing *Defense Against Invasion* (1943). Hŭi-kap persuades stubborn old country men to cooperate with the new village movement, *Saemaül undong*, for modernization, and has the audacity to travel around the world. Both of them are eccentric characters who break down prejudice that older people know less about the Western and modern culture.

At the same time, they are characters of compromise and show how the idealized modern Self was translated and transformed into a more local context.

As Ridgeway, the USIS-Korea Motion Picture Officer in the 1950s, indicated, Harabŏji was a fictional character used to close the distance between American propaganda and Korean audiences (William G. Ridgeway, Feb. 28, 1989).

There was, therefore, a certain unreality still in the gap between his appearance and his attitude. Such uncanny appropriation also appears in *P'aldogangsan* where Hŭi-kap offers a puzzled look when he first meets his 11 grandsons. Hŭi-kap, who appears to be an advocate of birth control in the film, is in fact from the generation of high fecundity (Kim Han-sang, 2008: 37-40). This uncanniness comes from their young and modern soul in an old and pre-modern appearance.

It is important to acknowledge that both these compromised characters caught on in popularity with their audiences. They were the fathers yet to come and indeed idealized patriarchs in a patriarchal society which also had the rationale of modernization.

4. *P'aldogangsan* and Its Aftermath

After the success of *P'aldogangsan*, director Pae Sŏk-in left NFPC. He already had become considerably sought-after and received a lot of proposals to do a new film project (KOFA, 2009: 145-150). His next choice was *Segye-ro*

Ppönnün Han`guk [Reaching the World] (1968). This 70-minute documentary was shot on location in 18 foreign countries in Middle East, Southeast Asia, Europe, America, and Africa (*Kyöngnyang Sinmun*, Jul. 8, 1967: 8; *Tonga Ilbo*, Nov. 7, 1967: 6).

Interestingly, the first sequel to *P`aldogangsan* was directed by another NFPC director, Yang Chong-hae, and was also a project shot on location abroad. Yang had been taught by the Syracuse instructors through the sponsorship of ICA and USOM and invited to America by the U.S. State Department in 1964. His work, *P`aldogangsan 2 – Segye-rül Kanda [The Land of Korea]* (1968), was filmed in 16 cities abroad, including those in Europe, Africa and Southeast Asia.

After the panorama of local imagery with the semi-ethnographic gaze that had appeared in *P`aldogangsan*, these two follow-up films showed genuine ethnographic approaches. While



Figure 65. *Segye-ro Ppönnün Han`guk* (1968)

American and European cities are depicted with admiration and wonder, African and Southeast Asian villages are discovered along with their curious peculiarities (see Figure 65). The regional hierarchy seen in *Korean Cultural Goodwill*

Mission to South East Asia (1958) and *Korea-America Today* (1965) appear again in these depictions of the ethnographic Other.

In the meantime, films with “P’aldo-” titles and narratives became popular in the commercial market. In the three years between 1968 and 1970, a total of 9 films were produced with “P’aldo-” titles except for NFPC’s *P’aldogangsan* sequels.

In one of these epigonic films, *P’aldo Sanai [Gallant Man]* (1969), the “P’aldo” narrative is used to show a national identity that resisted Japanese imperialism during the colonial period. The local imagery in this film, as in *P’aldogangsan*, is used to identify the hierarchy that sits between the central and the local society. However, comic accents and gestures for each locality replace any serious local values that were used to achieve a national integration in *P’aldogangsan*.

Another film in the next year, *P’aldo Myŏnŭri [Eight Daughters-in-law]* (1970), does not use the “P’aldo” narrative as a vector to identify the hierarchy any longer. Rather, it is used as a device for humor when the old protagonist, In-kap, exhibits his collection of “eight daughters-in-law” from different regions in the country. In a travesty of panoramic local images, the hierarchy between the central and the local society is seen as vanishing.

It is plausible then that these “P’aldo-” films downplayed the serious

agenda of the central/local hierarchy, an important theme in *P'aldogangsan*, by offering a consuming buffoonery on the local characteristics as more of a comic farce.

Conclusion

An Expert System and Its Individuals

In a criticism of Giddens' comment on the theory of expert systems that the “‘stretching’ of social systems is achieved via the impersonal nature of tests applied to evaluate technical knowledge” (Anthony Giddens, 1990: 28), Barry argues that “the vision of the individual is not something which has been eradicated by technology” and rather “it has been formed into a technical instrument in itself” (Andrew Barry, 1995: 55). This argument, which pays attention to the ‘individual’ in expert systems, provides a helpful insight when considering the situations of those Korean filmmakers who were educated and trained by U.S. public information agencies.

For those film specialists, who could temporarily escape from “the immediacies of context” of the “overdeveloped” postcolonial state (Anthony Giddens, 1990: 28; Hamza Alavi, 1972), it was documentary auteurism that aroused their sense of the individual self. Yi Hyŏng-p‘yo’s oral statement shows that well:

Yi: There was no documentary scene in our country. It was because there were no sponsors. [Yes.] All kinds of art need patrons. So, the

history of the arts is a history of patrons, someone said, so-called the history of patronage. But there were no patrons for documentary at that time. But feature films have patrons, for good. They have the public. So they had patrons for feature films. But none for documentaries. Then, it even became an instrument of propaganda for the government and the authorities. If so, power became the patron (Yi Hyŏng-p'yo, Dec. 13, 2005).

This statement, which brings up the matter of patronage in the creation of the arts, expresses a sense of frustration about the reality that defined the future of documentarists, depending on their investment value. Longing to have documentary as a “perfect art” and criticizing “an instrument of propaganda for power,” he took the route of becoming a director in the commercial film industry and make high-selling movies. Yi played a crucial role in developing OPI film production for NFPC; however, he did not enter NFPC and became affiliated with Sin Film Production instead. This choice collided with his own view that “fiction films were decadent,” but one can understand it as a practical alternative out of deep frustration that he was unable to realize his artistic conscience in documentary making (Yi Hyŏng-p'yo, Dec. 13, 2005). It was a different path from that taken by Kim Ki-yŏng, who chose to pursue his own auteurism in commercial features.

Yi Hyŏng-p'yo's route is also a case that illustrates double-sidedness of those Korean filmmakers who did receive benefits from U.S.-led agencies, such as USIS-Korea, UNKRA, and ICA: The successor and criticizer of the Western culture. His first feature, *Sŏul-ŭi Chibung-mit* [*Under the Sky of Seoul*] (1961),

was a film that displayed a major influence from the Hollywood comedies that celebrated ordinary life, like Mickey Rooney's *Andy Hardy* series in the 1930s and the 1940s. However, it also well reflects the sense of difference found in Koreans by creating new conflicts between the old and the new, and the traditional and the Western. The film admits that it was an inevitable route for Koreans to embrace the Western value, but at the same time it adds a touch of sarcasm about the materialistic and obsequious "South Korean culture of Kleenex" in only following the West (Yi Hyöng-p'yo, Dec. 6, 2005).

Such an ambivalent attitude toward American culture also appears in the films of Sin Sang-ok, the owner of Sin Film Production. Sin first learned film under Ch'oe In-kyu, director of *The People Vote* (1948), using a Mitchell camera that Ch'oe borrowed from USIS-Korea. His debut film was *Ak'ya [Evil Night]* (1952), which presented *yang-puin* [Army prostitutes in U.S. military camp town] and smugglers as metaphors for the Korean situation from the Liberation to the Korean War.⁶⁶ His 1958 film, *Chiokhwa [Flower in Hell]*, was also about a couple who return to farming, leaving the dangerous city that had been corrupted by the PX culture and *yang-puin* of the U.S. Army. However, the reason why this film was not just a simple criticism of American culture is its fetishism in depicting that culture. Ch'oe Ŭn-hŭi, "Sonia" the *yang-puin* in the film, is

⁶⁶ The synopsis information here is taken from Sin's autobiography since the film is now lost (Sin Sang-ok, 2007: 47-48).

frequently seen in close-up shots, splendidly appearing in Western-style full dress and permanent wave hairstyles. Her “seedy, makeshift brothel” is illustrated “with an abstract, lurid intensity” (Steven Chung, 2008). Canned beer, jazz music, and a dance hall also appear as attractions and attractive.

The ambivalent attitudes of these alumni of the American film training camps, along with the cultural film auteurs, including Yang Sŭng-ryong and Chŏn Sŏn-myŏng, who remained in that camp to the end, indicate several different choices in the intense negotiations on identity. They constantly had to seek compromises between the Griersonian missions and artistic self-realization and between nation-building and “Free World” bloc building, in an all too “expert” system created by a hegemonic foreign agency.

The Technology of Visualization and Its Unexpected Products

Barry’s criticism of “the impersonal nature” also connects to the discussions on visualization. He argues that the “‘scientific’ methods for observing and supervising an extended geographical space,” which Giddens positively expressed, “do not so easily ‘stretch’ across time and space as is sometimes imagined” (Andrew Barry, 1995: 46). According to Barry, “the capacity of expert systems to act at a distance is extremely variable” (Andrew Barry, 1995: 45-46).

U.S. public information film activities were a strategic means of visualization that supported “the rule from a distance” (Matthew Hannah, 2000:113-159), i.e. the election education, and discovery of Korean culture in OCI films; the defense of democracy, recognition of Korean cultural peculiarities, and the establishment of a cultural hierarchy in the Asian region through the production of USIS-Korea films. Advanced equipment and ample funds from those U.S. and U.S.-led agencies were the background scenario that made such ‘technology of government’ possible.

However, as Barry points out, this observation and supervision through “scientific methods” resulted in unexpected products. Contrary to the sleek outlook for nation-building in South Korea attempted by fostering ideal citizens and making them admire America as a role model via U.S. film propaganda, sometimes the (re)presentation of the Korean Self both consciously and unconsciously ended in mistranslation, transformation, and Korean appropriation of the ideal expected model.

This outcome was partly an inevitable consequence of the localization project of public information activities; however, use of local manpower was not the only cause of such an *uneven* screen. The setting where the public would learn the world through ‘cultural films’ indeed had a different effect that originally anticipated, namely that ‘public information films’ would produce ideal citizens. In the geopolitical and historical context of South Korea,

cultural films created a unique type of spectatorship that mediated the perceptions of the Self and the Other in an intricate web of different ethnographic gazes.

The appearance of translated and modified ‘ideal citizens’ in *P’aldogangsan*, one of the representative films of NFPC also made under the profound impact of USIS, and an enthusiastic response from the Korean public to that film show how an original project on the cultural cold war could be transformed into a vernacular one in the more local context. Ironically, the film also shows how the original project, including specialist exchange programs, had a decisive effect on this transformation.

Negotiated Koreanness: A “Korean-type” Democracy?

When Pak Kŭn-hye (Park Geun-hye) was elected to office on December 19, 2012, both *The New York Times* and *The Washington Times* reported the breaking news that an “ex-dictator’s daughter” had become



Figure 66. Pak Kŭn-hye in a cultural film made by NFPC in 1977

the new elected leader of South Korea (*The New York Times*, Dec. 19, 2012; *The*

Washington Times, Dec. 19, 2012). *The Globe and Mail* even published the headline, “The two Koreas are keeping it in the family” (*The Globe and Mail*, Dec. 19, 2012). These perplexed responses by the foreign press show the sentiments prevalent outside South Korea for witnessing a democracy that welcomed the daughter of a former anti-democratic leader as its new elected president.⁶⁷

This situation serves as a reminder of the *Korean-type democracy* slogan, which was emphasized by the Pak Chŏng-hŭi Government during the *Yusin* Regime. This slogan was a means to elucidate the difference between South Korean system of government and other democratic countries. How the discourses on “Korean-type” or the images of Koreanness were constructed during Pak’s rule could provide a clue to help explain the perception gap between the inside and the outside South Korea when evaluating the Pak Chŏng-hŭi period.

No matter what the true picture of “the Korean-type” was, it is hard to deny that its discursive structure was based on having an antithesis toward the

⁶⁷ According to the exit polls, a larger percentage of the older generation who had lived through the Pak Chŏng-hŭi period supported her. Several political commentators wrote that they identified with Pak Chŏng-hŭi, and the criticism of him seemed to affect those of their own generation (*Kyŏngnyang Sinmun*, Dec. 22, 2012: 2; *Han’gug Ilbo*, Dec. 22, 2012: 5). Although further discussion about this issue is warranted, it seems undeniable that Pak Kŭn-hye’s victory reflected Koreans’ evaluation of the Pak Chŏng-hŭi period.

West.⁶⁸ Although the discourse around the phrase have stressed the uniqueness of South Korea, *Korean-type democracy* itself does not in fact seem to have been a title used to describe a certain tradition, but rather a synchronic coinage used to explain a recent development of the South Korean political system at that time.⁶⁹ It was rather an invention to locate the Korean Self in geopolitical relationships relatively, rather than simple to reflect a pure inheritance from the past.

This coinage shows that what mattered in getting the public's consent for such a "state of exception"⁷⁰ was, in the end, (re)presentation. The reason to advocate a Korean-type democracy was found in the necessity to reject the democracy of others. Outwardly, such criticism was aimed at the political system, i.e. the national assembly, political parties and opposition politicians; however, when combined with the discourses on culture and history, it became rather a self-christened name delivering a spiritual antithesis. Then, the way the West was (re)presented in South Korean society became a pivotal question to

⁶⁸ In his special statement on October 27, 1972, ten days after the declaration of the emergency martial law, Pak attributed the cause of the nation's instability and inefficiency in development to the attempts "to imitate democracy of others unripely" and demanded to set up a "Korean-type democracy that best suits our society" (*Tonga Ilbo*, Oct. 27, 1972: 1).

⁶⁹ According to Kang Chŏng-in, Pak's criticism of Western democracy had been discursively constructed moving from "administrative democracy" (1961-1963) via "national democracy" (1963-1972) to "Korean-type democracy" (1972-1979), and these discourses reflected a certain continuity in dealing with the mechanism of government (Jung-in Kang, 2011). However, the emphasis on "things Korean" was a new attitude that turned up in the late 1960s and the early 1970s, and it was accompanied by the promotion of national culture and history (Kim Wŏn 2012).

⁷⁰ It is interesting to note that the perception of the Korean Self started to be involved in the discourse construction of government-led democracy at the very moment when Parliamentary democracy was forced to end and "the state of exception was institutionalized" (Giorgio Agamben, 2005: 1-31; Chŏng Kŭn-sik, 2011).

pose to figure out the image of the idealized Korean Self.⁷¹ In other words, it became necessary to contextualize and historicize the formation process for the representations of the West and its Other — Korea, as well as the negotiations among all the engaged social actors concerning such (re)presentations.

Therefore, to explain the (re)presentational issues that arose at the opening of the *Yusin* Regime, one should pay closer attention to the representation formation history that occurred before 1972.

In that sense, it is rather symbolic that USIS-Korea closed their film production unit at the beginning of the *Yusin* Regime. That closure seems to have been caused by a combination of changes in U.S. foreign policy, the media environment, audience tastes, and the political conditions in South Korea.

However, considering that the rhetoric of “Korean-type” democracy came from its criticism of Western-type democracy at that precise moment, the pullout of an American propaganda unit which had been competing with the nation’s own did mean a lot. At the very moment that USIS-Korea stopped its matchless film studio in Sangnam and started to descend in influence, NFPC took a successful step with the popular figure of *P’aldogangsan* that embodied the ideal Korean

⁷¹ Investigation of the Pak Chŏng-hŭi Government’s written or verbal definition of the West, however, may not offer the right answer to fully explain the (re)presentations of the West at that time. Representations cannot merely be explained as reflections of transcendental meaning or carriers of the intent of their creators. Rather, it is important to consider representations as public and social products in which meaning is constructed by “social actors who use the conceptual systems of their culture and the linguistic and other representational systems to construct meaning” (Stuart Hall, 1997: 13-74).

Self, then analogized as the final arbiter of the *Yusin* Regime.

In that sense, the transformational aspects of the ideal Korean Self—transformed federalism, my car modernity, and the unreality of a Westernized indigenous patriarch— in *P'aldogangsan* could be one possible answer to the question of “Korean-type,” as the important legacy of the cultural film production that was conducted by U.S. public information agencies in South Korea from 1945 to 1972.

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[Appendix 1]

Breakdown of Documentary Films in Use or On Order for South Korea by the U.S. Army Civil Affairs Division (CAD), November 21, 1947.

Subject	Film Titles	Note
World War II	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Iwo Jima</i> 2. <i>Fury in the Pacific</i> 3. <i>On the Shores of Iwo Jima</i> 4. <i>Brought to Action</i> 5. <i>Okinawa</i> 6. <i>A City Reborn</i> 7. <i>True Glory</i> 8. <i>Story of War on the Western Front</i> 9. <i>Attack – the Battle of New Britain</i> 10. <i>Memphis Belle</i> 11. <i>Fighting Lady</i> 12. <i>The Last Bomb (Film about the B-29)</i> 13. <i>Birth of the B-29</i> 14. <i>Westward is Bataan</i> 15. <i>The Liberation of Home</i> 16. <i>The Battle of San Pietro</i> 17. <i>Tale of Two Cities (Hiroshima & Nagasaki)</i> 	<p>Among these, 11 films are listed for Germany, 10 for Austria, and 17 for Korea.</p> <p>None is listed for Japan.</p>
America – Our Industry	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>T.V.A.</i> 2. <i>Machine Age (Made in Korea)</i> 3. <i>Power Valley</i> 4. <i>Story of the Lincoln Tunnel</i> 5. <i>Atomic Power</i> 6. <i>Campus Comes to the Steel Worker</i> 7. <i>The Rural CO-OP</i> 	<p><i>Atomic Power</i> is included in the list for Korea, but not included for Japan.</p>
America – Our Democracy	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Tuesday in November</i> 2. <i>The Cummington Story</i> 3. <i>Library of Congress</i> 4. <i>The Mint</i> 5. <i>Jefferson of Monticello</i> 6. <i>The Nation's Capital</i> 7. <i>Americans All</i> 8. <i>How a Bill Becomes a Law</i> 9. <i>Pennsylvania Local Government in Action</i> 	
America – Our People	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Winning Against Odds</i> 2. <i>Western Stock Buyer</i> 3. <i>Texas</i> 4. <i>Journey into Medicine</i> 5. <i>Men of Medicine</i> 	

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. <i>County Agent</i> 7. <i>The Farmer's Wife</i> 8. <i>On the Road to Tomorrow</i> 9. <i>Woman Speaks (Series of Three Film)</i> 10. <i>City Pastoral</i> 11. <i>State Trooper</i> 	
America – Our Land	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Trees to Tame the Wind</i> 2. <i>Northwest U.S.A.</i> 3. <i>Power and the Land</i> 4. <i>Western Wonderland</i> 5. <i>Great Lakes</i> 6. <i>Port of New York</i> 7. <i>The New West</i> 8. <i>New England</i> 9. <i>The New South</i> 10. <i>The Big Harvest</i> 	
Foreign Lands	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Alaska Tour</i> 2. <i>Northern Ramparts</i> 3. <i>Brazil Today</i> 4. <i>Lessons in Living</i> 5. <i>Peoples Bank</i> 6. <i>Canada</i> 7. <i>Peru</i> 8. <i>Argentine Primer</i> 9. <i>Columbia Crossroads</i> 10. <i>Young Uruguay</i> 11. <i>High Plain</i> 12. <i>The Philippine Republic</i> 13. <i>Co-operative Wool</i> 14. <i>Korean Legislature</i> 15. <i>Japan & this World Today Silk</i> 16. <i>Rice</i> 17. <i>Korea Olympic</i> 	<p>Following films are not included in the list for Japan:</p> <p><i>Japan & this World Today</i> (Original Production – CAD),</p> <p><i>Korean Legislature,</i></p> <p><i>The Philippine Republic,</i></p> <p><i>Korea Olympic</i></p>
Community Resources – Schools, Hospitals, etc.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Better Tomorrow</i> 2. <i>A Child Went Forth</i> 3. <i>Freedom to Learn</i> 4. <i>Assignment Tomorrow</i> 5. <i>Play is Our Business</i> 6. <i>The School</i> 7. <i>Teacher as Observer and Guide</i> 8. <i>Near Home</i> 9. <i>New Schools for Old</i> 10. <i>Basic English</i> 	

International Relations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Pale Horseman</i> 2. <i>Reparation</i> 3. <i>Joint Commission</i> 4. <i>Out of the Ruine</i> 5. <i>World Food Problem</i> 6. <i>People's Charter</i> 7. <i>Seeds of Destiny</i> 	
Music and Art	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Hymn of the Nations</i> 2. <i>Toronto Symphony No.1</i> 3. <i>Toronto Symphony No.2</i> 4. <i>Music in America</i> 5. <i>A City Sings</i> 	
Miscellaneous	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>U.S. Screen Magazine</i> 2. <i>Guardian of the Wild</i> 3. <i>White Angel</i> 4. <i>Free Horizons</i> 5. <i>Film Tactics</i> 6. <i>Champion Maker</i> 7. <i>The Storm</i> 8. <i>Blue Winners</i> 9. <i>Out Fishing</i> 10. <i>Rhythm on Wheels</i> 11. <i>On Point</i> 12. <i>Mirror of Submarine Life</i> 13. <i>Power Unlimited</i> 14. <i>Geography from the Air</i> 15. <i>The Great Circle</i> 16. <i>Men of Tomorrow</i> 17. <i>College Climbers</i> 18. <i>Queens of the Court</i> 19. <i>Feminine Class</i> 	
Educational Films – Adult	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Winged Scourge</i> 2. <i>Cholera</i> 3. <i>Sight Security</i> 4. <i>Stop Silicosis</i> 5. <i>Respiratory Protection</i> 6. <i>To be in Darkness</i> 7. <i>Safety for Welders</i> 	

* Source: Breakdown of Documentary Films in Use or On Order for Occupied Areas, 21 November 1947, Textual Records in NARA, RG165 War Department, Civil Affairs Division General Records, Security Classified General Correspondence, 1943-July 1949, Box. 411.

[Appendix 2]

Films Produced by DPI, OCI, and USIS-Korea which are housed in NARA

* These films were found by the author when conducting archival research in NARA from December 2009 to January 2010 and from June 2010 to July 2010. Cataloging research for these films was sponsored by the National Institute of Korean History in 2012. A catalogue containing basic information and detailed exposition of the films is forthcoming in 2013.

Title	Production	Year
<i>Korean Newsreel [Sibo] Nos. 1, 2, 5 (newsreel)</i>	DPI	1946
<i>Korean Newsreel [Sibo]- Breaking News [T'ŭkbo] (newsreel)</i>	DPI	1946
<i>Korean Farm Life [Han 'guk nongch 'onsaenghwal]</i>	OCI / USIS-Korea	c1948
<i>Progress of Korea [Taehan Chŏnjinpo] (newsreel)</i>	OCI	1947-1948
<i>World News [Segye nyusŭ] Nos. 420-479 (newsreel)</i>	USIS-Korea	1950-1952
<i>Liberty News Nos. 1-721 (newsreel)</i>	USIS-Korea	1952-1967
<i>Republic of Korea Restoring</i>	USIS-Korea / Taehan Movie Education Association	c1952
<i>Gift of Friendship [Ujŏng-ŭi sŏnmul]</i>	USIS-Korea	c1952
<i>Ward of Affection [Sarang-ŭi pyŏngsil]</i>	USIS-Korea	1953
<i>Sick Prisoner Exchange [Pusang p 'oro kyohwan]</i>	USIS-Korea	1953
<i>Filial Piety [Chi-hyo]</i>	USIS-Korea	1954
<i>Fan Dance [Puch 'aech 'um]</i>	USIS-Korea	1954
<i>I Am a Truck [Na-nŭn t 'ŭrŏk-ida]</i>	USIS-Korea	1954
<i>The Second Enemy [Che2-ŭi chŏk]</i>	USIA / USIS-Korea	1954
<i>Building Together – Uijongbu Story [Ŭijŏngbu iyagi]</i>	USIS-Korea	1955
<i>Lighthouse on the Street [Kŏri-ŭi tŭngdae]</i>	USIS-Korea / Korean Youth Cultural Institute	1955
<i>Pusan Riot (footage)</i>	USIS-Korea	1955
<i>Diary of Three Sailors [Subyŏng-ŭi ilgi]</i>	USIS-Korea	c1955
<i>Boxes of Death [Chug-ŏm-ŭi sangja]</i>	USIS-Korea	1955

Title	Production	Year
<i>Story of Our Village [Uri maül-üi iyagi]</i>	USIS-Korea	1956
<i>A Report on Korea by C. Tyler Wood</i>	USIS-Korea	1956
<i>Young Men's Fighting for Freedom [Charyu rül wihan chölmünidül üi t'ujaeng]</i>	USIS-Korea	1957
<i>Hands that Moved the Sea [Pada-rül mirönaen saramdül]</i>	USIS-Korea	1958
<i>Korean Editor [Chibang sinmun p'yönjipcha]</i>	USIS-Korea	1958
<i>My 4-H Club Diary [Na-üi 4H kwajejang]</i>	USIS-Korea	c1958
<i>Korean Cultural Goodwill Mission to South East Asia [Han'guk yesul sajöldan tongnama pangmun]</i>	USIS-Korea	1958
<i>Kim Paik Bong Dancing in Bangkok [Pang'ok-esö ch'um ch'unün Kim Paek-pong]</i>	USIS-Korea / USIS-Thailand	1958
<i>Happy Lion Operation [K'waehwalhan saja chakchön]</i>	USIS-Korea	1958
<i>Korean Educational System [Han'guk-üi kyoyuk chedo]</i>	USIS-Korea	1958
<i>Pres. Rhee Visits Vietnam [Yi taet'ongnyöng wöllum-ül pangmun]</i>	USIS-Korea	1958
<i>More Power to Korea [Taehanmin'guk palchölyök chüంగా]</i>	Pacific Bechtel Corporation / USIA	1958
<i>Enactment of National Security Law Republic of Korea (footage)</i>	USIS-Korea	1958
<i>Enactment National Security Law ROK National Assembly, December, 1958 (footage)</i>	USIS-Korea	1958
<i>Highlights of 1958 [1958-yöndo hoego] (newsreel)</i>	USIS-Korea	1959
<i>We Met at Kangnung [Kangnüng-esö moin uri]</i>	USIS-Korea	1959
<i>Typhoon Special [Liberty News t'aep'ung t'ükbo]</i>	USIS-Korea	1959
<i>This Is Our Land [Uri-üi kangsan]</i>	USIS-Korea	1950s
<i>Jets over Korea</i>	USIS-Korea	1950s
<i>Haraböji Introduction Series (footage)</i>	USIS-Korea	1950s
<i>Highlights of 1959 Korean National Affairs [Nysü-esö pon 1959-yön] (newsreel)</i>	USIS-Korea	1960
<i>Progress in Korea [Yakchin Taehan] (newsreel)</i>	USIS-Korea	1960
<i>Eisenhower's Visit to Korea [Eisenhower taet'ongnyöng han'guk pangmun]</i>	USIS-Korea	1960

Title	Production	Year
<i>Ideal Citizen</i>	USIS-Korea	1960
<i>Korean Screen Magazine #2 [Han'guk yŏnghwa chapchi che2ho]</i>	USIS-Korea	1960
<i>With Hand and Heart [Tasi sanŭn kil]</i>	USIS-Korea	1960
<i>Korean and the United Nations [Kukche yŏnhap han'guk-ŭi pam]</i>	Korean mission to the United Nations / USIS-Korea	1960-1961
<i>Coal [Sŏkt'an]</i>	USIS-Korea	1961
<i>Litany of Hope [Hwangt'o kil]</i>	USIS-Korea	1962
<i>Story of Han Ha Wun [Han Ha-un-ssi iyagi]</i>	USIS-Korea	1962
<i>The Mighty Han [Han'gang such'ŏlli]</i>	USIS-Korea	1963
<i>Tank [T'aengk'ŭbyŏng]</i>	USIS-Korea	1963
<i>The Inn [Sarangbang]</i>	USIS-Korea	1964
<i>Ask Me!</i>	USIS-Korea	1964
<i>Korea-America Today [Miguk-ŭi onŭl] Series (TV)</i>	USIA / USIS-Korea	c1964
<i>Korea-America Today - Korean TV Special (TV)</i>	USIA / USIS-Korea	1965
<i>The Island Doctor [Sae ilt'ŏ]</i>	USIS-Korea	1965
<i>A Legacy [Charang sŭrŏun yusan]</i>	USIS-Korea	1965
<i>Our Wings Grow Stronger [Uri konggun]</i>	USIS-Korea	c1966
<i>Korea Builds</i>	USIS-Korea	c1966
<i>Little Angels of Korea [Ŏrin ch'ŏnsadŭl]</i>	USIS-Korea	1967
<i>The Second Line of Defense</i>	USIS-Korea	1967
<i>Bright Future [Naeil-ŭi ilkkun]</i>	USIS-Korea	1967
<i>The High Hill [Nŭngsŏn-ŭl chik'yŏra]</i>	KCIA / USIS-Korea	c1968
<i>Boom Town [Sinhŭng tosi ulsan]</i>	USIS-Korea	1968
<i>Korea Stands Prepared [Wanbyŏk han pangŏ t'aese]</i>	USIS-Korea	1968
<i>Combat Fox</i>	USIS-Korea	1968
<i>American Cultural Centers and the Community</i>	USIS-Korea	1968
<i>Screen Report Nos. 1-31 (newsreel)</i>	USIS-Korea	1968-1972
<i>Korean American Investment Outlook [Hanmi t'uja chŏnmang]</i>	USIS-Korea	1969

Title	Production	Year
<i>My Friend Alan Heyman</i>	USIS-Korea	1969
<i>Nixon Doctrine Program Review (TV)</i>	USIS-Korea	1969
<i>KATUSA</i>	USIS-Korea	1960s
<i>Family Planning [Almatke na'asõ hullyunghage kirũja]</i>	Korean Family Planning Association / USIS-Korea	1960s
<i>The Lighthouse [Tũngdae]</i>	USIS-Korea	1960s
<i>Community Action [Munje-ũi haedap]</i>	USIS-Korea	1960s
<i>Defense of Our Shores</i>	USIS-Korea	1960s
<i>Documentary Series [Tak'yument'õri sirijũ] (TV)</i>	USIS-Korea	1970
<i>Inquiry Series [Taedam sirijũ] (TV)</i>	USIS-Korea	1970
<i>Pollution Series [Konghae-e tojõn] Nos. 1-3 (TV)</i>	USIS-Korea	1971
<i>Freedom Vault [P'ũridõm polt'ũ kongsu chakchõn]</i>	USIS-Korea	1971
<i>Korean Entertainers (TV)</i>	USIA / USIS-Korea	1971
<i>President of MBC Korea (TV)</i>	USIA / USIS-Korea	1971
<i>Bridge for Peace [P'yõnghwa-ũi tari]</i>	Peace Corps / USIS-Korea	c1970-72
<i>Colorado Conference [Colorado hoedam]</i>	USIS-Korea	1972

국문초록

불균질한 스크린들, 경합하는 정체성

주한미국공보원 문화영화와 국가상상, 1945-1972

서울대학교 대학원 사회학과
김한상

2차 세계대전 이후 미국은 주한미국공보원(USIS-Korea) 같은 정부 산하의 공보기구를 동맹국가에 주재시키고 장기간 선전활동을 펼쳤다. 이들 미국의 ‘해외’ 당국들이 지녔던 역할에 특히 주목하면서, 본 연구는 문화영화의 제작과 소비 과정에서 한국 영화인들과 관객들이 거쳤을 정체성 협상 과정에 대해 논한다.

‘문화영화’라는 발상은 일본의 식민통치자들에 의해 수입되었고 미국과 한국의 공보기구들에 의해 계승되었는데, 이는 주로 국가차원의 기구들이 교육과 선전을 목적으로 배포했던 영화들을 일컫는 모호한 범주였다. 공보용 다큐멘터리와 비정기적 뉴스매거진 영화, 교육용 극영화, 그리고 문화기술지 영화까지 모두 아울렀다. 따라서 문화영화는 단순히 정부 정책을 홍보하기 위한 수단이었을 뿐 아니라 문화기술지적인 요소를 통해 세계를 배우는 창구이기도 했던 것이다. 미국 공보기구들은 문화영화라는 이름으로 미국산 다큐멘터리를 수입해 미국적인 삶을 전시했고, 한국 영화인들을 고용하여 한국의 소식을 다루는 이른바 ‘현지용’ 영화들을 제작하기도 했다.

냉전체제의 출현과 함께 새롭게 주어진 환경은 탈식민 국가형성기 한국인들의 정체성 형성에 결정적인 요소였다. 한국인들은 신생국가의 시민이었지만, 그들을 “자유세계”의 시민으로 정의한 냉전 양대 진영의 대립에 따라 그들 민족은 분할되었다. 그와 같은 맥락에서 볼 때 문화영화는 한국인들의 자아인식에 있어서 흥미로운 토대를 만들었다고 할 수 있다. 전통적인 문화기술지 영화들이 그랬던 것처럼, 세계를 배우는 창구로서의

미 공보기구 문화영화는 자아와 타자의 이분법을 습득하는 조건을 창출했다.

그러나 한국의 지정학적, 역사적 특수성 속에서 미 공보기구의 문화 영화는 서로 다른 문화기술지적 응시 속에서 자아와 타자의 인식이 복잡하게 교차하는 독특한 관객성을 창출했다. 수입된 다큐멘터리들은 미국적인 삶을 이상화된 문명으로 소개했지만 한국인들이 이들 영화를 통해 미국인들과 자신을 전적으로 동일시했을 가능성은 적다. 이상화된 미국의 도시생활에 대한 표상은 오히려 이국적인 타자를 보고 즐기는 오락의 수단이었다고 할 수 있다. 자신의 삶을 구축하고 사회적, 개인적 피해로부터 재활하는 한국인들을 담은 문화영화들도 같은 시기에 제작되었다. 한국 관객들이 스스로를 “자유세계”의 시민으로 인식하도록 유도할 것을 목적으로 했음에도 불구하고, 그것이 주한미국공보원과 같은 외국 기구에 의해 추동된 자기인식이라는 점에서 이들 영화에는 복잡한 정체성의 문제가 나타날 수밖에 없었다. 따라서 이들 영화의 수용에는 자아와 타자를 정의하기 위한 격렬한 협상의 과정이 동반되었을 것임을 추측할 수 있다.

이러한 귀결은 미국 공보활동의 현지화 프로젝트가 낳은 필연적 결과로 볼 수 있지만, 현지 영화인의 고용이 그러한 ‘불균질한’ 스크린을 창출한 단 하나의 원인이라고는 할 수 없다. 주한미국공보원으로부터 상당한 영향을 받고 제작된 국립영화제작소의 대표작 <팔도강산>(1967)에서 나타나는 ‘이상적 시민’의 번역되고 개조된 모습과 이에 대한 한국 대중의 열광적인 호응은, 문화적 냉전의 본래 기획이 현지의 맥락에 따라 어떻게 토착화된 방식으로 변형되었는지를 잘 보여준다.

미국 공보기구에 몸을 담았던 한국 영화인들의 경우 정체성 협상의 면모는 더욱 두드러지게 나타난다. 그들은 미국 정부기구에 고용되어 “자유세계” 영화의 전달자 역할을 했지만, 동시에 스스로를 자국의 국가 건설자로 인식하기도 했다. 또한 그들은 단순히 고용주들의 수사를 전달하는 것이 아니라 그들 자신의 예술적 감수성을 표출하는 예술가로 스스로를 간주했다. 이처럼 경합하는 자아정체성들은 이들 영화인들에게 일정한 타협지점을 선택하도록 이끌었다. 두 명의 상징적인 다큐멘터리 제작자 로버트 플래허티와 존 그리어슨이 취했던 서로 다른 선택지가 보여주듯이, 정부의 지원을 받는 다큐멘터리 제작은 영화인들을 인문주의적 자극을 추동하는 낭만주의적 성향과 사회개조를 추구하는 계몽주의적 성향 사이에서 선택의 기로에 놓이게 하곤 했다. 주한미국공보원과 유엔한국재건단(UNKRA)에서 활동했던 한국영화인들도 비슷한 내적 갈등을 겪었는데, 이

는 한국의 지정학적 조건과 결부되면서 작가주의라는 독특한 형태로 귀결되었다.

미국식 영화 훈련소를 거쳐간 이들 영화인들이 택했던 경로는 격렬한 정체성 협상의 과정에서 취할 수 있는 몇 가지 선택지를 보여준다. 미 공보기구를 떠나서 영화 작가주의를 추구하는 길, 작가주의적 지향을 지니고 있지만 깊은 회의감 속에서 이를 포기하고 대중적인 상업영화를 제작하며 살아가는 길, 그리고 미 공보기구에 남아 문화영화를 제작하면서 일말의 작가주의적 접근을 시도하는 길이 그것이다. 이들은 또한 미국이 주도하는 공보기구에서 혜택 받은 한국 영화인들이 지녔던 양가적 태도, 즉 서구 문화의 계승자이면서 동시에 비판자이기도 했던 태도를 잘 보여주고도 있다. 다시 말해 이들 영화인들은 그리어슨적인 사명과 예술가로서의 자아실현 사이, 그리고 자국의 국가건설과 “자유세계”의 진영건설이라는 지향 사이에서 끊임없이 타협점을 찾아야만 했으며, 이는 헤게모니적인 외국 기구가 창출해놓은 ‘전문가’ 시스템이라는 조건 속에서 비롯되었다.

주요어: 냉전, 주한미국공보원, 미국해외공보처, 유엔한국재건단, 문화영화, 선전, 공보, 심리전, 다큐멘터리, 문화기술지, 작가주의, 전문가 시스템, 재현과 현시, 가시화, 통치성, 국가건설, 탈식민 국가형성, 한국적인 것.

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