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Kim Sŏnghwan's 'Mr. Kobau': Editorial Cartoons as Genre Weapons in South Korean Search for Democracy, 1945-1972

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Abstract

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This dissertation examines the early life and struggles of Kim Sŏnghwan (b. 1932), until the implementation of Park Chung Hee's Yusin Constitutional Revision in 1972. On February 1, 1955, Kim Sŏnghwan introduced a four-panel comic, "Mr. Kobau," in the *Tonga ilbo*, leading to a profound transformation of South Korean newspaper cartoons. This series became the most popular, longest lasting editorial cartoon in South Korean history, and a potent genre weapon against authoritarianism. Kim Sŏnghwan did not initially pursue cartooning as part of a political agenda. Instead, the political situation of the mid-1950s and the limited freedom of expression in the press created the circumstances for the politicization of his "gag" comic. Recognizing the ambiguous position of cartoons in South Korean newspapers and censorship laws, Kim

Sŏnghwan crafted sharp social and political criticism, masked in humor, even when criticism of the government was strictly regulated. In the process, he experienced fines, arrests, and even a minor psychological breakdown, but survived and maintained his critical voice through three dictatorial regimes and South Korea's democratic transition.

This dissertation highlights early influences on Kim Sŏnghwan's life including his father, who was imprisoned as an anti-Japanese resistance fighter, and Kim Sŏnghwan's time as a Korean War artist. It examines how and why "Mr. Kobau" was created, and the ways in which the governments of Syngman Rhee (1948-1960) and Park Chung Hee (1961-1979) tried to suppress critical voices through an analysis of the effects of laws, committee oversight, and other regulatory institutions upon editorial cartoons. It illustrates how "Mr. Kobau" was shaped by and shaped key moments in Korean history.

In "Mr. Kobau," Kim Sŏnghwan found ways to highlight contradictions through metaphors that reminded readers of the unfulfilled promises for democracy. Kim Sŏnghwan and like-minded editorial cartoonists provided a consistent and prominent example of the importance of opposition voices in the struggle for democracy and press freedoms. When visible, "Mr. Kobau" became a source of power and courage against authoritarianism; when invisible, it served as a metaphor for the silent masses' inability to speak under government repression and censorship.

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NOTES ON ROMANIZATION AND TRANSLATION

I used the McCune-Reischauer (M-R) system of Romanizing Korean using the Library of Congress rules for word division. For Korean names, there are some deviations from these rules. For well-known place names such as Seoul, I followed common usage. For well-known figures, such as Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŭngman) or Park Chung Hee (Pak Chŏnghŭi), I retained their preferred English spelling of their names. This is also the case for scholars who published works in English. If deviations occurred within different English scholarly works cited in this dissertation, I acknowledged this within the bibliography. For scholars who published works in Korean, I converted their names using the M-R system without the usage of the hyphen in the forenames.

In the main body of the text, I translated the names of institutions and titles of books and articles into English and included the M-R Romanization of these titles in parentheses. For well-known publications or newspapers, like *Sasanggye* or *Tonga ilbo*, I used the M-R Romanization of the titles in the main body of the text with an English translation only following the first usage.

Within the footnotes and bibliography, the original Korean titles are used followed by my translation into English in brackets. If an article was published in Korean with an English translation of the title provided, I kept the original translation contributed by the author to allow for ease of search and prevent confusion.

All translations within the dissertation, unless cited from an English work or noted otherwise, are the original work of the author.

Introduction

> "Kim Sŏnghwan and his cartoon character Kobau have been unflinchingly waging lonely battles to uphold their lofty cause against all odds. They have thus always brightened the pages of the daily newspaper dedicated to promoting national pride and identity. In today's world of Korean media, which has largely abandoned its critical watchdog role, Kobau is still very much alive and kicking, displaying his almost mysterious flair and wits. Watching Kobau swagger around daily on his self-appointed mission, I furtively giggle. It may be a laughter of self-consolation, or a smirk of self-reproach, or at times even a cackle of protest."[1]
>
> -Sŏnu Hwi, noted novelist-journalist, *Chosŏn ilbo*

"There was no freedom of the press." This was a common statement I encountered over the course of my master's and dissertation research when describing my project and interest in state-media relations during post-Korean War South Korea. The press policies of Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŭngman, 1948-1960) and Park Chung Hee (Pak Chŏnghŭi, 1961-1979), especially during the Military Junta (1961-1963) and Yusin Period (1972-1979), suggest a repressive regime guided by a general mistrust of the media and desire to control and tame editorial output. Nevertheless, there existed within most of the newspapers works of often harsh, political criticism in the form of editorial cartoons that challenged regime policies and shed light on government corruption. Chief amongst these editorial cartoonists was Kim Sŏnghwan (1932-present), the primary cartoonist for the *Tonga ilbo* [*East Asia Daily*], which was the largest "oppositional" mainstream press of the early post-Korean War period. Kim Sŏnghwan popularized and revitalized the editorial cartoon by transforming his four-panel "gag" comic, "Mr. Kobau," into political satire.[2] It inspired numerous imitations and created a type of "genre weapon" against authoritarianism and what was seen by progressive intellectuals as anti-

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[1] *Chosŏn ilbo* November 21, 1973

[2] In general, I refer to "Mr. Kobau" as an editorial cartoon since it also regularly plays with non-political themes and social critique. In the periods when "Mr. Kobau" or other editorial cartoons take on strictly political themes, I will use the term "political cartoon" to emphasize the change. When referring to one-panel cartoons, I classify them as "political cartoons," since this is a standardized classification for the genre and these cartoons generally follow more classic political themes.

democratic corruption and contradictions within Korean politics and society. An artistic form can be referred to as a genre weapon when an artist uses particular aspect(s) inherent in that genre medium, generally unique to that genre, as a figurative weapon against political, societal, or cultural issues. During the 1950s and 1960s, Kim Sŏnghwan and other artists used newspaper cartoons as genre weapons that produced a unique form of editorial commentary and challenged censors. They, especially Kim Sŏnghwan, visually produced a consistent though not always focused narrative promoting free speech and liberal-democratic ideals and institutions under the blanket of anti-communism. These artists would find increasing difficulty in maintaining their genre weapons of governmental critique under the censors of the Park Chung Hee's Yusin Constitution (1972-1979) and the Chun Doo Hwan (Chŏn Tuhwan, 1980-1988) regime. However, the editorial cartoon continued and found ways to highlight contradiction through metaphor, which would serve as a consistent reminder of the lost or unfulfilled promises of democracy. When visible, "Mr. Kobau" became a source of power and courage against authoritarianism; when invisible, it served as a metaphor for the silent masses' inability to speak under government repression and censorship.

One of the looming questions that often characterize a large portion of contemporary historical scholarship on South Korea since the 1990s is: how did South Korea achieve democracy?[3] A vast amount of books emerged in the late 1990s and 2000s discussing the origins of South Korea democracy with various theories ranging from those that highlight reforms sponsored by a conservative middle-class to radical student and union activism. No true

[3] One of the other major questions relates to Korea's economic development: How South Korea went from being one of the poorest countries in the world to a wealthy nation? Though this dissertation does discuss some of the economic policies implemented during the 1950s and 1960s that aimed at nurturing or controlling the press as well as cartoons, it does not explore the economics of this period outside the perception of success or failure of these policies in relation to the editorial cartoons. Since the scope of this dissertation is limited in subject and time, the growth of the cartoon industry as part of this "economic miracle" will be left to later studies.

consensus has emerged. Historians mainly propose a combination of factors, pressures, and key events as the background for the success of South Korea's democracy movement and democratic consolidation. Most scholarship has concentrated on the democracy movement in the late 1970s and 1980s. The exploration of its development during the Syngman Rhee period (1948-1960) and Park Chung Hee's rule in the 1960s, prior to Yusin (1972-1979), only began in the recent two decades.

As a contribution to the many theories and arguments presented so far to explain South Korea's success in democratization, this dissertation proposes that the democracy movement's sustainability depended on a substantial number of minor activists who found ways to attack the authoritarian regime.[4] They often did this in public ways. To avoid censors, many used ambiguous form of medias as critique and propaganda in support of liberal-democratic values while operating within the parameters of an anti-communist regime.[5] This included editorial cartoonists. By producing a highly visible form of critique on a daily basis, newspaper cartoonists, like Kim Sŏnghwan, found ways to utilize this ambiguous form of artistic expression as a genre weapon against authoritarianism and corruption while promoting the values of a liberal democracy. In South Korea, these genre weapons took on a unique form that politicized the traditional four-panel "gag" comic, which developed as a reaction to the political

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[4] First, I utilize the term "minor" to refer to individuals who may not have played a pivotal role in defining the democracy movement but could have played a limited or simply unrecognized role in promoting democracy or the movement. For example, a minor activist may promote democratic ideas through writing or behind-the-scenes action but might not have pushed the boundaries enough to be considered radical or actively participating in demonstrations. For editorial cartoonists, a comparative study with the coloration effects of satire or editorial cartoons on democratization with other nations may prove that their contribution holds a greater weight than I claim within this dissertation. However, without such a study, this dissertation will only claim a moderate coloration between the highlighting of democratic contradictions in editorial cartoons and the building of the democracy movement.

[5] The concept of "ambiguous forms of media" refers to editorial cartoons and their ability to produce metaphor. This could also apply to other literary and performative arts.

circumstances of democratic suppression, censorship, and political violence of the late 1950s. Uncertain how to cope with this type of critique, the Rhee and then the Park government would employ various methods to attempt to control the cartoon artists and the industry through internal and external pressures including arrest, fines, laws, ethics committees, bribery, surveillance, and censorship. Some of these actions would prove successful at times, but, ultimately, these methods did not erase their voice, especially Kim Sŏnghwan, whose "Mr. Kobau" would appear as a symbol of the "voice of the people" and authoritarian critique.

Ranan Lurie, an Israeli-American cartoonist, once called the editorial cartoon "the most extreme form of expression that society will accept or tolerate."[6] As an art form, it holds a long-standing tradition in both authoritarian and democratic regimes where it can be used to either support or criticize those in power as well as the external or internal "enemies" within society. The measure of control placed upon this form serves as a gauge for state acceptance of political expression and tolerance for critique. This can range from a tight form of political propaganda seen in the former Soviet Union and North Korea to a more self-regulated forms of critique seen in most Western liberal-democratic nations. In countries that espouse liberal-democratic values, the idea of free speech and a critical press become synonymous with the notion of its democratic institutions.

In South Korea, the four-panel editorial cartoon emerged as a space to explore and promote concepts of democracy. Equally as important, it provided a platform for critique of the contradictions between the official ideology and the reality of politics and society. An editorial cartoon might not provide the space for a detailed or nuanced discussion on subjects, but it is especially good at displaying contradictions. Not restricted to simply a verbal form of

[6] Chris Lamb, *Drawn to Extremes: The Use and Abuse of Editorial Cartoons* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 22.

expression, an editorial cartoonist can both illustrate and verbally show contradictions. This adds a new level of emphasis that can be less effective through words alone. When reporters fell silent or were censored from publishing, the ability to produce caricature provided means for artists, such as Kim Sŏnghwan, to speak out against corruption and authoritarianism. This did not escape public notice as noted by foreign journalists when reporting on the status of Korea's press in the 1950s and 1960s.[7]

Either implicitly or explicitly expressed within most discussions on Korea's democratization is the idea that mass support for democratization arose from a building frustration amongst the people against contradictions between the official ideology and the reality of politics and society. I argue that "Mr. Kobau" and the democratic ideologies promoted by Kim Sŏnghwan played an often unrecognized though key role in highlighting these government contradictions. "Mr. Kobau" maintained and helped shape concepts of democratic ideals against authoritarianism. While often restricted by censors, the daily production of government and societal critique within the editorial cartoons of Kim Sŏnghwan and likeminded cartoonists made visible things meant to be invisible. They provided a sustained vehicle for liberal-democratic ideals through the 1950s and 1960s, and theses cartoonists helped keep many democratic ideas alive and fanned the fires for government accountability.

This dissertation introduces Kim Sŏnghwan and his works as one of the representational figures of South Korea's struggle with anti-communist liberal-democratic state building, especially in its relationship with the press. This connection to the ideals of a liberal democracy allowed for the development and proliferation of a critical form of journalism through editorial cartooning. Through this, I show that while the government took efforts to control and

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[7] Pang Hŭigyŏng, *Kim Sŏnghwan: manhwa wept'un p'yŏngnonsŏn [Kim Sŏnghwan: Review of Cartoon Webtoons]*, ebook (Seoul: K'ŏmyunik'eisyŏn Puksŭ [Communication Books Inc.], 2018), intro.

manipulate the press, editorial cartooning survived and increased in popularity while still maintaining a critical voice. By describing the experiences and works of this "pioneer of Korean editorial cartoons," I will illustrate how he led and cultivated an industry characterized by resistance.[8] I will also show how the values of Cold War anti-communism, economic developmentalism, and liberal-democratic ideals shaped his criticism. While the liberal-democratic ideology took on an anti-communist tone, as promoted by the state, it did not equate to a full-fledged support or trust of the state. Instead, this ideology created skepticism in the motivations behind the promotion of anti-communism as a means for authoritarian control. And the uneven economic development policies appeared as painted masks disguising profiteering and corruption. Throughout his career Kim Sŏnghwan projected a set of core values and beliefs promoting democracy and freedom of the press. He projected these ideas into the public through the powerful, graphic imagery of "Mr. Kobau." These ideas remained active through Kim Sŏnghwan's cartoons. "Mr. Kobau" help stir questions about the government's authoritarian practices and inspire future leaders of the democracy movement.

0.1 *Kim Sŏnghwan: An Introduction*

Cartoons hold a special power within society, sometimes raising their artists to places of prominence as cultural and political icons as their creations serve as symbols of a movement or a generation. Kim Sŏnghwan and his cartoon "everyman" and social commentator, Mr. Kobau, held such a place in South Korean society. Where free speech is limited, editorial cartoonists can

[8] Kim Sŏnghwan is often cited as a "pioneer of cartoons" in Korea because of his introduction and the long-time production of "Mr. Kobau" as a pioneer of the four-panel editorial cartoon genre. At the time of this dissertation, without exception, all scholarly works referencing South Korea's editorial cartoon development include Kim Sŏnghwan as part of the establishing roots and/or highly influential figures, which often extends to cartooning in general due to his additional contributions to the fields of children and adult cartoons as well as cartoon criticism.

face harsh penalties, torture, and sometimes death for expressing their opinions. In South Korea, Kim Sŏnghwan was arrested twice, fined several times, and interrogated by the police for his publications. In addition, a representative of Syngman Rhee attempted to bribe him to produce a pamphlet supporting Yi Kibung (1896-1960) during the fraudulent election of 1960, and Park Chung Hee was said to "kick his desk" in reaction to jabs at his policies illustrated by Kim Sŏnghwan, in the *Tonga ilbo*.[9]

He also found many fans in the general public and within some intellectual circles. In her last poem titled "Mid-Stream" (*hŭrŭm sok esŏ*), Sijo poetess, Yi Yŏngdo (1916-1975), described herself and her grandson regularly seeking out Mr. Kobau within the daily news where "his satire has a savory bite which sticks to the tongue's own tip."[10] Mr. Kobau still holds the Guinness Record for South Korea's longest running editorial cartoon, which was published in sequence in three of Korea's largest circulating newspapers, *Tonga ilbo*, *Chosŏn ilbo* [*Chosun Daily*], and *Munhwa ilbo* [*Cultural Daily*], from 1955 until 2000 (14,139 panels in total). Kim Sŏnghwan was the first and only Korean cartoonist listed in the *World Encyclopedia of Cartoons* (1998); and in 2013, the Korean government registered "Mr. Kobau" as one of the first three comics named as cultural assets.[11]

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[9] *Munhwa ilbo* October 1, 2010; Kim Sŏnghwan, Author's second interview, interview by Emily Hall, July 26, 2015.

[10] Kim Sŏnghwan, "The Exhibition of Political Cartoons 'Gobau' in Commemoration of the 10,000th Issue," Sejong Cultural Hall, 1987 May 6-10.

[11] The other two cartoons registered included: Kim Yonghwan's (1912-1988) "Rabbit and Monkey" (*T'okkiwa wŏnsungi,* May 1946), which was based on an original work of children's literature by Ma Haesong (1905-1966) and Korea's first-ever cartoon book that served as a metaphor for criticizing Japan's unjust colonialism; Kim Chongnae's (1927-2001) "3000 Leagues in Search of Mother" (*Ŏmma ch'aja sammalli*, 1958-1964), Korea's first cartoon best-seller about a boy during the Chosŏn Dynasty that embarks on a search for his mother sold as a slave and was used to show to destitution of life after the Korean War. Kim Sŏnghwan's "Mr. Kobau" was included as the longest running newspaper cartoon and its contribution to Korean society in criticizing the dictatorship and military governments of Korea. *Korea JoongAng Daily* February 18, 2013.

During the Syngman Rhee (1947-1960), Park Chung Hee (1961-1979), and Chŏn Tuhwan (1980-1988) regimes, Kim Sŏnghwan's works contributed to a larger critique of dictatorship, corruption, and geopolitical subservience. It served as the framework for activist discourse and provided a model for journalists who envisioned their role as "watchdogs" of government. In addition, his daily satirical cartoons, critical essays, and over 50 published books inspired and influenced many whiles also providing relief through humor to those suffering during dark times. As a mirror held up to Korean society, Kim Sŏnghwan's political cartoons provided an opportunity for individuals to laugh and reflect upon their struggles, many of which he shared with others of his generation, making his characters and messages relatable.

Kim Sŏnghwan was born in Kaesŏng (nowadays in North Korea) in 1932 and raised as a Christian by a former anti-Japanese nationalist in Manchuria before returning to South Korea after liberation. He received his education during the latter part of the Japanese colonial period and under U.S. Occupation, spending much of his formative years in the midst of these competing foreign and domestic agendas. He experienced poverty, bullying, and the stigma of family associations with North Korea and former Japanese colonial institutions. During the Korean War, Kim worked as an artist for the Ministry of Defense, recording the lives of ordinary people and soldiers and their tragic experiences of national division and war. The war etched within Kim Sŏnghwan and many of his generation a strong will to survive and personal connection to the ideals of freedom and democracy.

Within this tumultuous period, Kim Sŏnghwan created his most famous editorial cartoon character, Mr. Kobau (*Kobau Yŏnggam*, Strong Rock).[12] Mr. Kobau began as a character

[12] Kobau Yŏnggam [Gobau Yeonggam, RR] could be translated multiple ways. *Yŏnggam* has the implications of an elderly man with miserly tendencies. Therefore, "Old Man Kobau [Gobau]" is a potential translation for the cartoon. While this captures the elderly aspects of the character, it places too much emphasis on age rather than the "everydayness" that the character, Kobau, generally displays. "Inspiration" or a "brainstorm" is also another

reflecting Kim Sŏnghwan's will for survival during the Korean War and his experience with poverty in his early years, which would provide a sympathetic relatability that helped in popularizing "Mr. Kobau." The cartoon did not start serial publication in the *Tonga ilbo* until February 1, 1955.

"Mr. Kobau" started as a pantomime "gag" comic. This is a traditional comic form, common to newspapers around the world, which feature pratfalls and the small inconveniences of every-day modern life. Political circumstances would soon transform the cartoon as Kim Sŏnghwan found himself more and more inclined to comment on the contradictions and corruption in government actions and policy as well as the suppression of democratic procedures and free speech. While shaped by political circumstances, Kim Sŏnghwan would go on to produce a sharp, and often biting political criticism of government corruption and suppression of liberal-democratic ideals. In turn, this would shape the political landscape. By taking advantage of a liminal space within the Korean press that capitalized on the ambiguity of the four-panel style of cartooning and its usage of humor as understood by the Korean government and society, Kim Sŏnghwan positioned himself as a voice of criticism in South Korea in an era hampered by dictatorship and harsh press censorship laws. He also inspired several imitations and ushered in what has been labeled as a "Golden Age" of editorial cartoons.

Following the Korean War, Korean society found new levels of agency and sovereignty through the powers of negotiation, accommodation, and appropriation that allowed Koreans to

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possible translation for *yŏnggam*, though these are different Chinese characters than used for "old man." The title is not displayed in Chinese characters so this phrase could provide an additional meaning for the cartoon title as something "inspiring" or meant to inspire others. This is also a correct assessment of the character and intention of the author. Because of the multiple possible meanings that could be associated with *yŏnggam*, some writers just call the cartoon Kobau [Gobau] without the attached yŏnggam or use a non-translated version of the full title. I settled on "Mr. Kobau" because it captured the sense of him being an older man as well as his "everydayness" while maintaining the potential for inspiration that "old man" generally does not imply. For the story of the creation and reasoning for the name, "Kobau," given by Kim Sŏnghwan, and the translated meaning of "Strong Rock," see chapter two.

reframe and reinterpret their own identity within a new geo-political context. As an editorial cartoonist, Kim Sŏnghwan worked within this negotiated space utilizing an activist mode of discourse. Nonetheless, like many within his circle, he would sometimes replicate and support Cold War, anti-communist ideologies, but Kim Sŏnghwan was not a stringent anti-communist. As with many moderate liberalists, the support or acceptance of anti-communism created a mutually agreed framework of communication between the government and the activist. By not radically pushing this boundary, it also provided a means by which some activists, like Kim Sŏnghwan, could still question the framework, including the excessiveness and corruption of the police state.

During the Rhee regime and the 1960s, with the exception of the tight censorship era of Park's military junta (1961-1963), Kim Sŏnghwan utilized a space of critical inquiry to promote the ideas of liberal democracy—especially the values of freedom of assembly, the press, and speech—as intellectuals and the state debated the meaning of "democracy" within the social and geo-political context of South Korea. He frequently took upon the plight of the poor, drumming sympathy in beggars and shame upon the rich and the well-connected, who exploited U.S. aid and government institutions for monetary gain; therefore, he questioned the motivations and outcomes of economic development plans. This dissertation explores Kim Sŏnghwan's struggle to promote this set of values and the intersection of the political forces attempting to regulate and suppress the critical voices and artistic expression in both the press and cartoon industry from the 1950s to the early 1970s. Though my study does not cover the complete life of Kim Sŏnghwan at this time, it will show his intellectual, political, and creative origins that helped shape his point of view and those of his generation.

0.2 *Concepts of Liberal Democracy under Anti-Communist Authoritarianism*

Liberal-democratic ideas emerged in Korea at the end of the 19th century, and they were further debated during the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945) within the independence movement. At this time, ideological factions primarily divided into three camps: a rightwing camp that pursued a bourgeois democracy; a leftwing camp that rallied behind socialism and anarchism; and a centrist camp that formulated an ideal of social democracy.[13] Though all had different theories on state construction that were rooted in their ideological beliefs, during the colonial period, there still existed a semi-agreed upon moral consensus of peaceful co-existence between competing ideologies based on the idea of a national unified Korea through independence.[14] Following liberation, the left and right wings split under political pressures—in part due to the great influence of the U.S. and the Soviet Union on the Korean peninsula—while the centrist camp still advocating a united regime tried to push for state construction based on social democracy (*sahoejuŭi minju*) as the best possible solution.[15]

On May 10, 1948, the UN held a sanctioned election, but only in the south. This would lead to the official creation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, *Chosŏn Minjujuŭi Inmin Konghwaguk*) on September 9, 1948 in the north, backed by the Soviet Union, those favorable toward communism, and many within the leftwing camp, though North Korea

[13] Kyung-Chae Roh, "Historical Characteristics of Korea's Social Democracy," *International Journal of Korean History* 3 (December 2002): 296.
[14] Jang-jip Choi, "The Fragility of Liberalism and Its Political Consequences in Democratized Korea," *Asea Yŏn'gu* 52, no. 3 (2009): 254.
[15] Roh, "Historical Characteristics of Korea's Social Democracy," 296. These conservative and progressive groups (the right and the left) are not necessarily be distinguished by age groups though student activists are generally more associated with progressive ideologies than older generations. However, they would become distinguished in what Choi Jang-jip described as "deeply divided by ideology, political ideas, values, and passions which have imbued each of them with a different set of viewing capitalist market economy, the political history of contemporary Korea, inter-Korean relations, and the role of the U.S. in the Korean peninsula," Choi, "Fragility of Liberalism," 254. In a sense, this type of polarization of ideology and political culture would characterize Korean society within South Korea and in its relations to its neighbor to the North to this day.

had been operating under its first constitution by the end of 1947 under the People's Assembly of North Korea (*Pukchosŏn inmin hoehŭi*). On August 15, 1948, the south officially established the Republic of Korea (ROK, *Taehan Min'guk*), which was backed by U.S.-aligned rightwing groups led by Syngman Rhee's consolidating power structure supporting anti-communism with the ideological front of liberal democracy (*chayu minjujuŭi*).[16] This process of national division produced an atmosphere where political activity seen as contrary to the national ideology—both in North and South Korea—began to be viewed as dangerous.

Opposition voices needed to be suppressed as a means of state protection even if, in South Korea, it produced an authoritarian system often contrary and contradictory to the liberal-democratic ideology promoted.[17] Out of this drive to stifle the opposition came the usage of highly inflammatory expression "Commie" (*ppalgaengi*). As described in Kim Tŭkchung's monograph, *The Birth of the 'Commie'* (*'Ppalgaengi'ŭi t'ansaeng*), this expression originated in the reaction to the Yŏsu-Sunch'ŏn Rebellion (1948) and its ensuing guerilla warfare and counter-insurgency campaigns.[18] The belief in the primacy of anti-communism and state protection over liberal democracy in practically all but name would become further consolidated during and following the Korean War. Eventually these contradictions provided one of the motivations for the early Korean democracy movement and, as will be seen within this dissertation. These contradictions were manifested within the authoritarian regimes of Syngman Rhee and Park Chung Hee as part of the U.S. backing of strongmen dictators in its client states for geopolitical reasons while spreading the gospel of a U.S.-style democracy.

[16] Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005), 202–32.
[17] North Korea also produced an authoritarian system, but it faced less conflict with the compatibility of its ideological framework, since a strong state was assumed under the Cold War Communist system.
[18] Kim Tŭkchung, *"Ppalgaengi" ŭi t'ansaeng: Yŏsun sakŏn kwa pan'gong kukka ŭi hyŏngsŏng [The Birth of the 'Commie': The Yŏsun Incident and the Formation of National Anti-Communism]* (Seoul: Sŏnin, 2009).

In an article summarizing the early viewpoints and status of liberal democracy in post-liberation South Korea, the political scientist, Jang-jip Choi, describes conservative politicians, who built the basic foundation of what would become the First Republic of Korea (1948-1960). These politicians initially viewed the establishment of a liberal democracy and the building of an anti-communist barricade as "virtually identical" in merit.[19] However, in reality, the goal of liberal democracy became displaced with anti-communism and authoritarianism as conservatives started to view the maintenance of anti-communism as first, more urgent, and then more desirable in promoting stability over the "impractical," "unstable," and "foreign" concepts sometimes associated with liberal democracy by conservatives and, at times, even progressives. Anti-Communism was further promoted by Park Chung Hee, who also built upon a growing mistrust of an abused notion of liberal democracy during the Rhee period in order to promote a developmental state model that tried to reform the idea of "democracy" through gradual steps into a military-technocratic authoritarian system sometimes labeled as "Korean-Style Democracy" (*Han'gukchŏk minjujuŭi*) that essentially tried to restrain civil society and liberalism through structure.[20]

The concept of liberal democracy was also not universally accepted amongst those who promoted progressivism and occupied the political left, and it gathered mistrust as the ideology appeared to justify the establishment of separate nations and the dominance of pro-U.S. authoritarian regimes.[21] According to Jang-jip Choi, nationalism in the 1950s played a central role in the political thought surrounding democracy. This carried with it a "moral superiority"

[19] Choi, "Fragility of Liberalism," 256.
[20] Choi, 257; Kang Jungin, "Pak Chŏnghŭi tae'tongnyŏng ŭi minjujuŭi tamnon punsŏk: 'haengjŏngjŏk', 'minjokchŏk', 'Han'gukchŏk' minjujuŭi rŭl chungsim ŭro [An Analysis of Park Chung Hee's Discourses on Democracy: Focusing on his 'Administrative,' 'National,' and 'Korean-style' Democracy]," *Sogang Journal of Philosophy* 27 (November 2011): 287–321.
[21] Choi, "Fragility of Liberalism," 259.

amongst intellectuals and a belief that one must associate "real" democracy with reunification against a separatist and authoritarian Cold War anti-communism.[22] However, what that "real" democracy entailed was not entirely clear or easily distinguishable from concepts associated with liberal democracy except in a moralistic dissociation with the name as a rhetorical device used by ideological conservatives. This moralistic association with nationalism and democracy would expand in the 1970s and 1980s where it combined with utopian ideology, communitarian ethos, and a sort of romantic revolutionary spirit based on contemporary radical theories of a "holistic vision of social change."[23] Through mass mobilization and social movements, political democracy was achieved in 1987 as the Chun regime succumbed to the popular pressure to re-establish presidential elections and other political rights, though it was not seen as the end for many of the participants in the movement that still pressed for the continuation of a broad-scale people's (*minjung*) movement into the 1990s.[24]

Moderate liberalists also shared and promoted concepts of democracy in the 1950s and 1960s that sometimes leaned more toward liberalism and sometimes toward conservatism. While some within this group held fast and consistently to certain beliefs and principles related to democracy throughout this period, the social, economic, or political circumstances generally dictated and produced shifts in support toward different conceptual and procedural democratic

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[22] Choi, 259. Nationalism would also be key in the rise of the *chaeya*, a large nonparty opposition group of activist intellectuals, which grew in momentum following protests and feeling of national betrayal against the Park regime in the signing of the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty of 1965, Myung-Lim Park, "The Chaeya," in *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea*, ed. Byung-kook Kim and Ezra F. Vogel (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2011), 380. The *chaeya* would expand their issues to the problem of democracy, labor, and socio-economic conflict in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Pak Myŏngrim, "Pak Chŏnghŭi sidae chaeya ŭi chŏhang e kwanhan yŏn'gu, 1961-1979: chŏhangŭije ŭi tŭngjang kwa hwaksan ŭl chungshim ŭro [Resistance of Chaeya under the Park Chung Hee Regime: Focusing on the Rise and Expansion of Issues, 1961-1979]," *Han'guk chŏngch'i oegyosa nonch'ong [Journal of Korean Political and Diplomatic History]* 30, no. 1 (August 2008): 29–62.

[23] Choi, "Fragility of Liberalism," 260.

[24] For an excellent study on the construction of the *minjung* movement, see Namhee Lee, *The Making of Minjung: Democracy and the Politics of Representation in South Korea* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).

policies. The main group that is often categorized within this "moderate" or "centrist" group is one associated with the writers and readers engaged with the magazine *Sasanggye* [*World of Thought*, 1953-1970]. Highly influential from the 1950s until May 1970, when it received an order to desist, which was generally considered the life or death of a magazine at that time, the magazine claimed to be the voice of the opposition and a champion for democracy.[25] The place of *Sasanggye* within Korean intellectual history and its relations to democracy has been well studied, especially in Korean literature.[26] However, as scholars, such as Michael Kim, have pointed out, though *Sasanggye* provided a critical voice against authoritarianism and created advocates for democracy, its ideas about the developmental state, modernization, and anti-communism were often compatible with policies of the regime, especially during the Park Chung Hee period, and may have fostered support for his policies and the maintenance of his regime.[27] For this reason, readers and writers of the *Sasanggye* have also been classified as conservative liberalists that included influences from North Korean refugees of Christian background, which were inclined to support anti-communism and generally pro-U.S.[28] This group of moderate-

[25] Sasanggye Yŏn'gut'im, *Naengjŏn kwa hyŏngmyŏng ŭi sidae kŭrigo "Sasanggye" [The Period of Cold War and Revolution & "Sasanggye"]*, ed. Kong Imsum (Seoul: Somyŏng Ch'ulp'an, 2012), 4.
[26] Pak Chiyŏng, "Naengjŏn chi ŭi kyunyŏl kwa chŏhang tamnon ŭi chaeguch'uk: 1950-yŏndae huban~1960-yŏndae chŏnban 'Sasanggye' pŏnyŏk tamnon ŭl t'onghae pon chisik chang ŭi pyŏndong [Cold War Intellectual Collapse and Reconstruction of Resistance Discourse: Knowledge Change Seen from the Discourse on Sasanggye Translation in the second half of the 1950s-mid-1960s]," *Pan'gyo ŏmun yŏn'gu* 41 (December 2015): 511–51; Cho Kyŏngnan, "1950-yŏndae tong Asia ŭi pan'gong chayujuŭi ideollogi e taehan chaegŏmt'o: 'chayu Chungguk' kwa 'Sasanggye' ŭi taehang tamnon hyŏngsŏng kanŭngsŏng [Reconsideration into the Ideology of Anti-Communist Liberalism in East Asia in the 1950's: Possibility of Forming a Discourse of Resistance Based on Review of 'Free China' and 'Sasanggye']," *Sidae wa chŏrhak* 22, no. 1 (March 2011): 115–52.
[27] Michael Kim, "The Discursive Foundations of the South Korean Developmental State: Sasanggye and the Reception of Modernization Theory," *Korea Observer* 38, no. 3 (Autumn 2007): 365. This was not the case for all contributors to *Sasanggye* as many became vocal critics of Park Chung Hee's authoritarian tendencies and developmental state policies, like Ham Sŏkhŏn (1901-1989) and Chang Chunha (1918-1975).
[28] Cho Kyŏngnan, "1950-yŏndae tong Asia ŭi pan'gong"; Ch'oe Kyuchin, "Han'guk chŏnjaeng twi pan'gong ideollogi chihyŏng kwa chisigin ŭi chari: 1950-yŏndae 'Sasanggye' ŭi sasang [The Topography of the Anti-Communist Ideology and the Position of the Intellectual after the Korean War: 1950s 'Sasanggye' Idea]," *Sarim (Sŏngdae sarim)* 61 (July 2017): 275–304; Chang Sechin, "Ich'yŏjin sŏlgyejadŭl kwa 'chayujuŭi ihu' rŭl wihayŏ: Kim Kŏnu ŭi 'Taehan Min'guk ŭi sŏlgyejadŭl' [Forgotten Founding Fathers and for the 'Future of Liberalism': Kim Kŏnu's 'Drafters of Korea']," *SAI* 23 (November 2017): 271–97.

liberalists, which initially formed from a melding of these moderate groups of nationalists that protested the separation of states in 1948 but ultimately lost support and would become the foundation of the Democratic Party and opposition politics during the 1950s and 1960s.[29]

This dissertation will primarily focus upon the actions and concepts promoted in the early democracy movement by those who fall within the moderate-liberalists group. Though one could argue that editorial cartoons and some editorial cartoonists depicted here may, at times, fall closer to the political left than moderates, especially in their capacity to visualize and vocalize in a radical manner, Kim Sŏnghwan never self-identified as a radical though he did promote some progressive policies. His ability to produce works that appealed to both sides of the political spectrum also required a moderate voice to support the editorials and create a broad appeal necessary for sustainability. Besides helping him survive through the period, Kim Sŏnghwan's moderate voice also created a tone that made his more radical pieces appear forceful since continual production of a controversial idea can sometimes cause that idea to lose its impact if emphasized too rigorously, especially when it is not mainstream.

My dissertation and argument partially rest on the idea that there is no real clear definition of democracy nor was there any unified definition of this concept—by conservatives and progressives alike—or consensus on how to achieve this as a political structure during the 1950s and 1960s. In a narrow definition of democracy, a "liberal democracy" would include a fair and regular election, equal political participation, elected government, voluntary associations, freedom to assembly, and a free press. However, the amount of freedom associated with each of these could vary depending on one's view on the primacy of security and the value of the individual in relation to society. In addition to liberalism (*chayujuŭi*), concepts of

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[29] Jang-jip Choi, *Democracy after Democratization: The Korean Experience* (Stanford, CA: Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, 2012), 34–38.

humanism (*inmunjuŭi*) would also become incorporated into democratic definitions as well as ideas supporting communitarianism (*kongdongch'e*), modernization (*kŭndaehwa*), and in disguised forms, social democracy (*sahoe minjujuŭ*).[30] This lack of definition in democracy could and did cause controversy amongst different intellectuals and politicians and allowed each side of the political spectrum to sometimes manipulate the idea for their own gains since alternative sources of political theory that appeared too close to ideas related to socialism were branded as too radical or pro-communist and subsequently suppressed. Nonetheless, the lack of definition also created a space of fluidity and exploration that opened spaces of possibility and critique even under the repressive umbrella of anti-communist authoritarianism. In fact, the critique of authoritarianism under the belief that democracy was the only means to combat communism would emerge as one of the key arguments presented by both the political left and centrists in promoting democracy.

There are many topics covered within the editorial cartoons of this period which could be classified as promoting some of the various ideas surrounding democracy. Though each deserve study, I am primarily focusing on the three democratic ideals consistently displayed within the works of Kim Sŏnghwan: right to vote; right to assemble/protest; and freedom of the press.[31] These values were not produced within a vacuum because they generally reflected the prevailing thoughts circulating amongst the leading intellectuals and opposition press at the time, and Kim

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[30] Kim Hyŏnju, "1960-yŏndae huban munhak tamnon esŏ 'chayu' wa minjujuŭi ・ kŭndaehwajuŭi ŭi kwan'gye [The Relationship between 'Freedom' and Democracy ・ Modernization in the Literary Discourse in the late 1960s]," *Sanghŏ hakpo* 41 (2014): 371–413; Ma Sangyun, "Chayu minjujuŭi ŭi konggan: 1960-yŏndae chŏnban'gi 'Sasanggye' rŭl chungsim ŭro [The Space for Liberal Democracy in South Korea: Political Discussions in 'Sasanggye' during the Early 1960s]," *Han'guk chŏngch'i yŏn'gu* 25, no. 2 (June 2016): 175–200; Kim, "Discursive Foundations of the South Korean Developmental State"; Roh, "Historical Characteristics of Korea's Social Democracy."

[31] I chose these topics primarily due to their consistency within Kim Sŏnghwan's critique in order to highlight the continuities and changes within different periods and the concepts reflected in the democracy movements of the 1950s and 1960s. Many other subjects relating to class, gender, international relations, popular culture, etc. each deserve their own studies, but will be left for future scholars.

Sŏnghwan could spend up to ten hours a day scouring newspapers and periodicals to generate his newest idea or correct "slips-of-a-pen" when confronted with vigorous censors. Kim Sŏnghwan's experiences under censorship made press freedom a preferred topic of critique along with critiques of authoritarianism and government overreach. But, the highlighting of corruption remained the most salient and provocative means Kim Sŏnghwan used to point out contradictions throughout this period. Even when allegations of corruption might be directed toward corporations or bureaucratic actors, there still contained an implicit critique of the government if only in their inability to prevent it.

Even within the constraints of censorship, the 1950s and 1960s is a period of greater fluidity of ideas regarding democracy and the ability to express those ideas and governmental critique compared to the 1970s and 1980s when draconian censorship laws saw greater enforcement making democratic concepts and criticisms more metaphorical, which changed the tone and purpose of the editorial cartoon.[32] Despite ultimately resulting in the Yusin Constitution and the employment of heavy censorship in the 1970s and 1980s—sometimes utilizing the ethics organizations and institutions originally created on the pretext of preventing a fierce government crackdown and regulation as will be discussed within this dissertation—the desire to confront and correct the contradictions within the system and achieve the promise of expression and liberty believed to be inherent in democracy would continue. It would build upon the ideas, successes, and failures of this earlier era to help in fueling the democracy movement of the 1970s and 1980s. Kim Sŏnghwan and the editorial cartoon platform he created and popularized would assist—though sometimes in a muted form—in this strive for democracy.

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[32] Since there is a considerable difference between the censorship and tone of the cartoons before and after the Yusin Constitution is why I chose to concentrate only on this early period and leave the post-Yusin to further research and scholars.

0.3 *Organization of Study*

Chapter One and Chapter Two of my dissertation explore Kim Sŏnghwan's family heritage, influences, and war experience These chapters explore how he and other artists were affected by Japanese colonialism, anti-communist liberal-democratic state building, and war. Chapter Three illustrates how Kim Sŏnghwan used "Mr. Kobau" to transform the "gag" comic into a political cartoon as a reaction to the corruption within the Rhee regime and Rhee's attempt to suppress critical voices. The chapter shows that open repression and fines implemented by the government led to an increase in popularity for "Mr. Kobau." It demonstrates a type of paradox in censorship: repression or the threat of repression may increase the victim's resolve to confront the authoritarian power and even boost the popularity and strength of the item or person censored. Chapter Four describes the establishment and ideological conflict between the first cartoonist organizations. The second half shows how Rhee silenced the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* [*Trends in Daily News*] and increase censorship. However, this did not quiet Kim Sŏnghwan's critique on authoritarian rule and democratic suppression. Instead, Rhee's policies encouraged activism, which led to the April Revolution.

Chapter Five describes the explosion of free expression in editorial cartooning in the Second Republic (1960-1961). It also shows how the "myths" of a chaotic society developed, which would later be used to justify Park Chung Hee's military coup. Chapter Six evaluates the aftermath of Park Chung Hee's military takeover and effects on editorial cartoons. I show how censorship laws and policies affected editorial cartooning and led to "self-regulatory groups," such as the Korean Children's Comics Autonomy Society.

Chapter Seven paints Kim Sŏnghwan's reappearance in the *Tonga ilbo* following the return to civilian rule in January 1964. It describes the cartoonist coverage of the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty. This served as the first test of Park Chung Hee's civilian government, democratic commitments, and his tolerance for criticism. The chapter continues by showing the creation of the Press Ethics Commission Act (1964) and protests; the acquisition of the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* by Kia Industries; the creation and institutionalized incorporation of the Korean Comics Ethics Committee; and the effects of corporate consolidation on the cartoon industry. Chapter Eight studies the changes in editorial cartoonist critique between the 1967 presidential election, the 1969 Constitutional Reform, and 1971 presidential election. I show how "Mr. Kobau" illustrated these events and continue to contest authoritarianism and promote democracy despite increasing pressure and constraints upon Kim Sŏnghwan. The dissertation concludes with an epilogue describing events and developments in Kim Sŏnghwan's life and "Mr. Kobau" until 2019, the time of the writing of this dissertation.

From the start of the Yusin period until the democratic reforms prompted the lifting of press regulation laws in 1987, the censorship board often required Kim Sŏnghwan to re-draw "Mr. Kobau" up to four times before granting acceptance. Still, Kim Sŏnghwan managed to slip in critiques through metaphor and suggestion. This caused many to view "Mr. Kobau" as an example of defiance and endurance under pressure. As expressed by Sŏnu Hwi, noted novelist-journalist, during a review of his cartoon collection in 1973, "In today's world of Korean media, which has largely abandoned its critical watchdog role, Kobau is still very much alive and kicking, displaying his almost mysterious flair and wits. Watching Kobau swagger around daily

on his self-appointed mission, I furtively giggle. It may be a laughter of self-consolation, or a smirk of self-reproach, or at times even a cackle of protest."[33]

[33] *Chosŏn ilbo* November 21, 1973 *translation from* "Kobau Kim Sŏnghwan chakp'um chŏnsisil [Permanent Exhibition Room for Kobau Kim Sŏnghwan's Works]," Exhibition pamphlet (Seoul: Kungnip Chungang Tosŏgwan [The National Library of Korea], November 25, 1996), 15.

Chapter 1. REVOLUTIONARY FRACTURES AND BEGINNINGS (1919-1949)

> "I attended Jilin Elementary School. When I entered, the Japanese headmaster asked every person, 'Will Japan win this war?' It was a formality. There was no stigma or stuttering. There was no special meaning. About 100 people gave a straight answer when asked the question, 'Japan will win.' However, I said, 'I will have to check the news first.' Therefore, everyone grew quiet. After they became quiet, the principal, thankfully, took it well. He then said, 'Now I know I have to listen to the news,' and he burst out into laughter followed by everyone else."[34]
>
> -Kim Sŏnghwan

The father of Kim Sŏnghwan, Kim Tongsun, utilized physical weapons in the fight against colonial control. His son would wield metaphorical weapons in the form of editorial cartoons. While Kim Sŏnghwan would inherit his father's passion and desire to fight against authoritarian control, he would not embrace physical attack largely due to the experiences and consequences his father suffered from his independence activities and Kim Sŏnghwan's weak physical constitution. Nonetheless, the idea of heroism, passion for exploring new territory, and resolve to uncover and expose injustice would find their roots in his youthful experiences and the tales told by his father. Therefore, this chapter takes a biographical approach to Kim Sŏnghwan's life until his debut in the cartoon industry in 1949.

Kim Sŏnghwan was born on October 8, 1932 in Kaesŏng, Hwanghae Province, during a transition period of Japanese colonial strategy when the policies of the "Cultural Rule" (*bunka seiji*) that defined the 1920s shifted toward imperial expansion and, later, wartime mobilization. Kim Tongsun was a key leader of the "Assassination Corps" (*Amsaldan*). This group was organized in 1920 under the leadership of Kim Sangok (1890-1923) and attempted physical attacks on colonial institutions and personnel. When a plan to mount a massive attack upon the arrival of a U.S. congressional delegation to Seoul in August 1920 exposed the Assassination

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[34] "Kobau Yŏnggam 'Kim Sŏnghwan hwabaek' 1-pu [Mr. Kobau 'Artist Kim Sŏnghwan" Part 1]," *Han'guk Hyŏndaesa ChŭngŏnTVCha sŏjŏn* (Seoul, September 16, 2012).

Corps, the Japanese authorities arrested Kim Tongsun and imprisoned him for ten-years. After incarceration, Kim Tongsun fled to Manchuria in order to avoid persecution and build financial support for his family.

Though Kim Tongsun did not acquire much wealth in Manchuria, he headed the Tonghwa Prefecture Farming Association (T*onhwahyŏn kwinong chohap*), a farming cooperative that would fall under the Japanese colonial Concordia Association (*Hyŏphwahoe*). Upon liberation, he returned to the peninsula without finances or unique skills, which kept him from acquiring strong connections with influential members of society. When Kim Tongsun sought financial assistance from organizations supporting former independence fighters, he was branded as a "collaborator" because of his work in the Tonghwa Prefecture Farming Association. Due to his lack of high-level connections and the fact that he was captured and imprisoned by the Japanese without accomplishing his task in the movement, he could do little but face scrutiny for his actions.[35] Intense violence fueled by political and social changes would erupt in Korean society under the competing influences of the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Various actors tried to remake the future and "cleanse the past," but these attempts and ideologies often appeared unclear and incompatible. Thus, it intensified an already confusing situation.

[35] While famous, talented people also faced criticism, their wealth and expertise could overcome their prior background and colonial connections, especially in areas considered politically or strategically important. Ch'oe Sŭnghŭi, a Korean artist who melded modern dance techniques with traditional Korean folk dance, is one contrary example of an artist whose popularity and Japanese colonial connections drew heavy criticism after liberation as those within the Korean independence movement labeled her as a collaborator despite Japanese colonial authorities' belief that she acted for the independence movement. Her husband's ties with the Worker's Party of Korea following liberation allowed her to establish a dance school in North Korea until she was purged by the party in 1967. Part of the reason for the harsh criticism could be motivated by gender, since loyalty to the "fatherland" and the status of Korean civilization was often personified in the female form as a type of wife, daughter, or motherly duty ("wife mother, good wife") similar to Neo-Confucian values of governmentality employed to control women's bodies. Hyaeweol Choi, "'Wise Mother, Good Wife': A Transcultural Discursive Construct in Modern Korea," *The Journal of Korean Studies* 14, no. 1 (Fall 2009): 5.

While growing up, Kim Sŏnghwan listened frequently to tales of his father's resistance activities, enraptured by the excitement of these exploits and the passion he felt for his homeland. These tales and the turn in fortune his family experienced following liberation would profoundly impact Kim Sŏnghwan's life and outlook on the world when he saw his father's resistance activities disregarded because of his association with the Tonghwa Prefecture Farming Association. He experienced poverty, bullying, and rejection, but this did not produce the sense of disfranchisement and powerlessness experienced by many who live in less fortunate circumstances. Overall, these experiences molded a sense of justice within Kim Sŏnghwan, a mistrust for government-connected organizations, and a keen skepticism toward rumors and reputations that can easily turn when confronted with new sources of power.

1.1 *A Ticking Timebomb: The Assassination Corps*

Kim Tongsun, Kim Sŏnghwan's father, was born in 1894 in Kaesŏng. He came of age during a turning point in Korean national and political consciousness. His early childhood witnessed the transformation of Korea from an independent nation into a Japanese colony through the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), Japan-Korea Protectorate Treaty of 1905, and the Annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910. In response to the Protectorate Treaty and Annexation, former members of the Korean military and civilians fashioned many Righteous Armies (*Ŭibyŏng*) units, which utilized guerrilla-tactic operations to drive out the Japanese, with heavy concentration in the provinces of Chŏlla, Kyŏngsang, Kangwŏn, Kyŏnggi, and Hwanghae.[36] Quickly escalating, these clashes reached their peak in 1908. Between 1909 and 1910, large-scale suppression tactics by the Japanese eradicated much of the Righteous Armies and pushed

[36] Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun*, 146.

most of their operations to the northern mountainous areas and the border of Manchuria.[37] Over the next four years, the scale of attacks reduced, so by 1913, the Japanese effectively wiped out much of the resistance and forced soldiers to move to Manchuria or the Russian Maritime Province.[38] Many of those who survived fled the peninsula or went underground. They would then make up the foundation or inspire "ŭiyŏl" organizations, like the Jilin Military Command (*Jilin Kunjŏnsŏ*), which would form the basis for the development of Kim Tongsun's group, the Assassination Corps (*Amsaldan*).[39]

Kim Tongsun grew up within the atmosphere of intimidation and violence of Japanese colonial rule. As a youth, he attended a local school as part of the expanding colonial public school system, which was built upon the Korean tradition of private schools and recent developments in the Korean state-sponsored and missionary schools.[40] As mandated by the Korean Education Ordinance (*Chōsen Kyoikurei*) in 1911, Kim Tongsun continued four years of middle school, where he cultivated friendships with some of the latter members of the Assassination Corps.[41] While little is known about his experiences under the Japanese education

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[37] Cumings, 146. Japanese estimate the guerrilla army consisted of 69,832 in 1908 with close to 1,500 skirmishes with Japanese troops. The number would drop to 25,000 in 1909 and then under 2,000 in 1910 when many fled to Manchuria.

[38] Han'guk Tongnip Undongsa Yŏn'guso, ed., *The History of the Korean Independence Movement* (Cheonan City, Korea: The Independence Hall of Korea, Institute of Korean Independence Movement Studies, 2014), 95. In 1910, there were 1,982 people fighting in 120 battles. By 1911, the numbers fell to 41 battles with 271 people, and then 23 people in five battles in 1912. By 1913, there were only 40 people in three battles. From this point, the Righteous Army members who remained in Korea consisted primarily of small units of guerilla soldiers ranging from seven to ten people.

[39] As part of *ŭiyŏl* organizations, *Amsaldan* took on a philosophy similar to *Ŭiyŏltan* movements, which advocated destruction and violent punishment of Japanese officials and collaborators through assassination and surprise tactics. Though the *Ŭiyŏltan* was one of the most important amongst the *ŭiyŏl* movements, it was not the only organization following these tactics. At this time, *Amsaldan* was not an official *Ŭiyŏltan* organization, and fell under the Jilin Military Command. Kim Sangok, after the dissolution of *Amsaldan*, would form connections with *Ŭiyŏltan* following his flight to China. Yi Chŏngŭn, *Kim Sangok p'yŏngjŏn: sonyŏn nodongja esŏ pulmyŏl ŭi tongnip undongga ro [The Critical Biography of Kim Sangok: From a Young Working-class Laborer to Immortal Independence Fighter]* (Seoul: Minsogwŏn, 2014), 319, 348–49.

[40] I was unable to identify the name of the school he attended, though it is known that he befriended many of his future colleagues at the local public school.

[41] Hong Yung Lee, Yong-ch'ul Ha, and Clark W. Sorensen, eds., *Colonial Rule and Social Change in Korea, 1910-1945* (Seattle: Center for Korea Studies Publication, University of Washington Press, 2013), 115.

system, it is likely that the daily exposure to the privileging of Japanese culture and language in Japan's attempt to create loyal and productive subjects might have colored some of his early impressions of Japanese rule. The inequalities within the system that provided limited opportunities for Koreans following graduation may have sparked a sense of resentment against Japan and desire to resist. This desire seemed to have translated into a passion for military exercises and a yearning to join the army, as described in a trial interview transcript with his middle school friend, Yun Ikchung, which indicated early proclivity for military action and potential for violence.[42] After a skirmish with the Japanese police in December 1918, Kim Tongsun fled to Manchuria. Though the warrant would be thrown out of court three months later, the fear of arrest prompted his flight. It is there he would hear of the March 1st Movement, and he would join the Jilin Military Government (*Jilin Kunjŏngbu*) by the end of the month.[43]

The March 1st Movement emerged out of the "Wilsonian Moment" of hope in liberation as well as a reaction to the repressive and often violent measured taken by the Japanese since annexation to keep their colony in line. Woodrow Wilson's doctrine of the self-determination of nations provided the impetus for a wide-scale Korean nationalist movement that began with the reading of the Declaration of Independence on March 1, 1919 by thirty-three representatives of the Korean people, primarily from Ch'ŏndogyo, Christian, and Buddhist organizations.[44] The

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[42] Kim Yŏngpŏm, "1920-yŏn Sŏul 'amsaltan' ŭi kyŏlsŏng kwa ŭiyŏl t'ujaeng kihoek: Miguk ŭiwŏndan naehan kyegi hangil ŭigŏ ŭi sin koch'al [Formation of Ahmsaldan and its Daring Action Project in Seoul, 1920: A Re-examination of Some Anti-Japanese Undertakings on the Occasion of the American Assembly Representatives' Short Visit to Korea]," *Han'guk Minjok Undongsa Yŏn-gu [Journal of Studies on Korean National Movement]* 79 (June 2014): 58. The transcript comes from Kim Tongsun's trial following his arrest in 1920.

[43] Tongnip Undongsa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, *Tongnip undongsa charyojip [Records of Independence Movements]*, vol. 11 (Seoul: Tongnip Yugongja Saŏp Kigŭm Unyong Wiwŏnhoe, 1976), 109. The court records indicate that he joined the Jilin Military Government, which may be the same organization as the Jilin Military Command (Jilin Kunjŏngsŏ). The records indicate that the Jilin Military Government was dissolved in May of 1919 to be reestablished again as a military command in North Kando.

[44] Erez Manela, "The 'Wilsonian Moment' in East Asia: The March First Movement in Global Perspective," *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies* 9, no. 1 (2009): 11–27.

movement continued with protests in Pagoda Park by students trained within the Japanese colonial education system or private schools, where increased literacy and an exposure to democratic literature helped foster a sense of defiance and desire for independence. The protests spread to all segments of the population, throughout the peninsula, and into Manchuria and the Russian Maritime Territory. Yi Mirŭk (1899-1950), author of *The Yalu River Flows* (1946) and a participant in the demonstrations, described the scene at Pagoda Park:

> When I went to the park, the park was already surrounded by policemen. Inside the walls of the park, there were so many people that I couldn't move forward…Suddenly, a dense silence descended, and I heard somebody reading the declaration of independence on the platform in that silence…For a moment, the silence continued and soon endless shouting of "Manse" rent the air. Everybody was shivering with emotion through the air as if there was an explosion and the crowd came out of the park and marched along the street. There were marching with "Manse" shouting like thunder and leaflets flying in all directions.[45]

Between March 1st and April 11th, demonstrations and declarations of independence occurred on average ten times a day, utilizing Japanese-built railroads and Korean marketplaces to spread the movement and exceeding over 2,000 demonstrations with more than two million participants.[46] While the protests were generally non-violent, the Government-General came down harshly upon the protesters, indiscriminately killing Koreans and suppressing hundreds of demonstrations through military force. In reaction, some crowds attacked police stations and institutions of colonial rule, prompting further retaliatory force. While statistics vary significantly between Korea and Japan, reports based on witnesses, including foreign reporters and missionaries, state at least 7,000 people were killed, 45,000 people injured, and almost 50,000 people imprisoned between the periods of March 1 and May 31, 1919.[47]

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[45] Han'guk Tongnip Undongsa Yŏn'guso, *History of Korean Independence*, 124.
[46] Han'guk Tongnip Undongsa Yŏn'guso, 126–27.
[47] Han'guk Tongnip Undongsa Yŏn'guso, 128. According to Pak Ŭnsik's book, *The Bloody History of the Korean Independence Movement [Han'guk tongnip undong chihyŏlsa]*, published in Shanghai, China in 1919, from March 1

In Manchuria, Kim Tongson heard about the March 1st Movement and subsequent suppression by the Japanese authorities. Disappointed by his inability to participate in this call for Korean independence and angered by the violent backlash against the largely peaceful protesters, he formed the conclusion that more direct action would be needed to fight against the Japanese and obtain freedom. Thus, by the end of March, Kim Tongsun joined the Jilin Military Government (*Jilin Kunjŏngbu*) organized under Kim Chwajin, which in May became the Jilin Military Command (*Jilin Kunjŏngsŏ*) in North Kando.[48] Here, Kim Tongsun trained as a military leader until the following year under the guidance of Ch'oe Usong, which followed principles of direct attack and assassination, a method that resurged in popularity following the March 1st Movement.[49] For some activists, the March 1st Movement was perceived as a failure in the usage of peaceful demonstrations in accomplishing freedom, and it was after the movement that principles of direct attack were viewed as a "suitable principle for the construction of a new Korean society, as well as for their country's independence."[50] For some *ŭiyŏl* groups, like the Jilin Military Command, the most urgent task was national liberation, not class struggle or class liberation, and that liberation would come only through direct attack and destruction of "enemy" (Japanese) institutions of colonial power, such as police stations and government offices, as well as the punishment of pro-Japanese collaborators through the usage of bombs and firearms.[51]

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to May 31, 7,509 were killed, 15,961 were injured, and 46,948 were imprisoned. In *The Case of Korea*, published in the United States in 1921 by Chŏng Hankyŏng (Henry Chung), it states that 7,645 were killed, 45,562 were injured, and 49,811 were imprisoned. Japanese government statistics claim 631 were killed, 1,409 injured, and 11,831 were put on trial between March 1 and July 20, 1919.

[48] Tongnip Undongsa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, *Tongnip undongsa charyojip 11*, 11:109.

[49] Kim Yŏngpŏm, "1920-yŏn Sŏul 'amsaltan,'" 58.

[50] Dongyoun Hwang, *Anarchism in Korea: Independence, Transnationalism, and the Question of National Development, 1919-1984*, SUNY Series in Global Modernity (Albany: SUNY Pres, State University of New York Press, 2016), 19.

[51] One of the authors who embodied and prorogated these ideas of direct attack over class struggle was Sin Ch'aeho, who in his "Declaration of a Korean Revolution" (*Chosŏn Hyŏngmyŏng Sŏnŏn*), proclaimed that "during the recent March First movement, exaggerated statements regarding the Peace Conference or the League of Nations had the effect of weakening the determination of the twenty million people to march forward" (Peter H. Lee, ed., *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization*, vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 447.) He would go on to

However, these tactics would only strongly characterize these *ŭiyŏl* groups until 1928, when support for violent action waned and the tight surveillance of Japan shut down most of their operations. While the violent activities associated with *ŭiyŏl* groups would greatly diminish in the late 1920s and early 1930s due in a great part to the crackdowns by the Japanese, the memories and ideas associated with *ŭiyŏl* groups, including the transnational movement of anarchism, would continue in Korea even past the colonial period.[52]

While in Jilin, Kim Tongsun practiced military drills and learned how to use various firearms, preparing himself for assassinations and strategic operations. After finishing his training, the Section Chief ordered Kim Tongsun to start collecting money and weaponry in order to return to Korea where he would recruit more soldiers, gather campaign funds, and train an assassination corps.[53] Once he finished his military training and collected a selection of revolvers, bullets, and over 200,000 won, he was granted the duty of Chief Financial Officer and Section Chief of Diplomatic Relations.[54] In January 1920, as a personal agent of Kim Chwajin's Manchurian military corps, with three pistols in hand, Kim Tongsun headed to Seoul where he continued to gather funds and meet secretly with other members of the underground resistance.[55]

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conclude that "the people are the main force of the revolution. Violence is the only weapon of our revolution. We move to join hands with the people to wage a ceaseless campaign of violence—assassination, destruction, and uprising—in order to smash the rule of the Japanese burglars" (Lee, 2:450.) Though this was an unpublished work written in 1923, after Kim Tongsun's activities, it does embody a prevalent thought and feeling emerging in the early 1920s that direct action was needed over peaceful promises to obtain independence. This declaration would go on to become the "bible" for *ŭiyŏl* activism.

[52] Many of the methods and ideas associated with the *ŭiyŏl* groups would grow into and merge with ideas and groups associated with the anarchist movement in Korea. Though Kim Tongsun would interact with Kim Sangok, who would become involved with people associated with the anarchist movement, there is a lack of evidence on whether Kim Tongsun ever truly followed anarchist principles or was exposed to them at the time of his involvement in the Assassination Corps. Much of the literature on anarchism is relatively new and tends to be skewed toward a primarily nationalist ideology in relation to the Korean independence movement due to the fear of radicalism by South Korea's rightest regimes, according to Hwang Dongyong, who also produced the only English monograph on the intellectual side of the anarchist movement (Hwang, *Anarchism in Korea*, 3.) More research is needed in this area.

[53] Kim Yŏngpŏm, "1920-yŏn Sŏul 'amsaltan,'" 58.

[54] Tongnip Undongsa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, *Tongnip undongsa charyojip 11*, 11:109.

[55] Kim Yŏngpŏm, "1920-yŏn Sŏul 'amsaltan,'" 58; Yi Chŏngŭn, *Kim Sangok p'yŏngjŏn*, 481.

Here, he was introduced to Kim Sangok through a personal acquaintance, Yun Ikchung, where they discussed the usage of the pistols and how they can work together to carry out their insurgency.[56] Kim Tongsun would develop a close friendship with Kim Sangok that would greatly affect his faith and world view.

Kim Sangok (1890-1923) would become memorialized in the archives of heroic revolutionaries for his dramatic assassination attempt of Governor General Saito on January 12, 1923. In popular culture, his death, on January 22, 1923, would inspire books, cartoons, and movies. This includes the 2016 production of *The Age of Shadows* (*Miljŏng*) directed by Kim Jeewoon and starring Song Kangho and Gong Yoo. In 1962, Kim Sangok received posthumously the Presidential Medal for the Order of Merit for National Foundation, and in 1998, a statue and poem was erected in Taehangno Maroni Park to commemorate his sacrifice. While Kim Sangok's sacrifice for the liberation of his country cannot be denied, the fact that his actions, though ultimately unsuccessful, are so widely memorialized is largely due to the dramatic fashion of his death and a "cult of heroic death" often associated with liberation movements.

Death, especially one done at the hands of the enemy, adds to the idea of the "ultimate sacrifice" and further builds the concept of "good" vs. "evil" in relation to the "enemy." However, suffering capture without death or records of extreme hardship, the sacrifice is often diminished even if the actions of the person involved may have done just as much for the promotion of liberation as the one who died. Their life after release would also be open to scrutiny and sometimes suspect depending on the length of the prison sentence and fear of indoctrination.[57]

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[56] Tongnip Undongsa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, *Tongnip undongsa charyojip 11*, 11:109.
[57] Bruce Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War, Volume I: Liberation and the Emergence of Separate Regimes, 1945-1947* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 36.

Kim Tongsun would play an equal role with Kim Sangok in the actions of the Assassination Corps, but he would not receive the same type of honor or memorialization due to his capture despite possibly saving Kim Sangok from a similar fate. Kim Sŏnghwan, though proud of his father and his association with Kim Sangok, would later consider this unequal treatment of heroism as a sign of how some revolutionary sacrifices are unfairly ignored or forgotten, possibly contributing toward his passion to continuously memorialize the April Revolution during the Park Chung Hee era. The story of Kim Tongsun and Kim Sangok will show how both tried to employ ideas of direct attack and assassination, and the difficulties and setbacks they endured. While ultimately unsuccessful, these types of actions would build into ideas popularized by independence figures, such as Sin Ch'aeho (1880-1936), and the anarchist movement as well as build the foundation of Kim Sangok's legacy and Kim Sŏnghwan's concepts of heroism.

After meeting, Kim Tongsun and Kim Sangok struck up a quick friendship and together they decided to form the organization, the "Assassination Corps" (*Amsaldan*). Kim Sangok served as the squad leader and Kim Tongsun became Vice-Captain.[58] As a representative of the Jilin Military Command with connections to these funding sources, Kim Tongsun solved some of the problems plaguing Kim Sangok's original endeavors in revolutionary activity by providing financial support for recruitment and the connections necessary to request additional funds. While there, Kim Tongsun helped train Kim Sangok and other members at Pukhan Mountain in how to use firearms while gathering funds from wealthy Koreans of the former Enlightenment

[58] Kim Yŏngpŏm, "1920-yŏn Sŏul 'amsaltan,'" 61. According to the organization's original records, Kim Tongsun was named as the leader with Kim Sangok as Private Investigator/Department Head, but in reality, Kim Sangok held the leadership position with Kim Tongsun acting as Vice-Captain, weapon's procurer and contact person.

Party, such as Pak Yŏnghyo and Pak Sŭngpin.[59] Over the space of a few months, they recruited ten members and started to make contact with other secret organizations. Wary of Japanese surveillance, they insured that each group had only lateral connections with other members so as to not compromise the whole of the organization if caught.[60]

As an organization, the Assassination Corps spent most of their meetings debating the merits and potential consequences of attacking police stations with bombs, since this could incur collateral damage. They often feared harming civilians or imprisoned independence fighters. After several proposals, including a few that involved just firing warning shots that allowed innocent civilians to escape, Kim Tongsun expressed the belief that Korean independence created a necessary position of martyr sacrifice for those who fought for it. This marked bystanders as heroes for the greater cause.[61] The members concurred, and out of this statement, Kim Sangok, utilizing his former connections with the "Innovation Press," drafted a three-page manifesto and warning concerning the necessity of martyr sacrifice and direct attack against military police stations and pro-Japanese collaborators. These types of discussions show the moral struggle among corps members to prevent collateral damage that their actions might cause, which was absent from Japanese depictions of "terrorist organizations."

While the Assassination Corps prepared for a general attack on several key police stations, news of a U.S. diplomatic mission scheduled tour in August 1920 presented a unique opportunity for the group to expand their objectives through an assassination of Governor General Saito and other high-level pro-Japanese officials. In accordance with their plans, they would carry out the assassination while simultaneously instigating a street war through the

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[59] Kim Tongjin, *1923 Kyŏngsŏng ŭl twihŭndŭn saramdŭl [The People who Shook Kyŏngsŏng in 1923]*, Samsŏng Ŏllon Chaedan ch'ongsŏ (Kyŏnggi-do P'aju-si: Sŏhae Munjip, 2010), 39.
[60] Kim Yŏngpŏm, "1920-yŏn Sŏul 'amsaltan,'" 61.
[61] Tongnip Undongsa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, *Tongnip undongsa charyojip 11*, 11:1048–49.

strategic placement of bombs and weaponry when the officials' arrived at the residential area of Chongno.[62] With the police presumably out in full force, Kim Sangok, who orchestrated the mission, felt that this would ensure a clean attack on Japanese officials that would "send a message to the whole world of our patriotic devotion."[63] As part of this escalated effort, they requested further funds and weaponry from the Provisional Government.

On the evening of August 24, with the arrival of the U.S. mission, thousands of people crowded the streets greeting the delegation with shouts of exuberance and calls for Korean Independence.[64] The diplomats rode in separate cars, rendering them partly indistinguishable, and continued straight to the hotel. No attack occurred upon the delegation. The day before, on August 23, the Japanese police, to preempt an attack, raided the houses of known or suspected anti-Japanese resistance members, including Kim Sangok. While Kim Sangok narrowly escaped to the roof and out of harm's way, several key documents, including plans for the assassination attempt, and two pistols were discovered.[65] This gave the Japanese forewarning to alter their route plans and shield the Japanese officials by placing the U.S. delegation in the front of the procession. Furthermore, the additional bomb and weapons requested from the Provisional Government never arrived, greatly diminishing the feasibility and scope of their attack.[66] Though they still possessed a few bombs and pistols, the purpose of the Assassination Corp's mission was not to spread indiscriminate violence or harm the U.S. delegation but to directly attack Japanese officials. Therefore, the crowds plus a lack of clear targets quickly destroyed their plans. In addition, the demonstrations prompted even greater retaliatory measures from the police

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[62] Kim Tongjin, *1923 Kyŏngsŏng ŭl twihŭndŭn*, 44.
[63] Kim Tongjin, 45.
[64] Kim Yŏngpŏm, "1920-yŏn Sŏul 'amsaltan,'" 82.
[65] Kim Tongjin, *1923 Kyŏngsŏng ŭl twihŭndŭn*, 46.
[66] Kim Tongjin, 45.

as they detained over one hundred protestors, which continued over the next couple of days, spreading to Pyŏngyang and Kaesŏng, and leading to 350 additional arrests.[67] Caught within this situation, the Assassination Corps found little choice but to flee and go underground.

The next few days saw little reduction in Japanese surveillance as Kim Sangok and Kim Tongsun hid low, shifting between friend's houses and secret rendezvous at night to discuss plans to escape to Manchuria. On October 8th, they planned to meet at Chongno, but Japanese informants heard of their plans and instigated a trap. In interviews, Kim Sŏnghwan describes this as a moment of self-sacrifice and heroism for his father. Along the way, Kim Tongsun and Kim Sangok ran into a group of thirty beggars scattered about in strategic locations in the streets near Sŏdaemun. Suspicious of their conspicuous locations, they maneuvered stealthily past the police, down a narrow road with Kim Tongsun leading the way. At the foot of Tŏksu Palace Wall, four beggars sat and moved toward their direction, placing Kim Tongsun in a quandary. If he passed in front, he would be captured; if he failed to do so, Kim Sangok would be trapped and unable to escape. Risking his life, Kim Tongsun rushed in front of the beggars and attacked them. They turned out to be Japanese detectives in disguise. Kim Sangok witnessed the scuffle and fired a warning shot in the opposite direction, forcing the detectives to break rank and allowing Kim Sangok to escape.[68]

Kim Tongsun was captured by the police along with six other members of the Assassination Corps. Fortunately, due to Kim Tongsun's distraction tactic, Kim Sangok escaped to Manchuria at the end of October.[69] The Japanese authorities accused the Assassination Corps of terrorist activities and attacking the U.S. representatives to undermine the Assassination

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[67] Kim Yŏngpŏm, "1920-yŏn Sŏul 'amsaltan,'" 83.
[68] Kim Sŏnghwan, Author's second interview.
[69] Yi Chŏngŭn, *Kim Sangok p'yŏngjŏn*, 482.

Corp's anti-colonial objectives and make them appear hostile toward the U.S. As shown in meeting records, the leaders of the Assassination Corps held little interest in attacking U.S. representatives; their only intention was to strike a blow against key Japanese figures and colonial institutions.[70] Though they failed in their mission, all but one of the twenty-one captured members of the Assassination Corps received prison sentences. On November 15, 1920, Kim Tongsun, the highest-ranking member, receiving the harshest sentence of ten years.[71]

In the grand scheme of the Korean Independence Movement, Kim Tongsun played a minor role. His capture after a failed assassination attempt cut short his revolutionary career and subjected him to ten years of Japanese imprisonment. Nonetheless, his experience illustrates some of the early patterns and difficulties associated with the Korean Independence Movement, primarily lack of funds and heavy surveillance. Furthermore, the personal sacrifice of his freedom to guarantee the escape of his friend, Kim Sangok, who died heroically in a more visible symbolic gesture of Korean defiance in 1923 after a fierce three-hour street battle with the police and soldiers in downtown Seoul, bonded his identity to the independence movement and fostered a sense of martyrdom that he would transfer to his son through stories.

After serving his full term in prison, Kim Tongsun sought out the news of his friend, Kim Sangok, who was shot eleven times and died on January 22, 1923 after an attempted assassination of Governor General Saito (1858-1936).[72] News of his friend's death caused him great sorrow and profoundly affected him, causing him to dedicate his life to his homeland and memory of Kim Sangok, a drive that he would later instill into his son, Kim Sŏnghwan.

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[70] Kim Yŏngpŏm, "1920-yŏn Sŏul 'amsaltan.'"
[71] Kim Yŏngpŏm, 84.
[72] Ch'oe Kyŏngt'an, "Insaeng manhwagyŏng: ch'uŏk ŭi Samch'ŏnp'o sijŏl (154) [The Kaleidoscope of Life: Memories of Samch'ŏnp'o Days. 154]," News, Kyŏngnam maeil, June 16, 2014, http://www.gnmaeil.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=251388.

Following his release from prison, Kim Tongsun desired to renew his relationships with his colleagues, but because of surveillance from Japanese authorities, he could not fully rebuild these contacts or engage in anti-colonial activities.[73] By the time he was released from prison, the Jilin Military Command, the organizational structure of the Assassination Corps, was disbanded. Though prison can often serve as a school for revolutionary ideals, Kim Tongsun appeared to show little interest in the direction of the nationalist movements that started to incorporate communist philosophy, so he chose to quietly return to his home in Kaesŏng where he settled down to raise a family.[74] Upon return, he was not given the pleasant welcome home of a revolutionary, but, instead, Kim Tongsun stayed in his elder brother's and then brother-in-law's house where Kim Sŏnghwan was born.[75]

The desire to continue the legacy of his friend, Kim Sangok, and his nostalgia for his youth experiences in Manchuria still held strong within Kim Tongsun, according to his son, Kim Sŏnghwan. In addition, lack of opportunities to acquire his own land and the tightening of surveillance by the Japanese colonial police in the early 1930s on current and former members of independence movements, which led to additional arrests and torture, worsened his economic circumstances.[76] Rice prices plummeted, which forced many Koreans into greater debt or tenancy, and may have placed further pressure on Kim Tongsun's financial situation. As told by his son, "because of the cramped living circumstances and the rumors of a better life, he went to Manchuria" where the appeal of new land opened by the Japanese government attracted him to

[73] Ch'oe Kyŏngt'an, "Insaeng manhwagyŏng: ch'uŏk ŭi Samch'ŏnp'o sijŏl (155) [The Kaleidoscope of Life: Memories of Samch'ŏnp'o Days. 155]," News, Kyŏngnam maeil, June 17, 2014, http://news400.ndsoftnews.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=251493.
[74] Ch'oe Kyŏngt'an, "Insaeng manhwagyŏng (154)."
[75] Han Yŏngju, "Han'guk manhwasa kusul ch'aerok yŏn'gu: 5) Kim Sŏnghwan [Korean Cartoon Oral History Record: 5) Kim Sŏnghwan]," Han'guk manhwasa kusul ch'aerok yŏn'gu (Puch'ŏn Manhwa Chŏngbo Sent'ŏ, 2009), 3.
[76] Hwang, *Anarchism in Korea*, 110.

escape Korea and the burden of prolonged surveillance.[77] "In Manchuria, because the land was open, there was lots of wilderness. Many pioneers went there; and my father told me there was a lot of land to plant there, and he could follow the Korean farmers."[78] Therefore, Kim Tongsun gathered his family and crossed the Yalu River into Manchuria, evading the secret police by using forged documents that listed him as a doctor.[79]

1.2 *Witness to the Forgotten Empire: Kim Sŏnghwan's Move to Manchuria*

The story of Kim Sŏnghwan's family and early experiences in Manchuria constitute one of the "forgotten" histories of South Korea. Michael Kim wrote on this in "The Lost Memories of Empire," where he notes that most official histories of South Korea portray the region as a site of resistance against Japanese imperialism.[80] The move also presented opportunities for renewal that was cultivated by a fantastical imagining of Manchuria as Korea's El Dorado of wealth, prosperity and freedom. Refined by Japan's propaganda machine, this dream enticed Korean migration and relieved the stress of famine upon the peninsula. Furthermore, it developed Japanese industrial and agricultural production in Manchuria.[81]

Kim Sŏnghwan's father's early revolutionary activity classified him under the standard narrative of resistance. Kim Tongsun's shift from direct confrontation with Japan to creating a farming collective in southern Manchuria under Japanese protection placed him in an ambiguous

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[77] Han Yŏngju, "Han'guk manhwasa kusul ch'aerok," 3–4.
[78] Han Yŏngju, 4.
[79] Ch'oe Kyŏngt'an, "Insaeng manhwagyŏng (155)."
[80] Michael Kim, "The Lost Memories of Empire and the Korean Return from Manchuria, 1945-1950: Conceptualizing Manchuria in Modern Korean History," *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 23, no. 2 (December 2010): 199.
[81] Sukjung Han, "Flow and Stoppage of Early Globalization in East Asia: Through the Lens of Pusan in the 1930s," in *Globalization, Localization, and Japanese Studies in the Asia-Pacific Region : International Symposium [Ajia Taiheiyō Chiiki Ni Okeru Gurōbarizeishon, Rōkarizeishon to Nihon Bunka]*, vol. 3 (Kyoto, Japan: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2010), 146–47.

categorization of perceived collaboration. It would bar him from protections and support following liberation, fostering feelings of injustice. The lessons learned from the consequences in joining an organization with connections contrary to one's personal belief—even if not completely understood at the time of joining—and could be later used against one if power dynamics shifted was not lost to Kim Sŏnghwan. Though Kim Sŏnghwan would later create and join autonomy organizations and friendship circles for the purpose of encouraging art production and personal networks, he would always remain skeptical of those with government connections because of their potential ability to stifle his creativity or discolor his reputation. This wariness would be further amplified after his experiences during the Korean War.

Kim Tongsun's story also calls into question the meaning of the word "collaborator" and its connection with prosperity. In dealing with wartime France, Western historians created a useful distinction by splitting collaborator into two terms: *collaboration* and *collaborationism.* While collaborationism requires an ideological identification and commitment to the ruling regime, in this story's case, Japan, collaboration is "working with the enemy for a variety of reasons, whether out of self-interest or for sheer survival, but not out of ideological commitment to the enemy's cause."[82] For Korea, which lived under Japanese rule for 35 years, those who did not flee the peninsula or Japanese territory generally fell into some level of collaboration, if only for necessity. By the end of the colonial period, as years of propaganda and assimilation started to take effect, even some nationalist Koreans who first worked for Korean independence started to lose their resistance and identify with Japanese beliefs and promises.[83] Others saw the illusory

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[82] David P Barrett and Larry N. Shyu, eds., *Chinese Collaboration with Japan, 1932-1945: The Limits of Accommodation* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 8.

[83] Two often cited examples of independence leaders who started penning "pro-Japanese" works in the 1930s are the historian, Ch'oe Namsŏn (1890-1957), and writer, Yi Kwangsu (1892-1950). For works on Japanese assimilation practices, see: E. Taylor Atkins, *Primitive Selves: Koreana in the Japanese Colonial Gaze, 1910-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Mark Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea, 1910-1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009).

nature of those beliefs when faced with the inequalities of reality and harbored bitterness that fostered pockets of resistance, often subtle.[84] Whether the resistance was simply a re-writing of memories or the actual manifestation of collective belief in a shared national identity with Japan is difficult to gauge and generally individually determined.

Individuals who fall under the category of collaborationism are easier to identify, though if their motivations may not be simplistically determined. Even the language of the colonizers serves as the framework by which those who contested colonial rule functioned, a pattern that generally continues past colonization as nations, like Korea, experience further neo-colonial influences.[85] Still, as expressed by Timothy Brook, "every culture tags collaboration as moral failure."[86] While many Koreans still cling to the idea of a fully-repressive Japan and fully-resistant Korea, the realities are less clear, as shown in numerous studies, and the interactions between Koreans and Japanese did not always exist as unfriendly, exploitive contacts.[87]

[84] Kyu Hyun Kim, "Reflections on the Problems of Colonial Modernity and 'Collaboration' in Modern Korean History," *Journal of International and Area Studies* 11, no. 3 (2004): 107; Younghan Cho, "Colonial Modernity Matters?," *Cultural Studies* 26, no. 5 (July 2012): 647–50.
[85] Gi-Wook Shin, *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy*, Studies of the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), 55.
[86] Timothy Brook, *Collaboration: Japanese Agents and Local Elites in Wartime China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 4.
[87] This discussion arose from the ongoing debate on "Colonial Modernity," which first developed from economic studies positing the noting of "exploitation through development," by An Pyŏng-jik and Nakamura Satoshi in their studies with the Association for the Study of Economic History of Modern Korea, and then moved onto cultural reproduction through authors such as Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson. Kim, "Reflections on Colonial Modernity and 'Collaboration.'" "Colonial Modernity" pushes against the dichotomy of repression and resistance to examine the frameworks of colonialism in more nuanced tones that showcase different winners and losers and means by which modernity and national identity can develop through negotiation, contestation, and redefinition even under repressive regimes. Important early works include: Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Edson Robinson, eds., *Colonial Modernity in Korea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 1999); Tani E Barlow, ed., *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997); Gi-Wook Shin, *Peasant Protest & Social Change in Colonial Korea*, Korean Studies of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996); Carter J. Eckert, *Offspring of Empire: The Koch'ang Kims and the Colonial Origins of Korean Capitalism, 1876-1945*, Korean Studies of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991); Andre Schmid, "Colonialism and the 'Korea Problem' in the Historiography of Modern Japan: A Review Article," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 4 (November 2000): 951–76; Andre Schmid, *Korea Between Empires, 1895-1919* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

Nonetheless, this narrative holds great power in Korean consciousness, especially in the post-war period, when the two Koreas took divergent positions on the punishment and treatment of collaborators. Authorities in North Korea took a harder and more violent position than those in South Korean accused of collaboration. In South Korea, the stigma of real or perceived collaboration persisted and destroyed some lives, even though others accused of collaboration found positions of power in the new government and businesses. Kim Tongsun fell under this stigma, and his story shows the complexities and possibilities for mischaracterizations that can accompany this term "collaboration."

In 1938, when Kim Sŏnghwan was six years old, Kim Tongsun settled in Tonhwa Village in Jilin Province of Southern Manchuria. His initial settlement was not easy, but he managed to secure land within a flat, arable area, and in cooperation with other Koreans, cleared the land and started farming. Kim Tongsun moved to Manchuria in the hopes of renewing old contacts and finding new opportunities lost to him due to his imprisonment for independence activity; instead, he faced an ongoing decision experienced by many Koreans on whether to take part in one of the Japanese sponsored programs. The choice to participate in the Japanese-backed scheme would later haunt Kim Tongsun and cast a shadow upon his role as an independence fighter.

To expand Japanese territory and influence, the Japanese government actively encouraged Korean settlement within Manchuria as part of a steppingstone of economic and territorial expansion into China. In 1884, the Qing government opened up Manchuria for migration, which previously banned non-Manchu land ownership due to its protected status as the birthplace of the Qing empire.[88] The shortage of labor and readily available land bolstered by the private property system initially attracted many Northern Chinese and Korean farmers. The

[88] Hyun Ok Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed: Empire, Social Life, and the Origins of the North Korean Revolution in Manchuria* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 17.

land was gradually privatized and sold by local officials as a means of increasing government and personal income.[89] However, until the establishment of Manchukuo in 1932, laws prevented non-naturalized Koreans from owning land, restricting them to short-term tenancy and cheap agricultural labor.[90] These laws further expanded to block Koreans from naturalization, stemming from their status after 1910 as Japanese subjects and disagreements over the 1915 Treaty on South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia.[91] Following the 1915 Treaty, Japanese increased territorial and economic expansion, recruiting more Korean and Japanese migrants, which sparked a nationalistic backlash within the territories and allowed the Japanese government to expand their military forces on the guise of protecting Koreans and their assets.[92]

The tensions between Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans culminated in race riots, of which the most well-known is the Manbosan Incident of 1931 near Changchun City of Jilin Province, where Japan subleased land from Chinese landowners to Korean tenants through Chinese brokers without formal approval from Chinese officials.[93] When Korean tenants chose to dig a canal across leased and unleased land, Chinese landowners protested in fear that the canal would cause flooding. Chinese authorities arrested several Koreans and Chinese farmers who armed themselves to evict Koreans.[94] Misinformation and exaggeration of the Korean casualties caused Koreans in Korea to call upon Japan to protect the migrants, which resulted in China and Japan sending separate police forces and spreading rumors of Chinese and Korean peasant massacres.

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[89] Park, 17.
[90] Park, 101. Koreans could not obtain naturalization in Manchuria though this restriction did not apply to other Chinese territories. Japan hotly debated the subject of Korean naturalization throughout the 1920s. In the November 1923 debates hosted by the Government General of Korea, the consul general of Kando, the hotbed of Korean anti-colonial activities, opposed naturalization of Koreans due to fears that it would shelter anti-Japanese activity and hamper pacification. However, the consul general of Fengtian, which held the largest population of Koreans and considered the base of Japanese expansion into Manchuria, favored naturalization (Ibid., 79-80).
[91] Park, 86.
[92] Park, 73.
[93] Park, 94.
[94] Park, 94.

As described in Park Hyun Ok's *Two Dreams in One Bed*, this incident illustrated the "antagonism between the Koreans and Chinese that originated in conflicts between Japan and China."[95]

Shortly afterwards, the Mukden Incident on September 18, 1931, when members of the Imperial Japanese Kwantung Army orchestrated an explosion near Japan's South Manchuria Railway, led to the invasion of Manchuria and the creation of Manchukuo six months later. It further escalated anti-Japanese sentiment, which resulted in increased attacks upon Koreans and caused them to call upon the Japanese and form protection organizations such as the "Committee on the Problem of Korean Compatriots in Manchuria" (*Manju tongp'o munje hyŏbŭihoe*), which formed within Korea to investigate the situation, recommend ways to resolve it to the Government General in Korea, and mobilize various Japanese administrative bodies to provide emergency relief.[96] In addition to these protection groups, the riots prompted the Japanese authorities to create agrarian cooperatives in order to reduce the likelihood of them joining anti-Japanese forces, particularly Korean and Chinese communists.[97] The Japanese-sponsored cooperatives might have reduced the appeal to anti-colonial forces by cushioning some of the deleterious effects of the riots and providing a space for coalition, but it did not erase the tensions between Chinese and Korean farmers.

However, according to Park Hyunok, these collectives securely established Korean tenants within the colonial system of rice cultivation that promoted Korean and Japanese agricultural development and pushed Chinese peasants toward industrial production by restricting Chinese migration and creating loan programs that promoted independent land

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[95] Park, 95.
[96] Park, 128.
[97] Park, 128. This is not the only reason for creation of agrarian cooperatives but preventing communist insurgency was the key reason.

cultivation privileging newly arrived Koreans and Japanese.[98] Nonetheless, though Koreans' status as Japanese subjects allowed them to benefit from many of the programs favoring Japanese citizens, Koreans still received less land holdings or loans, which generally were at higher interest rates and with less favorable terms than Japanese tenants.[99] Koreans also held dual nationality (*kukchŏk*) in Manchukuo and Korea, which granted Koreans protected status within the territory of Manchuria, but socially placed them "in between" the Chinese and Japanese populations. Despite this classification, Korean nationals generally did not enjoy more privileged status because of their dual nationality. Instead, it shows the discordance between Korean membership in both states, which created discrimination on both sides.

As a late arrival, Kim Tongsun most likely benefitted from the lands and loans given by the Manchurian-Korea Development Company, which displaced many original Korean and Chinese settlers in favor of new immigrants from 1937 to 1941.[100] Since Kim Tongsun arrived in 1938 under forged papers, he may have continued this identity and possibly faked a family register in Korea, which would open up the opportunity to purchase land without complications arising because of his former incarceration for anti-Japanese activities.[101] In early 1935, Japan

[98] Park, 154–56.
[99] Park, 158–59. For example, initial Japanese immigrants were only required to pay half of the price for their land while Koreans needed to pay the full loan price. Koreans received about one-third the amount loaned to Japanese and the interest rates could be as high as twice the amount charged to Japanese.
[100] I could not locate records on whether Kim Tongsun was given lands or loans by the Manchurian-Korean Development Company. However, based on interviews with Kim Sŏnghwan, and the rumors that circulated when Kim Tongsun returned to Korea regarding the Japanese connections to his land and lost fortune, it is possible that he benefited in some form from the policies of the development company.
[101] The forged papers that he may have used to obtain land are based solely on references to how Kim Tongsun smuggled his family into Manchurian territory, as told in interviews with his son, Kim Sŏnghwan. Since Kim Tongsun utilized a false name to enter Manchuria, he likely either continued to use this false identity to acquire land either through the Manchurian-Korea Development Company or utilized some of his former associations with the Jilin Military Command. As a former prisoner who engaged in anti-Japanese activities, he may not have qualified for land in his own right or may have felt that he would suffer a similar fate of heavy surveillance by Japanese authorities if he maintained his identity. Therefore, it is possible that even if there are records still existing, it may be under a falsified name so information could be difficult to verify. Since Kim Sŏnghwan was just a child at this time, he does not have a clear recollection of events or how his family acquired land. Also, since he generally considers this association with Japan's colonial enterprises in Manchuria to be a misrepresented piece of his father's past, he

eliminated the extraterritoriality of the administration in Manchuria, which allowed Manchukuo to regulate all property contracts and legal disputes involving "Japanese," which included Korean citizens. Koreans were then expected to enroll in the Government General of Korea's family register (*hojŏk*), which marked them as separate from Manchukuo citizens. Despite being categorized as "Japanese," Korean's dual nationality in both Manchukuo and the family register system in Korea only partially integrated Koreans in the "Japanese" category, but it did manage to distinguish Koreans from *Manin* category, which included Han Chinese, Manchus, and Mongols.[102] Membership in the family register was required to lease land, and Koreans needed to submit their family register in order to record contracts with the Japanese consulate. Since second-and-third generation Manchurian Koreans were often not able to apply for the family register because they lacked a family register in Korea and *Manin* were also shut out from this privileged category for obtaining land loans, this caused resentment and tensions between migrants and natives.[103] In addition, those who did not register were vulnerable to abuses by the administrators, police, and military. Even if tenants acquired land by means unassociated with the Japanese government, a perception that it could have come from Japanese connections could still heightened resentment and tensions in the local inhabitants toward new migrants, like Kim Tongsun.[104]

These political tensions compelled many Koreans—both newly arrived and former inhabitants, since the distinction was not always clear to most Chinese—to either turn toward the Japanese or form organizations as a means of protection, often both. One example is the

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may have resisted researching and uncovering additional information. Therefore, these details are speculative and will need further research in order to elaborate further.

[102] Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 137.

[103] Park, 138.

[104] Park, 190.

notorious Concordia Association (*Hyŏphwahoe*), which integrated Japanese and Korean representatives as a means of promoting the official ideology of the Manchukuo state. Characterized under the "harmony of the five races" (*Ojok hyŏphwa*), these organizations presented an idealized image of an united Asian front.[105] In order to address the abuses that occurred due to the enrollment in the Korean family register system, Korean representatives of the Concordia Association negotiated with the Government General of Korea and Japanese consulates to lighten the application procedures and fees.[106] They also requested the enlistment of all people into the Manchukuo state as citizens in order to end discrimination and tensions by equalizing status between nationals.[107] While these requests ended in vain, the Concordia Association continued to press its cause by promoting the inclusion of Koreans into the Manchukuo army and integration of cooperatives across ethnic lines.

There is some debate in national historiographies published in China and Korea on the actual benefits that Koreans received in participating in these cooperatives with some claiming conditions that were "not much different from that of slavery" that fueled and "deepened the familiar feudal exploitation in the form of rent, unpaid labor, usury, and taxes by landlords and their benefactor, the colonial power."[108] The usury practices and the practice of distributing land loans by development companies at a much higher rate than prices paid to original owners or Japanese settlers and the purchasing crops at low prices from Mutual Aid Association (*Nongmugye*) to sell at higher prices at the market, according to Pak Ch'angwuk, an acclaimed historian on the history of the Korean Chinese community, made most peasants in cooperatives

[105] Jeehyun Choi, "Writing Manchukuo: Peripheral Realism and Awareness in Kang Kyŏngae's Salt," *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Cultural Review* 28 (2018): 53.
[106] Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 138.
[107] Park, 138.
[108] Park, 165.

not much different than tenants of the development companies.[109] Most Koreans, like Kim Tongusn, arrived in Manchuria with almost nothing and needed to borrow or purchase everything—from their initial household and farming implements to food and seeds—further increasing their initial indebtedness. Nonetheless, the utopian vision and belief in private property ownership that drove migration and cooperation with aid organizations and cooperatives generally transcended the nationalist imperatives of anti-colonial struggle as seen in the joint participation in by some leaders in the Mutual Aid Association, who also used homes to plan anti-Japanese activities and hide communist guerillas.[110]

Kim Tongsun formed the Tonhwa Prefecture Farming Association (*Tonhwahyŏn kwinongjohap*) in Jilin providence sometime in the late 1930s or early 1940s, where he worked as a representative of the farming community.[111] The organization provided stabilization, reducing native Chinese resistance, which allowed his family to eke out a living as farmers.[112] Though Kim Tongsun originally formed the Tonhwa Prefecture Farming Association in order to protect Korean farmers, he was later pressured into integrating it within the Concordia Association of Manchukuo.[113] While not a prosperous existence, those under the umbrella of Tonhwa Prefecture Farming Association lived relatively comfortably during much of the war. Kim Sŏnghwan continued his schooling at Tonhwa Regional Elementary School under Japanese educators, and Kim Tongsun was able to hold onto his small plot of land.

The issue of collaboration and the co-opting of various nationalist economic, cultural, and intellectual leaders, who chose to work within the colonial system, constitutes a major point of

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[109] Park, 166.
[110] Park, 171.
[111] Chang Sangyong, *Na nŭn p'en igo p'en i kot nada: Han'guk manhwagadŭl ŭi kamdongjŏgin insaeng iyagi [I am the Pen and the Pen is none other than Me: The Touching Life Stories of Korean Cartoonists]* (Seoul: K'ŭrimsŭn, 2008), 246.
[112] Ch'oe Kyŏngt'an, "Insaeng manhwagyŏng (155)."
[113] Chang Sangyong, *Na nŭn p'en igo p'en i kot nada*, 246.

contention within contemporary South Korea. It calls to question the character and nature of collaboration and what defines a national subjectivity. As mentioned earlier, the word "collaborator" (*ch'inilp'a*) contains heavy social and political implications that mask the realities of the time.[114] In the case of Kim Tongsun, his classification as "collaborator" had much to do with perception of the wealth received as the result of his association with the Concordia Association and the suspicion Koreans in the South felt toward those in the North who repatriated following liberation.

1.3 *Dreams Awakened, Dreams Shattered: Post-Liberation Korea*

On August 15, 1945, Japan surrendered to the Allied powers, relinquishing the governance of their territories. Local Chinese and Korean leaders quickly tried to establish control and re-create independent nation-states, vying for power and sometimes producing violent clashes with former leaders and citizens whose pro-Japanese credentials now delegitimized their basis of authority. Koreans living within Manchuria suddenly found themselves facing a crisis of identity and property ownership, since their loans were primarily

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[114] The term *ch'inilp'a* came into usage at the end of the Chosŏn Dynasty as a derogatory term referring to those close to Japan or sought alliance with Japan, like the *Ilchinhoe*. The term then grew to include those who were anti-nationalist or collaborators with Japan prior to 1945. In the post-liberation period, the term changed in its implication from "pro-Japanese politicians" to "pro-Japanese collaborators" as the U.S. authorities and Rhee administration tried to decouple the collaborationist association from political leadership positions as many previous pro-Japanese Koreans became strong and perceived as necessary supporters of anti-communism and capitalistic enterprise Youn-Tae Chung, "Refracted Modernity and the Issue of Pro-Japanese Collaborators in Korea," *Korea Journal* 42, no. 3 (Autumn 2002): 18–59. During the majority of Cold War period, criticism of collaborators could be seen as questioning the legitimacy of the regime since this politically taboo subject included leaders such as President Park Chung Hee. Im Chongguk's publication of *Pro-Japanese Literary Theory* (*Ch'inil munhangnon,* 1966) would re-define *ch'inilp'a* as "friendly to Japan," which he connected to the bourgeoise as a social leader who held vested rights at the time. In this term, it distinguishes *ch'inilpa* as being "united to Japanese imperialism" as opposed to "friendly to Japan," which means they like Japanese culture in general or having felt a familiarity with Japanese people. Research on pro-Japanese collaboration would resurge in popularity following democratization when the Institute for Research into Collaborationist Activities started collecting artifacts on Korean collaboration and publishing a series of books starting in 1991 with *Chronicles of Pro-Japanese Collaborators* (*Sillok Ch'inilp'a*). This would later include three volumes of biographical encyclopedias of pro-Japanese collaborators (*Ch'inil inmyŏng sajŏn*) in 2009. Mikyoung Kim, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Memory and Reconciliation in East Asia* (London New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 167.

established by the offices of the Oriental Development Company under the project Program to Create Independent Farmers (*Chajangnong ch'angjŏng*).[115] The terms of these loans extended from ten to twenty years with 30 to 40 percent of the harvest promised to the Japanese loan providers. However, loan repayments were often extended due to necessity. According to Son Ch'unil, few, if any, repaid these loans or owned their plots of land by the time of liberation.[116]

For many, the dream of liberation quickly disintegrated when confronted with the realities. Multiple geo-political forces vied for control of post-liberated Korea and Manchuria. The fluidity of the border between Korea and Manchuria, built upon generations of transnational border crossings and Japanese colonial expansion, suddenly turned into contested territory with internationally delineated borders. About twenty percent of the population of Korea immigrated to areas within the Japanese Empire, but neither Korea nor China assisted in negotiating international treaties or resolutions that addressed the immigration issue or found means to ease their return to Korea.[117] In 1940, there were 1.4 million Koreans living in Manchuria with the majority concentrated in the southern regions. Out of this, around 317,000 repatriated to South Korea following liberation, according to official South Korean records.[118] After hearing of liberation, Kim Tongsun, like many Korean immigrants, fantasized about returning home and enjoying what they envisioned as a land of prosperity and new freedom. However, for many,

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[115] Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 176–80.
[116] Park, 165 and 180.
[117] Park, 234.
[118] Irene B. Taeuber and George W. Barclay, "Korea and Koreans in the Northeast Asian Region," *Population Index* 16, no. 4 (October 1950): 290. The records of those who return to North Korea are unknown though it can be assumed that a larger percentage of the 800,000 Koreans who returned settled in North Korea due to regional ties, ideological allegiances, economic integration, and military cooperation that supported their passage. However, the political changes and food shortages in both North and South Korea might have pushed many of those who initially migrated to the North to press onto the South or cross from South to North. The fluidity of the borders, the difficulties in categorization of Korean citizenry, and the lack of access to North Korean records makes it difficult to track the full extent of migration practices.

these dreams of prosperity and freedom were simply replaced by economic instability in new and continuing systems of control.

Kim Tongsun prepared to return to his hometown, Kaesŏng. As he arranged his business and negotiated the selling of his land, he heard rumors that in northern Korea under Soviet control, those who followed Communist beliefs were confiscating all property, and "people with lots of money were exterminated."[119] According to Kim Sŏnghwan, this shook his father's heart and caused him to doubt the realities of liberation where they stole people's money and killed people for their wealth. Though this was occurring in other parts of northern Korean territory, in the case of Kaesŏng, which technically fell on the southern side of the partition of Kyŏnggi Province as part of the US-USSR agreement following World War II, the rumors were untrue.[120] Rumors circulating about the situation in Seoul appeared more favorable to Kim Tongsun, especially for those with former independence movement connections, who Kim Tongsun thought he could capitalize on in securing a home.[121] Sometime during November 1945, Kim Tongsun sold what could in Manchuria and left for Korea with his family. After staying in Kaesŏng for about a month or two, they moved to Seoul based primarily upon his belief in rumors.[122] Like most Koreans working within cooperative organizations, Kim Tongsun likely did not own his property outright, so he gained little profit his land and his association with the Tonhwa Prefecture Farming Association.

Kim Tongsun believed that because of his prior anti-colonial activities he would easily find fortune following liberation, but circumstances did not live up to expectations. They arrived

[119] Ch'oe Kyŏngt'an, "Insaeng manhwagyŏng (155)."
[120] Kaesŏng remained a highly contested the area up until the end of the Korean War, when it became a part of North Korean territory.
[121] Han Yŏngju, "Han'guk manhwasa kusul ch'aerok," 9.
[122] Han Yŏngju, 9.

in Kaesŏng without enough funds to provide housing or a means to earn a living. This forced the family to separate, relying on the generosity of family and friends. In hopes that Seoul would provide better opportunities, Kim Tongsun stayed with a friend, and his daughter remained with family in Kaesŏng. Kim Sŏnghwan joined his father in Seoul where he resided in a boarding house ran by a friend of his father from his time as an anti-Japanese activist.[123] Kim Sŏnghwan described the living conditions as harsh. Four or five people shared one room, and it contained no kitchen, forcing him to cook meals within the back alley. Here, the landlady would come by every other day, marking him as a dependent and outsider by declaring in a loud voice, "those Kaesŏng people will be our financial ruin!"[124] Though her son felt sorry for his financial situation that made him unable to pay rent, the landlady persistently complained until Kim Sŏnghwan was compelled to leave. The harsh economic circumstances scattered Kim's family about and made them unable to help each other out. For Kim Sŏnghwan, this caused some resentment toward those around him and resulted in "few pleasant memories from that time."[125]

The pleasant memories that Kim Sŏnghwan mainly retained were from his time in school when he got to work on his art. During middle school, his teacher, Pak Kijŏng, entered him into a national art contest. Upon hearing about the contest, his father's friend and Kim's family members started gathering money together for the entrance fee, and after a short while, they found the necessary funds. However, the landlords heard about the money and pressed them for it to pay the rent. In response, Kim Tongsun visited the office of an organization set up to help previous anti-colonial resistance fighters so that he could get money to allow his child to pursue

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[123] Han Yŏngju, 9.
[124] *Manhwa rŭl t'onghae yŏksa rŭl kirok'an sisa manhwaga Kim Sŏnghwan [Editorial Cartoonists that Recorded History through Cartoons, Kim Sŏnghwan]*, Web Video (Seoul: Naver TV, 2013), http://blog.naver.com/PostView.nhn?blogId=bong78&logNo=90185464509&redirect=Dlog&widgetTypeCall=true.
[125] *Manhwa rŭl t'onghae yŏksa, Naver TV.*

a dream. However, when he got there, they said, "You cooperated with the Japanese authorities while you were in Manchuria. Because you made a lot of money, we cannot help you."[126] A strong belief resided in South Korea that those who returned from Manchuria gained great wealth through collaboration with the Japanese empire.[127] This public humiliation caused deep resentment in Kim Sŏnghwan's father. He saw his actions within the *ŭiyŏl* movement and connection to Kim Sangok as connecting him to leading figures of the time such as Kim Ku (1876-1949), who worked with Kim Sangok as he served the Police Minister in the Provisional Government.

Kim Sŏnghwan's family's experience of travel from Manchuria and rejection upon arrival in Korea would embody one of the thematic narratives that would populate many personal accounts and novels. The "coming south" experience became the driving force for several novels and political activity as they criticized the ideologies and regime of North Korea as well as the social disorder and negative aspects of South Korea.[128] These accounts would overlap with those who fled North Korea because of economic, political, or religious persecution. These people turned into some of the firmest supporters of anti-communist ideology. While many of those who lived this experience grew into firm supporters of the Rhee regime when the 38th parallel became fixed, others rejected Rhee's increasingly dictatorial policies, placing their faith, instead, in liberal-democratic institutions as a bulwark against the north.

Kim Tongsun's meeting is only vaguely alluded to in most interviews with Kim Sŏnghwan, but the pain reflected in the de-legitimization of his father's years of personal

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[126] Ch'oe Kyŏngt'an, "Insaeng manhwagyŏng: ch'uŏk ŭi Samch'ŏnp'o sijŏl (156) [The Kaleidoscope of Life: Memories of Samch'ŏnp'o Days. 156]," News, Kyŏngnam maeil, June 18, 2014, http://www.gnmaeil.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=251617.
[127] Cumings, *Origins of the Korean War, Vol. I*, 60–61.
[128] Kim Munsu, "Haebanggi sosŏle nat'anan chŏnhyang mot'ip'ŭwa kŭ nolli [Redirection Motif and its Logic in Novels in the Liberation Period]," *Uri malgŭl* 56 (December 2012): 481–515.

sacrifice affected him greatly. Kim Sŏnghwan saw this as evidence of the injustice that could be inflicted by those in authority. It caused him to question the differences between rumors and reality. As a possible tribute to his father, he would point out these types of contradiction within his editorial cartoons as part of his critique of authoritarianism. He used art to illustrate the unevenness of societal gratitude for activists, who physically fought or paid for their resistance activities with jail sentences and torture during the colonial period and later anti-authoritarian movements. Out of financial necessity, Kim Sŏnghwan withdrew from the contest, unable to pay the fee.

The legacy of associating with Japan and the desire to punish those who profited from their connections to Japan remained strong even if they were not always evenly implemented. Periodic calls to eradicate "Japanese things and ways" (*waesaek*), including food, cultural products, styles, and "spiritual" qualities from the former colonial power became a regular position of the Rhee regime, lasting well into the 1950s. However, the United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMIGIK) preserved and backed many of the Koreans—even some reviled Koreans—who served under Japan's colonial leadership.[129] This failure to punish theses "Japanese-friendly" Koreans poisoned much of Rhee's legacy. Critical intellectuals and activist's resistance grew as they questioned of the superficial nature of South Korea's break with its colonial past. Those feelings would continue to fester like a boil when the new government failed to fully address the issue.

Like Germany, Korea suffered division physically and ideologically between the U.S. and Soviet powers. Unlike U.S. policy in Germany and Japan, U.S. leaders chose not to purge

[129] Charles R. Kim, *Youth for Nation: Culture and Protest in Cold War South Korea*, Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University (Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017), 9. For further discussion on this issue, see Cumings, *Origins of the Korean War, Vol. I*; Bruce Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War, Vol. II: The Roaring of the Cataract, 1947-1950* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990).

those implicated with wartime collaboration out of a desire to maintain a status quo in Korea.[130] Instead, the U.S. preferred a group of exiled nationalists and domestic conservative politicians, who would form the Korean Democratic Party (*Han'guk Minjudang*) in September 1945 and oppose the short-lived People's Republic of Korea (*Chosŏn Inmin Konghwaguk*).[131] The suppression of the people's committees that emerged in the provinces would take up much of the efforts of the first year of the occupation (1945-1946), and collaborators were hired into the government.[132] In order to consolidate his own power in the face of perceived Communist threats, South Korea's leader Syngman Rhee chose not to challenge many of those implicated in war guilt.[133] These former "collaborators" also filled the political and economic positions of power within South Korea, allowing them to maintain their connections with Japanese leaders and businessmen. Still, Rhee was unwilling to consent to the U.S. policy makers' attempt to create a new Japanese "mini-co-prosperity sphere" of economic dominance. Therefore, while he allowed some contacts to remain in order to foster economic growth, he also resisted many U.S. suggestions on structuring an economy tied to Japan, at times by threatening to "march North," which would jeopardize U.S. plans in the region. According to Jung-en Woo, Rhee had "method to his madness," and through this effort, he was able to prevent continuing dependency of Korea to Japan, though some of Park Chung Hee's economic policies ended up re-integrating some of

[130] Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun*, 192.
[131] Cumings, 186. The Korean Democratic Party (*Han'guk Minjudang*) would initially back the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea (*Taehanmin'gung Imshijŏngbu*) and its leadership under Syngman Rhee. However, its association with landed aristocracy with Japanese colonial ties and the closeness to U.S. occupation force kept it from obtaining significant popular support. After failing to secure members in the cabinet following the 1948 presidential elections, it would disband to merge with other groups, including the conservative Democratic Nationalist Party (*Minju Kungmindang*). The conservative leanings of some of the members would block the admittance of left-wing politicians when the Democratic Nationalist Party helped establish the Democratic Party (*Minjudang*), one of the key oppositional blocks to Rhee's Liberal Democratic Party (*Chayudang*) of the 1950s.
[132] Cumings, 192.
[133] For a more in depth discussion on Korea's response to the division and punishment of collaborators see Cumings, *Origins of the Korean War, Vol. I.*

these previous colonial systems.[134] Nonetheless, the realization that many "collaborators" escaped punishment following liberation and succeeded financially and politically while collaborating and supporting the authoritarian regimes, while "resisters" fell into poverty and/or political repression has flamed the fires of indignation among South Korean political activists and repeatedly surfaced in resistance discourse to this day.

Kim Sŏnghwan's family lived the life like many former "resisters," finding few benefits in the new regime. With few finances and connections, Kim Sŏnghwan often faced hardship and was bullied—both inside and outside of school. His weak constitution due to several illnesses also made him especially vulnerable. Kim's memoirs speak of avoiding gangs of delinquent boys on the way home and the physical pain of being beaten in the schoolyard.[135] In one lyrical description, he spoke of an out of body experience:

> The formless and figureless grey matter of the world was reflected in my classmate. Then, this undertone was lifted and the bright lights of the world were engaged in an expansive garden of a desert void, and on the far horizon, I saw a streak of light that saw the infinite boundlessness of the road ahead. On that road far ahead, I could feel a road of limitless sorrow.[136]

In later writings, he used these experiences as metaphors for the hold that the fear of death and abuse can have over someone, forcing them into following those in power. "This was because I was terrified of them. I knew what I would see in the future. I thought I was scared, but later, it seemed as if I had avoided the authorities (government) because of the problem of thought (the fear of it)."[137]

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[134] Meredith Woo-Cumings, *Race to the Swift: State and Finance in Korean Industrialization*, Studies of the East Asian Institute (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).
[135] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Aedŭbŏllun ŭi miso: Kobau sup'iljip [The Smile of an Ad-Balloon: A Collection of Essays by Mr. Kobau]* (Seoul: Posŏngsa, 1962), 71.
[136] Kim Sŏnghwan, 92–93.
[137] Kim Sŏnghwan, 93.

Those who lived during the post-liberation period experienced or witnessed numerous acts of violence. Gangs, thieves, and vigilante-type justice, generally instigated by rightist groups, took hold in the streets. Where law enforcement existed, it was generally brutal. The Taegu Uprising of October 1946, the Cheju Uprising of April 1948, and the Yŏsu-Sunchŏn Rebellions of October 1948 brought bloody repression. Worker strikes prevailed for a while, especially in areas where "pro-Japanese" Korean owners retained control. Between August 1945 and March 1947, at least 2,388 worker's labor disputes and strikes occurred involving around 600,000 people.[138] These protests and strikes against the partition of the country and U.S. occupation polices, like the General Strike of February 7, 1948 produced groups of "strikebreakers" who would clash with these protestors and often join with police and the military, leaving injury and death in their wake. Youth gangs often took on the role of "strikebreakers" or attacked leftist organizations. These types of incidents created a deep sense of political consciousness in Kim Sŏnghwan. Though still a teenager, he witnessed rightist gangs attacking businesses and people in the streets, and he read about some of the bloody aftermaths in the newspaper. His experience being bullied made him sympathize with those who faced similar threats by the government or private enforcers. He witnessed and internalized the fears of violence. Because of his father's stories of fighting injustice, he understood the stakes, and because of his experience in bullying, he understood the consequences.

Kim Sŏnghwan's sense of political consciousness developed early and expressed itself in some of his drawings. While attending middle school, he was selected to enter another nationwide art exhibition for middle school students. The entries were all landscapes, still-life's, watercolors, and oil paintings that tended to be very formal and not in the style that he enjoyed.

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[138] George N. Katsiaficas, *Asia's Unknown Uprisings. Volume 1: South Korean Social Movements in the 20th Century* (Oakland, Calif: PM Press, 2012), 70.

"I wanted to draw something in my own way."[139] Rather than a "safe" subject, Kim Sŏnghwan sketched about sixty war drawings of soldiers armed by the U.S., fighting and covered in blood. His home teacher praised the drawings, but the other teachers expressed various divergent opinions. They kept asking questions about the themes. "From which army is the soldier, who is armed by the U.S., and who is it they are fighting?"[140] The teachers further pointed out "there was a National Defense Guard, but no soldiers per se, who would wear helmets and were armed with weapons."[141] They picked apart the works' themes by decrying inaccuracy. So, despite the quality of the sketches and desire to showcase a different type of theme, Kim Sŏnghwan entered only landscapes to the national exhibition and attached the war drawings to the school room wall. Upon reflection, he viewed these drawings as prophetic because "four years later, the Korean War broke out. Our nation was armed by the U.S. forces."[142] But, rather than prophetic, it showed a keen awareness of the geo-political situation as well as the fears surrounding interpretations of the alliances. This geo-political awareness would be a common occurrence in Kim Sŏnghwan's future editorial cartoons. It can also be seen in the first political cartoons produced in Korea with similar attempts by authorities to question and stifle their critique.

1.4 *Historical Overview of Korean Political Cartoons until 1950*

Robert Philippe's study of the political usage of imagery states: "Graphic art flourishes at periods of crisis in the established order and of questioning of the 'rules of the game.'"[143] Korea would follow a similar pattern in the emergence of the editorial comic while melding influences

[139] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Aedŭbŏllun ŭi miso*, 88–89.
[140] Kim Sŏnghwan, 89.
[141] Kim Sŏnghwan, 89.
[142] Kim Sŏnghwan, 89.
[143] Robert Philippe, *Political Graphics: Art as a Weapon* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1982), 14.

from both the Western (primarily U.S.) and Japanese graphic art. In the West, the political cartoon began as a significant medium of commentary in the 18th century through graphic caricature in popular magazines and newspapers. The Age of Enlightenment's cultivation of the public sphere and questioning of established thought that inspired state reform and revolution allowed for political satire to flourish and spread. This trend is also shown in the first American political cartoon, attributed to Benjamin Franklin in 1754, which depicts a snake severed into several parts representing the colonies above the caption, "Join or Die."[144] While initially drawn for the purpose of expressing unity in the face of the French and Indian War, when reprinted eleven years later, it came to represent colonist solidarity against Britain in the American Revolutionary War.

In Japan, caricature produced for commoner audiences emerged within the late Genroku Period (1680-1730), an age characterized by a blossoming of popular culture and satire. With the propagation of woodblock technology, Buddhist-inspired picture stories started to appear in Otsu, a town near Kyoto. These prayer devotionals grew in popularity and soon developed into secular, satirical, and sometimes scandalous themes as travel souvenirs.[145] As a means of evading prosecution by the Tokugawa government, Christians would sometimes purchase the Buddhist versions of these pictures to serve as proof they were not heretics.[146] This artistic tradition inspired *toba-e* pictures, which consisted of comical caricatures from everyday life. *Toba-e* started in Osaka in the late Hoei period (1704-1711) and then spread to Kyoto, Nagoya, and Edo where it would inspire works by famous artists such as Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849), who

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[144] Stephen Hess and Milton Kaplan, *The Ungentlemanly Art: A History of American Political Cartoons* (New York: Macmillan, 1975), 52.
[145] Mark Wheeler Macwilliams, ed., *Japanese Visual Culture: Explorations in the World of Manga and Anime* (Armonk, N.Y: M.E. Sharpe, 2008), 27–28.
[146] Macwilliams, 28.

utilized the style by drawing people with exaggerated arms and limbs to convey motion.[147] In his fifteen-volume *Hokusai manga*, Hokusai lampooned samurai and aristocrats while criticizing the social conditions of the Tempo period (1830-1844), an era plagued with peasant protests due to inflation and famine. Though Hokusai is primarily known for his "Thirty-Six Sceneries of Mt. Fuji," he also coined the term manga and the book became a bestseller, inspiring other artists and paving the way for the development of Japanese cartoons.[148]

The first Japanese political cartoons surfaced alongside the development of journalism. This medium rose following the opening of Japan by Western powers and the subsequent political instability that inspired the questioning of established beliefs and political revolution. The press would provide a means of distributing this discourse, easing the unification process. The publication of the first magazine featuring political cartoons began in July 1862 with *Japan Punch*, published by Charles Wirgman. Though narrowly focused on foreigners residing in Japanese ports, the comic-driven magazine built the foundation for Japanese cartoon editorials.[149] The first long-lasting Japanese-run magazine with current events cartoons started in 1877 with the *Marumaru chinbun*; it supported a clear anti-government stance and showcased many caustic commentaries directed at the Meiji government.[150] Although the *Marumaru* lost its anti-government stance near the end of its three decade publication period, the longevity of the *Marumaru* and *Japan Punch* attests to the cultural appeal and marketability of political satire as well as the ability to define a period of intellectual openness and political questioning.[151]

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[147] Macwilliams, 28–29.
[148] Macwilliams, 29.
[149] Jung-Sun N. Han, "Empire of Comic Visions: Japanese Cartoon Journalism and Its Pictorial Statements on Korea, 1876-1910," *Japanese Studies* 26, no. 3 (December 2006): 285.
[150] Han, 288.
[151] *Japan Punch* remained in publication for four and a half decades but was more "information-oriented than satirical," Han, 286. Capitalizing on the extraterritoriality agreements, George F. Bigot joined the *Marumaru chinbun* in publishing a magazine named *Tobae* in 1887, which featured cartoons assailing the Meiji government and "highlighting the cut-throat nature of imperialist competition, making it susceptible to the state's effort to

The Korean development of political cartoons differs from the Western publications because of their emergence under the gaze of the Japanese colonial state. Though editorial cartoons developed under a system of censorship and political repression, the time of their inception also marks a brief period of intellectual liberalization when the Japanese relaxed their societal constrains in order to ultimately gain more control. Therefore, Robert Philippe's commentary on political satire still primarily holds true in the case of Korea. Yi Toyŏng (1884-1934) created the first political cartoon in the *Taehan Minbo* [*Korean News*] on June 2, 1909. On the eve of the annexation by Japan, this period certainly constitutes a point of crisis within the established order when many nationalists questioned the "rules of the game." Hence, the appearance of the first political cartoon is not surprising within this context, but the fact that Yi Toyŏng was able to publish these nationalistic cartoons following the passage of the stringent press censorship laws of 1907 and 1909 is notable.

Yi Toyŏng's first political cartoon, which is also considered the first general Korean cartoon, shows a Western dressed Korean with a fountain of words flowing from his mouth. This cartoon protested the forced abdication of Emperor Kojong (1852-1919) and the subsequent restriction on public discourse. The *Taehan Minbo* loudly declared that it would serve as the "organ of expression for public opinion… free from the tradition of manufactured news."[152] The fact that this image dominated the front page of the inaugural issue of the *Taehan Minbo* attests to the perceived power that imagery holds in the general public. Yi Toyŏng's experience in Japan as an instructor of Korean language first introduced him to the political cartoon and its impact on

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naturalize the notion of the Japanese nation," Han, 287. For further information on the relationship between political cartoons and Western and Japanese imperialism see Jung-Sun Han's "Empire of Comic Visions," 286-289.

[152] Ch'oe Yŏl, *Han'guk manhwa ŭi yŏksa [The History of Korean Cartoons]* (Seoul: Yŏrhwadang, 1995), 18–19.

the Japanese public as both a critique and method of persuasion.[153] It also may have also exposed him to some of the humiliating images of Koreans presented in the Japanese press—as shown in articles by Han Jung-Sun, Todd Henry, and Peter Duus—possibly encouraging indignation toward the Japanese state.[154]

The annexation by Japan quickly ended both the publication of the *Taehan Minbo* and political cartoons in general; they reemerge again after the reopening of the Korean press in 1920. Following the annexation on August 22, 1910, most publications were closed, with the exception of official newspapers produced by the Japanese colonial government and a few non-political magazines like the *Sonyŏn* [*Boys*] (1908-1911) and *Ch'ongch'un* [*Youth*] (1914-1918).[155] The restrictive policies of the Japanese government would eventually come to a boil in 1919 with the March 1st Movement. This event was proclaimed upon the streets of Seoul and soon spread into a mass movement throughout Korea against Japanese rule. The Government-General of Korea cracked down on the protests, resulting in tens of thousands of arrests and deaths.[156] In reflecting on the event, the Japanese government realized that their stringent

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153 Pak Chaedong, ed., *Han'guk manhwa ŭi sŏn'gujadŭl [Pioneers of Korean Cartoons]* (Seoul: Yŏrhwadang, 1995), 10–13. While this passage does give a brief summary of the life and early works of Yi Toyŏng, it only briefly mentions his trip to Japan.

154 For more information on the Japanese perspective on Koreans, read Peter Duus, "Presidential Address: Weapons of the Weak, Weapons of the Strong: The Development of the Japanese Political Cartoon," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60, no. 4 (November 2001): 965–77; Han, "Empire of Comic Visions"; Todd A. Henry, "Sanitizing Empire: Japanese Articulations of Korean Otherness and the Construction of Early Colonial Seoul, 1905–1919," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 64, no. 03 (August 2005): 639–75. While these works provide excellent examples of the usage of political cartoons in the colonization process by the Japanese, they do not show their possible impact on Korean nationals. These images were likely not circulated widely in Korea because of their possible incendiary effects and thus the effect on Koreans may be negligible, though this is uncertain.

155 Ramon Hawley Myers, Mark R Peattie, and Jingzhi Zhen, *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), 324.

156 Due to the difficulty in investigating the damages and deaths incurred after the crackdown of the March 1st Movement, there are no exact statistics of the deaths and injuries. Pak Ŭnsik recorded in his *Bloody History of the Korean Independence Movement (Han'guk tongnip undong chi hyŏlsa)*, published in Shanghai, China in 1919, that 7,509 died; 15,961 were injured; and 46,948 were imprisoned between March 1 and the end of May 1919. Henry Chung's account, *The Case of Korea*, published in the U.S. in 1921, stated that 7,645 were killed; 45,562 were injured; and 49,811 were imprisoned. While based on data provided by witnesses—including foreign reporters and missionaries—some consider these numbers to be conservative and the actual toll to be much higher. Japanese colonial statistics report much lower numbers, claiming 631 killed; 1,409 injuries treated in government hospitals;

policies would only lead to further difficulties, disrupting economic flow, and possibly attracting international censure.

Therefore, in 1920, the Japanese government responded by loosening policies, allowing a limited space for Korean political and cultural activities to develop. These associations provided a "safety-valve" for colonial frustrations to manifest while still allowing the Japanese government the power to shut off any excessive dissident activities before they burst into another mass protest movement.[157] These changes in regulation would constitute what is known as "Cultural Rule."

Taking advantage of the loosening of press policies, two nationalist Korean language newspapers emerged in 1920, the *Tonga ilbo* and the *Chosŏn ilbo*.[158] These papers enjoyed the special privilege of printing "articles on current affairs (*jiji*); this included discussion of politics, social problems, and international events."[159] Only six other magazines at this time would join the *Tonga ilbo* and *Chosŏn ilbo* in this special license. Official Japanese papers still remained in publication and would enjoy increasing circulation as the Japanese language and cultural influence spread through assimilation marketing and policies like the *Naisen ittai* (Interior [Japan] and Korea as one body). Nevertheless, the *Tonga ilbo* and *Chosŏn ilbo* largely dominated the Korean-language newspaper market, exerting their influence over Korean society until they were closed down in 1940.[160]

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and 11,831 Koreans placed on trials. Han'guk Tongnip Undongsa Yŏn'guso, *History of Korean Independence*, 127–28.

[157] The motivations for instituting "Cultural Rule" policies also stemmed from fears of a Communist uprising like the Russian Revolution of 1917.

[158] Prior to the establishment of the *Tonga ilbo* and *Chosŏn ilbo*, the only Korean-language newspaper in circulation was the government-general sponsored, *Maeil sinbo*, and it would remain the only Korean-language newspaper to continue publication until the end of Japanese colonial rule in 1945.

[159] Michael Edson Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920-1925* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), 51.

[160] As described in Michael Robinson's section on "Newspapers and Entertainment Press in 1930s Korea," the daily press—both Korean and Japanese language—drastically increased in circulation by the end of the 1930s, which he

In regulating the press, the colonial Publications Department pursued a system of censorship similar to Japan that flagged certain key categories: "defamation of the emperor or imperial institutions, military matters, radical ideology, Korean-Japanese relations, and Korean nationalism."[161] Punishment for infraction ranged from deletion of the offending article to imprisonment. This was not exclusive to Korean publications, though they did suffer most of the attention and confiscation by censors. In 1927, authorities seized 1,729,479 Korean newspapers compared to 36,039 Japanese newspapers in Korea.[162] By the late 1930s, the rates of seizure would equalize to 138,488 Japanese newspapers compared to 182, 069 Korean, though this equalization could also be due to the increase in circulation of Japanese-language periodicals compared to Korean.[163] Although the Publications Department required the press to submit a copy prior to publication, the speed of printing required for a daily would occasionally allow offending material to slip through the censor's gaze. This often encouraged nationalistic journalists to test the limits of censorship, walking "the narrow line between promoting social reform for the Korean people and outright advocacy of independence."[164] As a result, the years between 1920 and 1925 witnessed a reawakening of Korean literature and political activity as Korean nationalists explored new and creative forms to express their dissatisfaction of the Japanese state within the framework allowed by the colonial government. One of these new art forms included the publication of political cartoons.

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describes as "awash in daily newsprint." While most Japanese preferred their native language press, about one in five Korean readers also monitored the Japanese press, Michael Robinson, "Mass Media and Popular Culture in 1930s Korea: Cultural Control, Indentity, and Colonial Hegemony," in *Korean Studies: New Pacific Currents* (Honolulu: Center for Korean Studies University of Hawaii, 1994), 67. Japanese sources also controlled much of the advertising revenue in the *Tonga ilbo* and *Chosŏn ilbo*, which increased from 36.1 percent in 1923 to 61.6 percent in 1938, Robinson, 68. This shows how closely Korea and Japan's linked interests became by the end of the colonial period as well as Japan's cultural and commercial dominance, Robinson, 66–71.

[161] Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea*, 51.

[162] Robinson, "Mass Media and Popular Culture," 70.

[163] Robinson, 70.

[164] Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea*, 53.

Political cartoons reappeared in publications starting with the December 1920 issue of *Kaebyŏk* [*New World*] magazine where the artist, Kim Ut'aek, depicted a characterization of the March 1st Movement trial. Though this cartoon displayed no overt critical commentary, the subject of independence proved an apt beginning for the reemergence of editorial comics. During the early 1920s, editorial cartoons initially focused upon mundane subjects as they tested the waters. This was often possible because Japanese censors tended to focus upon written word, and thus they often ignored implied messages and satire even when the figures or events were recognizable.[165] This opened a space for political cartoonists to circumvent the censorship code. By the mid-1920s, some pushed the limits by criticizing colonial policies and the inequalities suffered under the regime. This led to censorship or newspaper closure, with the replacement of politically messaged cartoons with children's and humorous cartoons, a common trend that will be shared by subsequent generations and discussed later in this dissertation.[166]

In the 1930s, as criticism of Japanese policy became increasingly taboo, cartoonists could not openly critique Japanese imperialism; instead, they masked criticism in humorous tales of old folk stories.[167] In 1932, Kim Kyut'aek (1906-1962), illustrated a modernized cartoon serialization of "Tale of Ch'unhyang," a classic love story typically set in a rural setting and depicting traditional Chosŏn (1392-1897) values. In the updated "Modern Story of Ch'unhyang" (*Modŏn Ch'unhyangjŏn*), instead, its characters drink beer, sing pop tunes, and celebrate the image of modernity and youth.[168] Safely cast in this folktale, the villainous magistrate could serve as a space for coded criticism directed toward Korea's Governor-General during a time

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[165] Duus, "Presidential Address," 977–78.
[166] John A. Lent, *Asian Comics* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2015), 81.
[167] Pak Chaedong, *Han'guk manhwa ŭi sŏn'gujadŭl*, 25.
[168] Ko Ŭnji, "1930-yŏndae taejung munhwa sok ŭi 'Ch'unhyangjŏn' ŭi modŏnhwa yangsang kwa kŭ ŭimi: 'Manhwa modŏn Ch'unhyangjŏn' ŭl chungsim ŭro [The Characteristic of Modernization of 'Story of Ch'unhyang' and its Meaning in the 1930's Popular Cultural: Focus on the 'Modern Cartoon Story of Ch'unhyang']," *Minjonk munhaksa yŏngu* 34 (2007): 272–303.

when tenant-farmer disputes and abuses were inspiring social movements and organizing into secret unions against Japanese control of landholdings and the growth of agrarian tenancy.[169] Nonetheless, it is difficult to gauge how much of these coded readings resonated in the reading public due to a lack clear correlation between the story and the events of the time. By the late 1930s and early 1940s, the remaining newspapers publishing cartoons, such as the *Maeil sinbo* and *Kyŏngsŏng ilbo*, used the cartoon medium to legitimize Japanese militarism, boost the soldier morale, and denounce Allied forces.[170] Though some of Kim Kyut'aek's earlier works showcased occasional "pockets of resistance" through metaphor, when working for the *Maeil sinbo*, the constraints of wartime censorship and the necessity of finding sustainable employment compelled him and other artists in similar situations to produce works promoting Japanese imperialism.[171]

The surrender of Japan on August 15, 1945 ended the Pacific War and liberated Korea, but the structures and psychological legacy of colonial occupation and wartime trauma remained. Under great pressure, Korea tried to contend with divisive, often new ideas of political and economic freedom and what constituted Korea under division. As geo-political rivalries in what would turn into the Cold War played out in Korea, the internal divisions and lines—some which existed prior to Korea's partition—became more solid politically. The political situation of the post-liberation period tested the idea of nation and loyalty for established artists as they came to terms with their colonial period works. Cartoon artists, like Kim Yonghwan (1912-1998) and Kim Kyut'aek, who both worked under the Japanese colonial administration, tried to prove their

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[169] Pak Chaedong, *Han'guk manhwa ŭi sŏn'gujadŭl*, 25–26.
[170] Lent, *Asian Comics*, 81.
[171] Currently, there are no articles or studies concerning Kim Kyut'aek's or other illustrative works for the *Maeil sinbo* during the wartime period. Since this was out of the scope of my study and I cannot definitively describe the nature of his work, but based on studies conducted on Kim Yonghwan and other Korean artists' illustrations and cartoons during this period, it is likely that Kim Kyut'aek also produced cartoons promoting war preparation, conscription, and the Japanese empire. Ch'oe Yŏl, *Han'guk manhwa ŭi yŏksa*, 81–83.

sense of loyalty to the nation by publishing nation-centered cartoons. Even though the state of the industry was poor, the potential marketability of quality cartoon artists attracted the attention of the major newspapers, generally willing to ignore their past colonial associations and privileging talent over nationalism.

Soon after liberation, Koreans started taking over the printing facilities and publications previously controlled by Japan.[172] However, this was not an easy process since many of the experienced publishers either returned to Japan, or if they were known, faced allegations of collaboration and promotion of wartime propaganda. The flight of Japanese publishers left few newspapers in circulation, but these remaining newspapers held great power because of the lack of competition. Newspaper cartoons, especially political cartoons, with their vivid imagery and ability to convey messages across education and language barriers, attracted both left and right-wing supporters as tools of propaganda. With the introduction of cartoons, circulation would generally increase, and many editors took notice.[173] Nonetheless, despite increased interest in political cartoons, there were few with experience in this field due to the tight control and closure of Korean newspapers by the Japanese colonial government in the final years of the colonial rule. This dilemma between whether to ignore or punish those who worked within the Japanese colonial system was not unique to the cartooning industry as many entrepreneurs and artists faced the consequences of their decision to work under or for Japan as will be discussed in greater detail in chapter one. High profile individuals, like the author Yi Kwangsu (1892-

[172] Many of the printing facilities were left in poor condition after the war. Most of the technicians who ran printing presses were Japanese and left the companies due to crackdowns on Japanese-run enterprises. Paper also was in short supply, and labor disputes frequently occurred. However, even in these poor conditions, many new publishers emerged or took over facilities previously run by Japanese. In 1946, there were 150 publishers, which increased to 581 registered publishers in 1947. Paek Chŏngsuk, "Haebanggi manhwa mongnok [Inventory of Liberation Cartoons]," *Kŭndae sŏji*, no. 10 (December 2014): 456.

[173] Son Sangik, *Han'guk manhwa t`ongsa(ha): 1945-yŏn ihu [The History of Korean Cartoons vol. 2: After 1945]* (Seoul: Sigongsa, 1998), 20–21.

1950)—in probably the most famous case of Korea's struggle with "cleansing the past"—could not easily hide their "anti-nationalist activities," facing public shame, property confiscation, and sometimes imprisonment.[174] However, this desire for punishment was uneven. Under the U.S. policy of reconciliation, those who held skills in practical or "important" professions, including the arts, often retained their positions or found new ones in the new regime. The liberation period also saw the return of political cartoons as genre weapons with the one-panel illustrations emerging shortly after newspapers resumed publication. Thus, artists were utilized for propaganda purposes by both North and South Korea along with the internal factions that formed within this new "landscape of freedom."[175]

Those who had experience in Japanese colonial newspapers or magazines, often hid that experience by attaching a different name or remaining anonymous. Kim Yonghwan and Kim Kyu'taek, the two main editorial cartoonists of the post-liberation period, exemplified this tendency and the conflicting legacy of Japanese colonialism. Kim Kyut'aek, who worked for the *Maeil sinbo* at the end of the colonial period, started drawing political cartoons in the revived *Chosŏn ilbo,* under the name Ungch'o.[176] On September 6, 1945, Kim Yonghwan started contributing illustrative cartoons to the English newspaper, *Seoul Times*, and in November, he launched his political and humor cartoons in Korean language newspaper, *Chungang sinmun*, which included early publications of what would become his signature character, Kochubu

[174] John Whittier Treat, "Choosing to Collaborate: Yi Kwang-Su and the Moral Subject in Colonial Korea," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 71, no. 01 (February 2012): 81–102.
[175] Charles Armstrong, "The Cultural Cold War in Korea, 1945-1950," *Journal of Asian Studies* 62, no. 1 (2003): 71–99.
[176] The Chŏson ilbo was revived on November 23, 1945, but Kim Kyu'taek's cartoons did not appear until January 30, 1946. The newspapers and magazines that included his works were the *Chosŏn ilbo*, *Tongbang sangŏp sinmun*, and *Saehan minbo*.

(K'ojubu).[177] It was the first time that Kim Yonghwan used his real name in public attached to a cartoon.[178]

Making money illustrating editorial cartoons in the post-liberation period was difficult due to the precarious nature of early newspaper publications and the geo-political situation. Editorial cartoon often ran for only a few days before being canceled or appeared sporadically and inconsistently in newspapers and magazines.[179] Some former illustrators, like Chŏng Hyŏnung, whose work was also criticized for occasionally promoting Japanese imperialism during the war mobilization era, actively created works promoting leftist or communist themes while others, like Kim Kyut'aek's works, tended to be politically conservative, but still sharp in their punches.[180] Kim Yonghwan took on many commissions—both political and non-political—that earned him money or had potential in advancing his career.[181] The ideas reflected in the cartoons of this time often revealed feelings of incomplete sovereignty felt by many Koreans upon liberation. Cartoon motifs would show this by illustrating popular expressions like "between fighting whales, the shrimp is crushed," (*korae ssaum e saeu tŭng t'ŏjinda*). Though sparse in their publications, multiple, often conflicting, views of nation, justice, and democracy

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[177] Pak Chaedong, *Han'guk manhwa ŭi sŏn'gujadŭl*, 40. *Seoul Times* November 1, 1945.

[178] Prior to this Kim Yonghwan used a Japanese pen name, Kita Koji, which he took on as a condition for publishing works in the popular youth magazine, *Japanese Boys* [*Nihonshonen*]. Though this was prior to implementation of *Soshi-kaimei* (name change) policy of Ordinance No. 19 (1939) and Ordinance No. 20 (1940), the practice of taking on Japanese names for publication purposes was common and often required for most Korean artists working in Japan in the 1930s (Pak Chaedong, 36.)

[179] Lent, *Asian Comics*, 81–82.

[180] Pak Chaedong, *Han'guk manhwa ŭi sŏn'gujadŭl*, 26–27. Some of Chŏng Hyŏnung's work during the Japanese colonial era supported aspects of Japanese assimilation projects; however, he also refused to produce illustrations that actively promoted wartime conscription, which, in turn, went to artists such as Kim Yonghwan. Many of his works during both periods emphasized themes related to economic justice, highlighting the repression and strengths of the poor, which primed him for his eventual flight to North Korea.

[181] In examining Kim Yonghwan's works and writings, he often appears more concerned with revenue and escaping association with his activities as a propaganda artist during the Pacific War than a particular ideological agenda. Kim Yonghwan flooded the publishing industry with comic books, which grew immensely popular with children. Though these early publications relaunched his career by rebranding his image as less associated with Japanese colonialism, his work with the *Chungang sinmun* would bring political scrutiny three years later when the left-leaning publication caught the eye of government censors. This is a fascinating story that deserves further attention but, due to the scope of this dissertation, cannot be explored.

found audiences within editorial cartoon themes.[182] Kim Yonghwan and Kim Kyut'aek dominated the early years of political and non-political cartooning. Their works would inspire early cartoonists, including Kim Sŏnghwan, urging him to join the field and acquire his first regular job as a cartoon illustrator and editor under Kim Yonghwan.

1.5 *The Cry of the Newsboy: Kim Sŏnghwan's Debut*

Kim Sŏnghwan began his career as a cartoonist out of an interest in the field and necessity. The harsh circumstances of Kim Sŏnghwan's early life caused great stress within his family and community. This stress would cause him to look for sources of income so that he could assist his family and pay for his schooling. However, finding employment was not easy since most of his neighbors experienced similar conditions of poverty. In the future, this would cause him to be sympathetic to the poor and oppressed, who appeared as caricatures in his "Mr. Kobau" cartoons. However, at this time, it pressed him to be industrious and look for opportunity.

Since South Korea at this time lacked a general subscription system for people not involved in business or government, daily newspapers generally consisted of a single page folded in half. They were distributed by hiring young students or newspaper carriers, who would sell newspapers by shouting out the names of the papers on the street. At the boarding house where Kim Sŏnghwan was staying, there lived a young student who sold daily newspapers for the *Yŏnhap News* and often brought home the remaining editions.[183] By 1949, there were little to no cartoons in the newspapers. Despite more than seven attempts at regular cartoon publication, editors canceled each series, sometimes within a week after publication, effectively leaving a

[182] Many of these ideas had roots in the Japanese colonial period.
[183] "Kobau Yŏnggam TV Interview (September 16, 2012)."

void of cartooning in the press. Still, despite the irregularity in publication, cartoons in magazines and comic books grew in popularity, and the popularity of the works of artists such as Kim Yonghwan and Kim Kyut'aek opened up opportunities for other artists to explore new cartoon genres. Editors published amateur submissions in newspapers and magazines in order to encourage young artists and broaden the field. Kim Sŏnghwan would capitalize upon this opportunity. According to Kim Sŏnghwan, with the exception of Kim Kyut'aek and Kim Yonghwan, the types of newspapers and cartoons that remained in circulation tended to be in "tabloid form" and cartoons that "stereotyped black soldiers and were similar to strips of trash."[184] In contrast, when glancing through US and Japanese newspapers, Kim saw many quality and different types of cartoons, which inspired him to create his own, drawing sketches upon scraps of paper.[185]

After a night of drawing, he left several cartoon sketches lying around his desk. His friend who peddled newspapers took one of the copies and passed it on to the head of the Cultural Section at the *Yŏnhap News*. Impressed, the editor personally sought him out at his house and offered him a series. From this offer came his first publication, "Loggerhead," which ran fourteen times.[186] He received a 10,000 won payment, which helped pay his school fees. But like previous serial cartoons, it too was canceled. After *Yŏnhap News* canceled his series, Kim Sŏnghwan tracked down Kim Yonghwan at *Cartoon News* (*Manhwa Nyusŭ*), which was located between two rooms on the second floor behind the Midop'a Department Store building. Less political and more humorous in tone, this magazine enjoyed a large circulation of 40,000 copies and attracted many artists.[187] Impressed with the youth, Kim Yonghwan offered Kim Sŏnghwan

[184] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Aedŭbŏllun ŭi miso*, 70.
[185] Kim Sŏnghwan, 71.
[186] "Kobau Yŏnggam TV Interview (September 16, 2012)."
[187] Lent, *Asian Comics*, 82.

a job as a contributing editor once per week for 10,000 won, which allowed Kim Sŏnghwan to complete his education and began his career as a cartoonist. Within a year, he was promoted to staff writer, but the Korean War soon broke out, shutting down the publication and forcing him into the darker, more complex realm of Cold War politics.[188]

1.6 *Conclusion*

War and the trauma associated with it, especially the Korean War discussed in Chapter Two, would become the defining moment for Kim Sŏnghwan and many other Koreans in shaping and solidifying their ideological beliefs. But, in the post-liberation period, those beliefs remained in flux, constituting a continuous cycle of definition and re-definition. Like many North Korean refugees, Kim Sŏnghwan would gain exposure to beliefs in communism and democracy as seen in some of his early school sketches and through the reading of daily newspapers and cartoon magazines. This included themes related to economic justice, democracy, geo-political sovereignty and subservience. While the political situation increasingly pressured one to choose sides—especially the side of anti-communism for those who resided in the south—these ideas remained unfixed for many. The refugee experience and flight from North Korea solidified a strong sense of anti-communism in some, but Kim Sŏnghwan's experience, while harsh, was not traumatic enough to solidify his beliefs in anti-communism or other ideologies. Youth were often mobilized to help back the northern and southern regimes, as described by Charles Kim in *Youth for Nation*.[189] Kim Sŏnghwan tended to dodge these government-associated groups in the post-liberation period, which he viewed as part bullies that needed to be avoided. However, he would take on some of the ideas within the "noble student

[188] "Kobau Yŏnggam TV Interview (September 16, 2012)."
[189] Kim, *Youth for Nation*, 1–21.

vanguard" of resistance that first appeared in the form of dialogues on the heroic March First student leaders designed to promote patriotism in youths.[190]

Kim Sŏnghwan's geo-political awareness of this time manifested in his resistance to draw only safe subjects, such as landscapes. His drawings depicting U.S. armed soldiers from an "unspecified" Korean army during the latter part of the liberation period drew scrutiny from his teachers who found minute, sometimes superficial reasons, to reject the images though still praised for their artistry. These small forms of censorship would be replicated in later regulatory committees during the Park Chung Hee era as censors often found similar roundabout ways of rejecting political themes. Kim Sŏnghwan's inability to resist the demands of his teachers and their unwillingness to showcase his works in public settings outside the confines of his classroom walls likely contributed to a general feeling of powerlessness in the decision-making process. It possibly built within him a desire for resistance, an idea he would replicate in critiques of authoritarianism through his later writings and cartoon genre weapons.

Though Kim Sŏnghwan's war-centered themes suggest the rising tensions upon the peninsula, at this time, his political subjectivity was not fully formed or solely focused upon the geo-political situation unraveling around him. Instead, as a youth, he found himself more concerned with issues surrounding poverty, family separation, social stigmatization manifested in bullying, and the development of his art talents as suggested in most of his writings and reflections on the period. Ideological beliefs appeared as secondary concerns. Still, the colonial and post-liberation periods forged internal strength through adversity as he suffered through these times, bore witness to the end of the Japanese empire, and the beginnings of a divided Korean nation. He saw suffering and pain at the hands of others and upon himself through acts of

[190] Kim, 8.

bullying, which endured him to the plight of the less fortunate and oppressed. He witnessed his father, whose past deeds he saw as heroic, suffer shame because of his desire to protect his neighbors and family from acts of hostility during the Japanese wartime mobilization era. The idea of heroism, passion for exploring new territory, and resolve to uncover and expose injustice would find their roots in his youth experiences and the tales told by his father.

Chapter 2. CARTOONISTS IN WAR: BETWEEN LOYALTY AND SURVIVAL (1950-1953)

> "A plane flew slowly by so one could not tell whether it was a reconnaissance plane, constantly coming and going. Out of tail side of the plane, a black mass trailing smoke fell out and then a small cloud formed and suspended above. About ten minutes passed and I could no longer see the plane that had come by. The black cloud turned into a light cloud, and its size grew even larger.
>
> Another ten minutes passed as I stared at it. It turned into small dots and covered part of the sky. When I looked again a little later, they had turned into fliers, and I could check them out as they fell. It seems that the fliers scattered based on weather research, according to the atmosphere, direction of wind, and such…
>
> Fliers scattered upon our troops so much that if one simply tried to reach up one's hands, one could snatch them like leaves…. At least if there was not enough toilet paper when going to the bathroom, the hillside was covered with fliers."[191]
>
> -Kim Sŏnghwan "Leaflet Bombs"

At the outbreak of the Korean War, Kim Sŏnghwan graphically recorded the carnage left in Seoul in pencils and watercolors while trying to dodge conscription by the North Korean army. In this chapter, I examine these sketches as a visual historical record of the time and Kim Sŏnghwan's experience. Along with his memoirs and interviews, these works show how Kim Sŏnghwan perceived and interpreted the war experience. For Kim Sŏnghwan, the act of recording these images of horror and tragedy was a self-proclaimed mission to preserve reality when few other sources were available, creating a unique archive and a testament to Kim Sŏnghwan's commitment to revealing truths. During this tumultuous period, Kim Sŏnghwan created his most famous political cartoon character, "Mr. Kobau," though it did not have a large impact until 1955 when he began publication in the *Tonga ilbo*. In addition, the brutality of war

[191] Kim Sŏnghwan, "Chongi p'okt'an [Leaflet Bombs]," in *6.25 chŏnjaeng kongjung salp'o chŏndanjŏn: Ch'iyŏl haettŏn simnijŏn kwa pigŭkchŏk yŏksa ŭi tanmyŏn [A War of Air Delivered Leaflets during the Korean War: A Cross-section of the Tragic History and Heated Psychological Warfare]*, ed. Psywar Society (Seoul: The Psywar Society, 1990), 9.

and his work as a wartime propagandist helped shape and cement Kim Sŏnghwan's commitment to supporting liberal-democratic ideals and fighting injustice.

Because Kim Sŏnghwan avoided conscription from North Korea, unlike many well-known artists who were capture, he had no conflict of loyalty with South Korea. Therefore, when he joined the South Korean Ministry of Defense in 1951, he did so for primarily economic reasons. He spent time recording the lives of soldiers at the front and producing propaganda fliers in the rear. This was a learning time for Kim Sŏnghwan to test out experimental and, later, political concepts in his works. While most cartoons were clearly propaganda focused at this time, the Korean War helped foster and create political themes within cartoons, which served as genre weapons and helped shape anti-communist and liberal-democratic ideals while simultaneously spreading and popularizing the cartoon genre amongst children and soldiers.

2.1 *Dodging Conscription: Sketches of Life and Death in Occupied Seoul*

With the outbreak of the Korean War on June 25, 1950, artists, like much of the South Korean population, faced a decision—stay or flee. Young artists who could not flee or hide would often find themselves conscripted into the North Korean army. Faced with this predicament, Kim Sŏnghwan concealed himself within the attic of his house in Chŏngnŭng, a northern district of Seoul, so that he might avoid conscription. Caught within the chaos, he recorded through watercolors and sketches the death, destruction, and humanity of the soldiers and citizens from the initial evacuation of Seoul in June to the landing of U.S. soldiers in late September 1950. In reflecting upon his experience, Kim saw it simply as "hell."

Kim Sŏnghwan kept his pencils, watercolors, and sketchbook handy. As a high school student, he earned additional money to help support his family by sketching events for Seoul

newspapers, which sometimes could not afford to pay cameramen or utilize quality printers, since poor technology produced photographs too dark for publication. For Kim Sŏnghwan, what began as a means for supporting his family, would turn into a life-long desire to record and document historical events and vistas as snapshots of life.[192] When describing his reasoning for recording these images, he said, "People were not sure if they were living or dead [so] I became fixed on the idea that I had to leave records behind besides just memories. It would not matter if I lived or died."[193]

On June 27, 1950 Kim Sŏnghwan sat upon a hilltop overlooking the tiled roofs and outstretched rice paddy fields on the northern outskirts of Seoul watching the artillery.[194] Puffs of grey smoke billowed from the hills in the distance. Cognizant that these represented potentially lethal artillery explosions, Kim Sŏnghwan felt trepidation. "We had heard over the radio that North Korea had invaded but were told over the radio that the South Korean Army had pushed them back."[195] The serene, relaxed tone of his drawing suggests a sense of peace and trust in those announcements.

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[192] This tendency is seen in Kim Sŏnghwan's numerous cartoon crossover pieces that accompanied some of his travel and social commentary essay collections. Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau in'gan tongmurwŏn [Kobau's Menagerie of Mankind]* (Seoul: Changhatang, 1965), 23–92; Kim Sŏnghwan, *Wae? Kobau ŭi yusik han chaphak [Why? Kobau's Erudite Knowledge of Various Matters]* (Seoul: Ara, 2013); Kim Sŏnghwan, *Marhago sip'ŏ ipi kŭnjilgŏri nŭn Kobau ŭi chaphak paekkwa [Kobau's Various Matters of all Kinds of Learning that He's Been Itching to Talk About]* (Seoul: Indibuk, 2006). In addition to the collection of watercolors and war art described in this chapter, Kim Sŏnghwan also produced an historically accurate though somewhat interpretive series of drawings of shanty towns in the 1950s that was shown in a national exhibit in 2005. Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau Kim Sŏnghwan ŭi p'anjach'on iyagi: modu ka kananhaetchiman arŭmdawŏttŏn kŭttae kŭ sijŏl ŭi ch'ŏnggyech'ŏn p'ungsokhwa. [The Story of Kobau and Kim Sŏnghwan's Shantytown: At that Time, Even though Everyone was Poor, there was Beauty; the Ch'ŏnggyech'ŏn Genre Paintings of these Days]* (Kyŏnggi-do P'aju-si: Yŏllimwŏn, 2005).

[193] Chang Sangyong, *Na nŭn p'en igo p'en i kot nada*, 248.

[194] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan [Forgotten War, Reality of Division]," National Museum of Contemporary Art, Korea, July 25, 2010, http://www.moca.go.kr/exhibition/exhibitionManager.do?_method=exhView&retMethod=getExhProgressList&tpCd=&exhId=201006230002822. Dated: June 27, 1950.

[195] Andrew Salmon, *Scorched Earth, Black Snow: Britain and Australia in the Korean War* (London: Aurum, 2011), 31–32.

After reproducing a scene of distant gunfire, which appears ominously peaceful in light of the events to come, Kim Sŏnghwan wandered back through the city where he recorded a group of evacuees with bundles containing all they owned on their heads, shoulders, and on the back of their bicycles.[196] Though his sketches would show people trying to evacuate the city, many remained in Seoul because of the broadcasts, which spoke of the faith in a South Korean victory or a lack of fear of North Korean reprisal. Kim Sŏnghwan found the power of this media disturbing and ultimately felt "bitter about those broadcasts, because of them many people did not flee."[197] The consequence of staying proved great as many fell—casualties of war and the "clean-up" afterwards performed by each side in mass conscription, capture, and whole-scale slaughter of those deemed as "reactionaries."[198]

After small-scale border skirmishes beginning in 1949, the war broke out around three or four a.m. on June 25, 1950. The opening attack was said to be from the 3rd Brigade of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), though initial intelligence reports were inconclusive as to who started the battle.[199] According to U.S. official history, an almost simultaneous invasion occurred from the North Korean People's Army (NKPA) south of

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[196] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan." Dated: June 27, 1950.
[197] Salmon, *Scorched Earth*, 32.
[198] Grace J. Chae, "The Korean War and Its Politics," in *Routledge Handbook of Modern Korean History* (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 187. According to U.S. and South Korean sources, the total of civilians and POWs massacred by North Koreans and allies ran between 20,000 to 30,000 with the war crimes trials claiming a total of 29,915. For many decades, U.S. and South Korea did not officially recognize their own atrocities against North Koreans so it was unknown how many North Korean civilians died under the label of "communist." Bruce Cumings, *The Korean War: A History* (New York: Modern Library, 2010), 165. However, in 2005, coalition of bereaved families of victims of Korean War massacres and South Korean anti-communist campaigns established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (*Chinsil hwahae rŭl wihan kwagŏsa chŏngni wiwŏnhoe*) to "correct the distorted history." The word "reactionary" in the north goes beyond simply a concept referencing the "enemy" just as the word "commie" contains powerful discursive meaning in the south and will create its own bloody clean-up. Backed by the political, divisive structures of communism and anti-communism, these terms would have far-reaching political and institutional consequences. Choi, *Democracy after Democratization*, 31. For further discussion on the implications and development of the word "commie" (*ppalgaengi*) in post-liberation South Korea, see Kim Tŭkchung, *"Ppalgaengi" ŭi t'ansaeng*.
[199] Cumings, *Korean War*, 22.

Ch'ŏrwon upon the 1st Regiment of the Republic of Korea Army (ROKA) 7th Division. That allowed for the 3rd and 4th NKPA divisions to push through toward Seoul.[200] While who started the war was a nationalistic driven hotly debated topic for decades, declassified Soviet documents made it clear that the DPRK made the decision to escalate from a civil conflict to conventional warfare months earlier after unsuccessful guerilla struggles in the south.[201]

As the NKPA entered Seoul on June 28th, Kim recorded the reactions and the mood surrounding their sudden appearance. He drew NKPA jeeps and tanks with flags flying driving down the mostly empty streets lined with barricades and the occasional onlooker, watching or cheering like observing a parade.[202] Trailing behind a jeep, a group of NKPA soldiers rest upon a cart covered with branches drawn by a yoked ox.[203] This image of soldiers in a peasant cart softens and humanizes the NKPA as well as emphasizing a connection with the common people, a prime component of Communist propaganda. The cheering crowd showcases an idea of national solidarity that may be still largely unaffected by the ideological and physical division. It also reflects a pattern established by the NKPA in "liberated" territories as outlined in "Propaganda Guidance Manuals" purported to emanate from the North Korean Ministries of Education and Propaganda. The first step included public reception and rejoicing, accompanied by the distribution of flags, leaflets, and posters promoting Communist ideology.[204]

However, beneath the celebration, Kim Sŏnghwan sketches the hidden tragedy, death, and destruction. Within the neighborhood alleys, unkempt NKPA soldiers search the streets and pedestrians as citizens watched with hesitant curiosity.[205] In one particularly haunting image,

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[200] Cumings, 22.
[201] Cumings, 22.
[202] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan." Dated: June 28, 1950.
[203] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan." Dated: June 28, 1950.
[204] Han'gukhak Chungang Yŏn'guwŏn, *6.25 Chŏnjaenggi migun simnijŏn kwallyŏn charyojip [A Sourcebook of US Pscyhological Warfare for the Korean War]*, vol. 1 (Seoul: Sŏnin, 2005), 464.
[205] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan." Dated: June 28, 1950.

Kim Sŏnghwan draws a half-naked man lying upon a straw matt smeared with blood.[206] The darkness surrounding this image illustrates the other side of the invasion—the human loss and tragedy. Kim Sŏnghwan recalls, "There were flies everywhere. Some bodies attracted more than others; maybe the flies liked fresh blood?"[207] He continued this theme the following day by recording the destruction of homes, vehicles, and city infrastructure. In muted colors, he narrates a scene of a man and women laying a straw matt over one of their loved ones before walking away with heads bowed in sorrow toward some unknown destination.[208] Kim Sŏnghwan's sketches over the next few days contain many of these scenes of humanity and loss: bodies strewn about and left abandoned; soldiers marked with weariness; planes soaring overhead amidst cotton-like puffs of clouds, showing a strange beauty within destruction; and children scrambling atop an abandoned tank.[209]

As life continues, a relative normalcy returned to Seoul as many people attempted to adjust to the new realities. Kim Sŏnghwan continued to sketch life scenes: a man brushing down a laundry hamper while a young boy carries a heavy bucket of water; an elderly man wiping the sweat from his neck while crouched on a porch; people walking down the streets carrying books and riding bicycles.[210] "Back to normalcy" constituted one of the main goals for North Koreans in liberated territories, which they accomplished by issuing orders to reopen schools, penalizing

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[206] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan." Dated: June 28, 1950.
[207] Salmon, *Scorched Earth*, 37.
[208] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan." Dated: June 29, 1950.
[209] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan." Dated: June 30, 1950. While it is likely that most of the dead bodies lining the streets came from the fighting between the ROK and NKPA soldiers, some might have been part of the series of political massacres instituted by the Rhee government once it looked like Seoul might fall. Australian sources claim the ROK slaughtered around 100 political prisoners in Seoul while retreating; North Koreans alleged to eye-witnessing thousands slaughtered, Cumings, *Korean War*, 156. This wholesale slaughter of political prisoners would increase in escalation as the ROK fell further south and then be repeated by the North Koreans when they lost territory. In Kim Tongch'un's *The Unending Korean War: A Social History*, he claims the numbers to be up to 100,000 in the number of victims to the podo yŏngmaeng massacres. Neither side came through this unsoiled.
[210] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan." Dated: July 4, July 11, July 20, and July 26, 1950.

stores that remained closed, and drafting people for work.[211] But, despite a lull in fighting, Kim Sŏnghwan continued to draw relics of the war and its aftermath. The man who wielded the broom wipes away stains of blood that flooded into the street against a wall pockmarked with bullets; the strolling pedestrians walked beside blue-hue tiles where the ghostly image of a human hand emerges beneath the rubble; aircraft fly overhead; columns of flames erupt from bombs in the night as families scatter and citizens emerge from the alleys with buckets to extinguish the conflagration.[212] These fragmented images of people's lives amidst the chaos of war showcased Kim Sŏnghwan's desire to disrupt the sense of normalcy sought by the authorities and reveal what is "hidden" beneath the surface and within daily living, a passion Kim Sŏnghwan would continue in his future works. Washing away the blood could not hide the bullet holes in the wall, and a pile of sandbags cannot cover up all the dead. While people might attempt to turn away and ignore the horror, death still manages to soak through or threaten them at night. Here, Kim Sŏnghwan captures both the fear of the ongoing war and the desire to ignore it, an experience likely felt by many during the occupation of Seoul.

Hiding from the NKPA, which he feared to join, left Kim Sŏnghwan without means for support. Thus, when food supplies started to become scarce in Seoul, Kim Sŏnghwan traveled with his cousin to his aunt's house in Kaesŏng. In a small room for storing blankets, he hid with his father's younger brother from the NKPA, since the deteriorating war situation caused the NKPA to start aggressively press-ganging young people into the army. His aunt's house served as both a lodging house and inn, so intermittently they were inspected by the People's Commissars and North Korean police; thus, he sometimes spent his time hiding under

[211] Han'gukhak Chungang Yŏn'guwŏn, *6.25 Chŏnjaenggi migun simnijŏn kwallyŏn charyojip*, 1:465.
[212] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan." Dated: July 4, July 20, September 7, and September 14, 1950.

floorboards in the kitchen and crannies where he was "literally sitting on pins and needles."[213] While hiding in the garret and trying to fill the empty moments, Kim sketched around 200 cartoon characters, including what would become his most famous character, Mr. Kobau, "Strong Rock."

Kobau's emergence during such a turbulent period is significant. Kobau, is described as fifty-five-year-old gentleman who graduated from a vocational high school and lives with his wife and daughter. For employment, Kobau is an unspecified office worker for an unknown private company.[214] In these traits, he embodied a typical, "normal" middle-aged gentleman though Kobau would develop some particular "quirks" that take on more significance later. The act of drawing an ordinary man during such a time of chaos would, nonetheless, hold deeper meaning, according to Kim Sŏnghwan:

> His last name was Ko. I attached the name as an honor to the distinctive presence of our people and the upright/incorruptible conservative nature that is shown in the meaning "Ko." I fixed bau to his name to convey the meaning "rock (strong rock)." The meaning I wished to convey with his name is to detach him thoroughly from the feeling of national inferiority felt by many within our country.[215]

For Kim Sŏnghwan, Mr. Kobau reflects the strength and power within the downtrodden, "everyman," an incorruptible spirit that will endure past the efforts of others who wish to break him, a spirit that he also illustrated in his watercolors—described in this section—brought on and inspired by war and occupation.

As the air-raids intensified over Kaesŏng and his hiding spot was revealed following a bomb explosion, Kim Sŏnghwan was forced to flee Kaesŏng and travel to Seoul a couple of days

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[213] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau wa hamkke san pansaeng: manhwaga ŭi chajŏnjŏk insaengnon [Half a Lifetime Together with Kobau: The Autobiographical Writings of a Cartoonist]* (Seoul: Yŏrhwadang, 1978), 43.
[214] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Aedŭbŏllun ŭi miso*, 100.
[215] Kim Sŏnghwan, 100.

prior to the U.S. Inch'ŏn landing on September 15.[216] On his way, he sketched pictures of young soldiers heading toward the battlefront, blue-hue ghostly figures against the blacked-out boxcars.[217] In a couple of days, these railways would carry away from Seoul the NKPA soldiers and seven to nine thousand ROK POWs and rightist youths imprisoned in Seoul's West Gate prison at the time. Estimated by U.S. sources, thousands of these POWs died or were killed along the way and were buried in mass graves.[218] While these mass executions represent one of the tragedies of war, they reflect the desperation of the moment more than a pattern of brutality within the NKPA for most reports tell tales of fair treatment of POWs during their imprisonment at Seoul. However, harsh treatment and mass executions did exist on both sides of the war though each attempted to curtail this behavior and cultivate an image of amiable treatment, especially amongst U.S. POWs, who generally garnered the best treatment as part of the overall psychological warfare strategy.[219] The treatment and rumors of the treatment of POWs would remain one of the key issues of the Korean War, affecting military actions, diplomacy, peace negotiations, and psychological warfare strategies.[220]

The ghostly images by Kim Sŏnghwan attest to the ominous atmosphere that now blanketed the land. Upon a long thoroughfare lined with trees and rice paddies, Kim Sŏnghwan drew a plane flying overhead, sending travelers scattering to the ditches.[221] He watched a

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[216] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau wa hamkke san pansaeng*, 43–46.
[217] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan." Dated: September 14, 1950.
[218] Cumings, *Korean War*, 188.
[219] George Pettee, "US Psywar Operations in the Korean War" (Technical Memorandum, Operations Research Office, John Hopkins University, January 23, 1951), 54, 6.25 chŏnjaenggi migun simnijŏn kwallyŏn charyojip.
[220] For a discussion on the post-WWII debates on the POW convention and its implications in the Korean War, read Neville Wylie and James Crossland, "The Korean War and the Post-War Prisoner of War Regime, 1945-1956," *War in History* 23, no. 4 (November 2016): 439–56. For statistics and analysis of the causes of death of North Korean POWs provided by the US Department of Defense, see Myongsoon Lee, Minjung Kang, and Sun Huh, "Causes of Death of Prisoners of War during the Korean War (1950-1953)," *Yonsei Medical Journal* 54, no. 2 (March 2013): 480–88. To learn more on how American Korean War POWs were used as propaganda during the conflict and upon their return home, read Charles S. Young, *Name, Rank, and Serial Number: Exploiting Korean War POWs at Home and Abraod* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
[221] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan." Dated: September 9, 1950.

panicked North Korean officer draw his pistol and threaten a farmer after his cart knocked the soldier's motorcycle off the road.[222] Kim Sŏnghwan later reflected, "The North Korean was out of his mind—everyone knows how long it takes a bullock cart to stop or turn. The war was going badly for them."[223] Despite invasion looming on the horizon, on September 17, Kim Sŏnghwan illustrated a lackadaisical scene in Seoul: a woman serving food and drink in a make-shift restaurant with straw rooftops and scattered tiles held up by simple wooden posts as the children lazed about; the holes in the buildings and downed power-lines reveal a failure of infrastructure and an ominous testament of the destruction to come.[224]

Kim Sŏnghwan sketched a scene of planes flying overhead, undistinguishable from the birds hovering above the traditional tiled rooftops.[225] A few days following, he illustrated the aftermath—a dark cloud billowing, in the form of an exploding bomb.[226] At night, the sky is lit with the rosy hue of fires as streaks of flames dart across the purple sky.[227] From September 27th to 28th, Kim Sŏnghwan recalls that the sounds of artillery and machine guns rang throughout Seoul. When he looked outside, he saw four NKPA soldiers running through the deserted streets and another ghostly pale soldier and cringing beneath the eaves of the closed boarded up shops.[228] He ventured outside and started to explore the neighborhoods, recording events. Sandbags were scattered in all directions, and the streets were entirely covered with NKPA soldiers. At Tonam-dong, he met a U.S. soldier for the first time. The soldier stood in front of a pile of sandbags and fallen telephone wires, his knees stained with mud.[229] A faceless North

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[222] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan." Dated: September 14, 1950.
[223] Salmon, *Scorched Earth*, 146.
[224] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan." Dated: September 17, 1950.
[225] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan." Dated: September 20, 1950.
[226] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan." Dated: September 25, 1950.
[227] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan." Dated: September 25, 1950.
[228] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan." Dated: September 27, 1950.
[229] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan." Dated: September 28, 1950.

Korean soldier lay upon the ground, a pool of blood formed beneath him. In a large intersection, Kim Sŏnghwan witnessed a group of shirtless POWs being rounded up by U.S. soldiers, their hands clasping the backs of their heads in surrender and protruding ribs visibly mark signs of starvation.[230] Amidst these depressing scenes, Kim Sŏnghwan sketched the figure of a grandmother who embraces a U.S. soldier with gratitude. The U.S. soldier appears touched by the gesture as though reminded of his own grandmother, a gentle scene that contrasts the blood and chaos.[231] In his drawings and later reflections, Kim Sŏnghwan describes this situation:

> In Kwanghwamun, corpses were left drooping like fish strewn about, and in the vicinity of Ch'anggyŏnggung, lumps of scarlet flesh were scattered about like those slaughtered in a butcher shop. When inspected more closely, it was the buttocks and thigh of a human. Tanks and jeeps nudged the corpses scattered about the street and they became mushy hunks of flesh. People were completely un-separated from the trash.[232]

Over the next couple of days, the scenes became increasingly grim; humanity seemed lost in the situation and only death remained.[233] However, within a week, his sketches no longer contained the figures of the dead. Instead, he painted a detailed picture of U.S. servicemen wandering through the streets, purchasing wares from venders, and attempting to converse with the locals.[234] In a bittersweet moment, a man is seen feeding his child within a dented car, stripped of its wheels.[235] Army jeeps rolled by like an unaffected shadow. These scenes clearly broadcast the dominance of the U.S. presence and a new authority.

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[230] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan." Dated: September 28, 1950. According to archival photographs and journalists reports, the captured NKPA soldiers were paraded through the streets naked with their hands folded above their heads. Cumings, *Korean War*, 81. Therefore, this image of the shirtless parade of soldiers might actually be a "softened" version of reality and an attempt by Kim Sŏnghwan to return dignity to the North Korean soldiers.
[231] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan." Dated: September 29, 1950.
[232] Chang Sangyong, *Na nŭn p'en igo p'en i kot nada*, 249.
[233] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan." Dated: September 28-October 1, 1950.
[234] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan." Dated: October 5, 1950.
[235] "Ich'yŏjin chŏnjaeng, hyŏnsil ŭi pundan." Dated: October 11, 1950.

Though ultimately disturbing, a few patterns emerge when comparing the images of the North Korean and U.S. "liberations" of Seoul. For both armies, Kim Sŏnghwan depicts liberation as celebratory and destructive. While Kim Sŏnghwan's initial sketches of NKPA contain a neutral mixture of detailed portraits and generalized figures like his later pictures of U.S. soldiers, the NKPA morph into shadowy figures as time passes, undistinguishable from each other. This possibly reflects his growing anxiety about being conscripted into the North Korean army. Still, in comparing Kim Sŏnghwan's drawings of the NKPA and U.S. Army "liberations," the U.S. liberation appears the most destructive in loss of lives, though neither side seemed to treat the dead with particular care. The images from the North Korean liberation possess a more thoughtful look, a loss of humanity through the eyes of the mourning or curious; the U.S. liberation is projected as simply the count of the dead in mounds as though the initial experience with death in the North Korean liberation numbed them to the mounting death tolls. Kim Sŏnghwan concludes his documentation of the "liberations" with scenes of domestic "return to normalcy," though marked by destruction and dominated by soldiers. He generally portrays a balanced picture of both sides of the war, which shows that anti-Communist propaganda had not fully settled in Kim Sŏnghwan's mind. However, the darkening of colors when applied to the North Korean soldiers reveal a growing fear of the North.

2.2 *Voluntary Conscription? The North Korean Artists Alliance*

Kim Sŏnghwan's freelance drawings captured a haunting mixture of mundane and macabre. His routine of documenting daily lives within occupation consistently exposed him to danger, not only from bombings, but also from conscription in both the NKPA and ROKA. Immediately after the occupation of Seoul, the NKPA started recruiting—voluntarily or

involuntarily—young men and artists into the army service. In order to receive rice distribution, one had to serve the NKPA, which placed many in a predicament of survival versus loyalties. Kim Sŏnghwan chose to avoid conscription as a youth and an artist by hiding from these press-gangs. He accomplished much of this through a combination of concealing himself as the NKPA conducted searches or limping while carrying a walking stick so that he might appear unfit for the army.[236]

Avoiding army conscription was difficult, but many artists were given an alternative. Instead, they joined groups like the North Korean Arts Alliance (*Pukchosŏn Yesul Ch'ongyŏnmaeng*, NKAA), which would later become the Chosŏn Art Alliance (*Chosŏn Misul Tongmaeng*). This group provided protection from being branded as a counter-revolutionary by the North, a potential imprisonment or death sentence. The NKAA also provided the precious supplies for creating their own works of art. This group included cartoonists such as Kim Yonghwan, Kim Kyut'aek, and Im Tongŭn.[237] Kim Sŏnghwan was one of the few, or perhaps only, cartoonists who avoided targeted conscription by the North Korean occupying force. When pressed in an interview as to how he avoided the fate of other artists, Kim Sŏnghwan replied: "I was just a High School graduate. The damn Red Army didn't know me!"[238] Thus, his lack of name recognition and subterfuge allowed him to avoid the conflict of loyalties that would haunt many artists who joined the NKAA.

Joining the NKAA required that artists' works conform to the principles of the North's communist ideology. The control of artistic expression was not limited to officially sponsored

[236] Salmon, *Scorched Earth*, 38.
[237] Ch'oe Yŏl, *Han'guk manhwa ŭi yŏksa*, 97. Kim Yonghwan, presented in chapter one, was a cartoonist famous for his creation of the character "K'ojubu" and the editor of *Manhwa sinmun*, where Kim Sŏnghwan would first publish Kobau.
[238] Kim Sŏnghwan, Author's first interview, interview by Emily Hall, August 22, 2012.

groups, but it also extended to all levels of artistic production and organizations as illustrated in a directive issued by the Ministry of Culture and Propaganda of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on August 1, 1950.[239] However, the power to enforce and implement directives from above varied between local committees and cadres, allowing a certain amount of discretion and implementation of a range of themes. Under these organizations, artists produced paintings—often in the Socialist Realism style—held "spontaneous" mass rallies and opened exhibitions, another part of the pattern recommended for liberated areas by the North Korean Ministry of Education and Propaganda.[240] Most of the artists who participated in these activities lived a modular existence. Artists, who once showcased in rallies such as "The Rally of Artists Eradicating Communism," now actively engaged in Communist organizations and kept up the appearance of Communist ideals through participating in these organizations.[241]

The workshop for the NKAA, headed by the Western-style artist Kim Manhyŏng (1916-1984), contained working groups of propaganda pictorial artists, portrait artists, cartoonists, and print makers. Their daily work consisted primarily of producing posters and fliers containing the portraits of Kim Il Sung (Kim Ilsŏng, 1912-1994) and Joseph Stalin (1879-1953). While

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[239] Han'gukhak Chungang Yŏn'guwŏn, *6.25 Chŏnjaenggi migun simnijŏn kwallyŏn charyojip*, 1:597–98. In this document titled, "NK Directive for Organization Cultural Propaganda Activities in Liberated Areas," captured and translated by EUSAK, it states fourteen tasks for the Cultural Bureau are listed: 1) Over-all supervision and organization of cultural works; 2) Supervising the works of Literature and Art Leagues; 3) Organization of artists, of artists' groups and supervision of their work (theatrical groups, orchestras, choirs); 4) Promoting the work of individual artists under the Culture Art League and ensuring repertories; 5) Education work for writers, artists (academic courses, self-study, organization); 6) Supervising the work of the Cultural Section of the Seoul People's Committee; 7) Reorganization and creation of cultural institutions for the masses and supervising their work (libraries, institutions in the commemoration of Liberation struggle, record plants, art shops, photographer's shops); 8) Supervising of cultural work for the masses in the liberated districts (drafting and presenting manuals, providing material and songs for cultural work for the masses; 9) Reorganizing and operating Seoul Central Library and other libraries; 10) Taking over and preparing for operating of record plants; 11) Collecting materials for the liberation struggle; 12) Taking over the material for art work and preparation for manufacturing it; 13) Taking over the material for photography and preparation for operating photo-shops; 14) Supervising the work of photography for propaganda purposes.
[240] Han'gukhak Chungang Yŏn'guwŏn, 1:465; Cho Ŭnjŏng, "6.25 chŏnjaenggi misurin chojik e taehan yŏn'gu [A Study of the Artists' Organization during the Korean War]," *Han'guk kŭnhyŏndae misulsahak* 21 (2010): 93.
[241] Cho Ŭnjŏng, "6.25 chŏnjaenggi misurin chojik e taehan yŏn'gu," 93.

cartoonists also drew portraits of Communist leaders, their works contained additional elements and slogans utilized for propaganda purposes. According to Kim Yonghwan, the slogans attached to the fliers he drew primarily consisted of three themes: "Social Assurance System for the People"; "Purge the Spies"; and "Support the Great Nation of North Korea."[242] Possibly due to a general retaliation by ROK or U.S. authorities when conducting his interview, Kim Yonghwan does not specifically mention the prominence of Anti-Americanism in his works; however, this theme is particularly virulent throughout the North Korean leaflets. It also resounds in editorial cartoons published in the *Chosŏn inminbo* (*Chosŏn People's Newspaper*) and *Haebang ilbo* (*Liberation Daily*), two leftist leaning publications that ceased printing in 1946 and restarted on July 2, 1950 for the purpose of spreading socialism and reforming people's ideology.

A cartoon published on August 9, 1950 in the *Chosŏn inminbo*, when the NKPA surrounded the Pusan perimeter, shows a caricature of Syngman Rhee as a crying monkey clinging to the head of General MacArthur as he sinks further into the ocean. Together, they are unable to endure the simultaneous attack from North Korea and the stones hurled at him from the people of the world. In the distance, the lifeboat of imperialism lingers, seemingly unconcerned and unwilling to assist.[243] In addition to editorial cartoons, themes projecting U.S. brutality against North Korean strength and honor were also prevalent within many fliers. In an analysis report written for the Operations Research Office of the Johns Hopkins University in 1951, Fred H. Barton describes the pattern of Anti-U.S. themes in North Korean fliers and publications from June to December 1950, which seem to change little in subsequent periods:

> The leitmotiv of NK anti-U.S. propaganda argumentation seems to be "U.S. Colonial Imperialism—the real enemy of the people." This has been essentially

[242] Cho Ŭnjŏng, 95.
[243] Cho Ŭnjŏng, 96.

> the communist (especially Soviet) propaganda theme the world over during the past six years. The U.S. is represented as a "blood-sucking parasite," a heartless imperial power with colonial aims, totally unconcerned about the welfare of other peoples. It is further represented as using Korea, Korean wealth and the Korean people, through the medium of Syngman Rhee, generally described as a traitor and a lackey of the U.S., to promote its aggressive fight and exploitation of the honest peace-building "free peoples" of the world.[244]

This anti-U.S. theme continues in the August 8th edition of *Haebang ilbo* where a burly and clean-cut (North) Korean citizen in worker's clothes bends a U.S. cannon against the U.S. army, dressed as a crooked nosed "Uncle Sam," so that the artillery shell now points directly toward his head. In the caption, it reads, "The brutal slaughter of our people by the Americans will at all costs be revenged through their blood!"[245] These images, reportedly drawn by Kim Yonghwan, showcase the level of anti-Americanism prevalent in the NKPA. They also bear remarkable similarities to the political cartoons disseminated by Japanese cartoonists and propagandists during WWII, which Kim Yonghwan participated in under his Japanese pseudonym, Kita Koji.[246]

Though Kim Yonghwan, Kim Kyut'aek and other cartoonists produced countless pictures used in North Korean newspapers, posters, and fliers, when confronted by UN interrogators after Seoul returned to South Korean control, they understandably rarely took full ownership of the product. According to Cho Ŭnjŏng, only two artists, Tak Wŏn'gil (1923-1951) and Chang Chin'gwan signed their names to their work while in Seoul.[247] The primarily reason these artists chose to sign their names was because they had already established their names within North

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[244] Han'gukhak Chungang Yŏn'guwŏn, *6.25 Chŏnjaenggi migun simnijŏn kwallyŏn charyojip*, 1:381.
[245] Cho Ŭnjŏng, "6.25 chŏnjaenggi misurin chojik e taehan yŏn'gu," 96.
[246] Kim Sowŏn, "Kim Yonghwan ŭi ilbon esŏ ŭi chakp'um hwaltong yŏn'gu: 1930-1940-yŏndae saphwa rŭl chungsim ŭro [A Study on Kim Yonghwan's Works of Art in Japan: Focusing on the Illustrations between 1930s and 1940s]," *Manhwa aenimeisyŏn yŏn'gu [Cartoon and Animation Studies]*, no. 33 (December 2013): 262–66. For comparison between Japanese and U.S. print media and propaganda in WWII, check out Dower's excellent, which provides several cartoon examples of similar anti-US and anti-Imperialist themes.
John Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*, 1st ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986).
[247] Cho Ŭnjŏng, "6.25 chŏnjaenggi misurin chojik e taehan yŏn'gu," 98.

Korea so taking ownership of their works would only enhance and spread their reputation. The level of danger for these artists would not change. The practice of not signing one's name to political cartoons—especially controversial ones— was common since the Japanese Colonial period and would continue long past the end of the Korean War. Reprisal from the authorities could lead to imprisonment and even death. Therefore, many were reluctant to take ownership of the idea, leading editors and cartoonist to develop a "code of silence" in reference to the actual creators. Though staff cartoonists often could not escape recognition, submitting works under the name of "anonymous contribution" to either their regular publishers or another media outlet sometimes avoided detection. The reluctance of cartoonists to take ownership of their work also shows the tenuousness of the situation and perceived danger—the tides of the war might change and artists needed assurance that their collaboration with North Korea would not result in the same reprisals and suspicions as experienced when working for Japan during the colonial period, described in Chapter One. When faced with his illustration, Kim Yonghwan explained to ROK interrogators that it was simply "a picture designed for the NPKA Front Headquarters of the Cultural Training Board," implying forced coercion.[248]

2.3 *The Korean War Artists Association: Conflicts of Loyalty*

The recapture of Seoul left many artists in a predicament after joining the NKAA, "voluntarily" participating in rallies, and drawing works in support of North Korea at the NKAA workshop. Some cartoonists, like Ch'ŏng Hyŏnyong and Kim Hŭijin defected to the North after the capture of Seoul because the cartoons they drew expressed leftist ideals both prior to and during the North Korean administration of Seoul. However, the majority who could not escape

[248] Cho Ŭnjŏng, 96.

north, including Kim Yonghwan and Im Tongŭn, remained in Seoul or fled south. Those who did not flee Seoul after capture were hauled into the police stations on suspicion of collaborating with the North. Kim Yonghwan and Im Tongŭn both served prison terms for their activities. While considered one of the most creative cartoonists of his time, Im Tongŭn died in prison, rumored under torture.[249] Kim Yonghwan would later describe his experience in a May 1955 issue of the popular magainze *Sirhwa* (*Real Stories*):

> Even though everyone seems to have coped with or feel it unnecessary to speak of the hardships of the Korean War, I told them [the ROK interrogators] I was forced into cooperating in the activities of the puppet army for the sake of my life. Nonetheless, truly if a person makes a mistake, the whip of justice comes out. I received this judgment happily for two months and sincerely was content, and after September 28th, I fled to Taegu.[250]

These surprisingly honest words showed that cooperation with either side often depended more on practical necessity than ideology. The lesson that Kim Yonghwan and many with similar experiences during the war seemed to learn is that while within the territory of the north or south, a careful image of compliance must be maintained. However, while that image should be forceful enough to demonstrate loyalty, it also needed a level of plausible deniability in case of a reverse in the political climate.

As shown in Chapter One, the post-liberation period (1945-1950) demonstrated the complex hazards in supporting a political agenda as seen in the accusations of collaborating with the former empire of Japan. This would be further compounded with the mixing of ideas surrounding democratic, socialist, and communist ideologies. Over the next five years, an increasing polarization of communism and anti-communist liberal-democratic ideologies occurred. Each brought various levels of promotion, protection, and danger. The Korean War

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[249] Ch'oe Yŏl, *Han'guk manhwa ŭi yŏksa*, 97.
[250] Son Sangik, *Han'guk manhwa t`ongsa(ha)*, 59–60.

would further amplify the hazards as shown in these artist's experiences.

Kim Yonghwan's arrest was likely because his name was recorded as a member of the Communist Party in 1946, which he claimed to have done out of the urging of the editor of the *Chungang sinmun*.[251] Kim Yonghwan would maintain professed ignorance in his memoirs and interviews, claiming little care or allegiance with political ideologies despite the political or propaganda nature seen in many of his works.[252] Even in my interview with Kim Sŏnghwan, he described Kim Yonghwan as exhibiting no true political loyalties and holding a primary interest in children's cartoons and money.[253] Nonetheless, his ability to switch themes between leftist, rightist, and centrist depending on the audience and popularity of the themes attests to the validity of his claim. It also demonstrates the loyalty to and fluidity of these concepts of communism, socialism, and liberal democracy in the post-liberation period.

In Taegu, Kim Yonghwan continued his work on *Manhwa sinmun* (*Cartoon News*), which he started before the war. He joined the Psychological Warfare Department of the Army Headquarters where he actively participated in producing anti-North propaganda for the South. As when he worked with the North, producing propaganda provided a means for living and working as well as demonstrating a sense of loyalty to the ROK so that he might not be "mistaken" again for a North Korean collaborator and receive the "whip of justice." Kim

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[251] In his autobiography, Kim Yonghwan explained what led to joining the Communist Party. At the time of his recruitment, "the Communist Party was recognized as a legal party. Moreover, the Korea Democratic Party was a conservative party for rich landowners, and the Communist Party was simply a progressive party for the workers. As for me, I could not help but be impressed that such a big man as Yi Sangho directly asked me to join a political party, Kim Yonghwan, *K'ojubu p'yoranggi [Kojubu Wanderings]* (Seoul: Yungsŏng Ch'ulp'an, 1983), 98.

[252] When describing his initial encounter with the Communist Party and decision to join, Kim Yonghwan gave this reason: "In actuality, even though I drew political cartoons, I had no interest in politics, and even more so, I had no interest in knowing more about leftist ideology. However, when I saw the political cartoons, I drew grow in popularity—and being vaguely drunk—I felt excited to be asked to join a political party by Yi Sangho. With a trembling hand, I signed up for the political [Communist] party and attached my stamp" (Kim Yonghwan, 98.) It is likely that Kim Yonghwan's decision to join the Communist Party might have also been part of the reason he was pursued by North Korea to work as a propaganda artist during the occupation of Seoul. Since he survived the aftermath of this

[253] Kim Sŏnghwan, Author's second interview.

Yonghwan would see ambiguity in his political ideology as a protective measure during this time. Kim Sŏnghwan would take the idea of ambiguity a step further to use ambiguity as a political tool against the contradictions in ideology through his signature character, "Mr. Kobau."

Faced with suspicion by authorities, threats or actual prison sentences for participation in North Korean sponsored activities during the occupation of Seoul, artists felt vulnerable, subject to the whims of the governments and the shifts in the tides of war. In order to combat this stigma and escape further investigation, artists collected and formed the Korean Artists Association, which had existed prior to the outbreak of the war, but, according to Cho Ŭnjŏng, became much more of a representative organization for artists to concentrate on anti-communism during the Korean War. "Participation in the Korean Artists Association was proof that they are part of the ROK nation and that they chose anti-communist democracy in South Korea."[254] Artists started to hold anti-North rallies, similar to the anti-South rallies they participated in while under North Korean control, and organized exhibitions of their work.

Other artists went a step further in proving their loyalty to the ROK by joining the army, either as a traditional soldier or as a propaganda artist. The War Artists Association (*Chonggun Hwagadan*) officially formed in June 1951 under the Ministry of National Defense with the intention of producing works of battle scenes, lives of refugees, and expressions of desire for peace. According to interviews with artists, some suspected that, in addition, cultural leaders might have tried to persuade the Defense Ministry to hire painters in order to keep them from conscription and protect these "cultural assets."[255] Along with issuing artists with ID cards that exempted them from military service, the war office provided high quality Japanese art products that allowed them to continue painting.

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[254] Cho Ŭnjŏng, "6.25 chŏnjaenggi misurin chojik e taehan yŏn'gu," 92.
[255] Young-na Kim, "Korean War Art," *Korea Focus* 18, no. 3 (2010): 109.

2.4 *UN Psychological Warfare Branch: Kim Kyut'aek and Propaganda Fliers*

Kim Kyut'aek differed from the experiences of Kim Yonghwan and other cartoonists who worked for the NKAA because he was quickly targeted by the Psychological Warfare Branch of the UN Headquarters in Tokyo as someone useful in the war effort. This is most likely due to a lack of ties to the Communist party and leftist ideology, besides his work done during the occupation of Seoul. Still, like other cartoonists, Kim Kyut'aek was eager to prove his loyalty so he was flown off to Tokyo where he remained throughout the Korean War and past the armistice in 1953.[256] In Tokyo, Kim Kyut'aek illustrated countless "leaflet bombs" that would be dropped throughout Korea. While there are many contesting reports on the effectiveness of leaflet bombs in the Korean War, these remained one of the key strategies of psychological warfare throughout the war and a pragmatic method by which cartoonists and artists might support themselves and prove their loyalty and dedication to anti-communism. For cartoon artists, it also provided a training facility for creating genre weapons through the production of political and propaganda subject matter.

The UN dropped their first batch of propaganda leaflets in Korea three days after the opening of the war, and between July and December 1950, over 160 million leaflets filled the sky in both ROK-and DPRK-held territories despite an initial lack of preparation and readiness for operating a psychological warfare campaign in Korea.[257] Over the course of the war, the

[256] Kim Kyut'aek would not return to Korea until 1959 when Kim Yonghwan would take over his position. It is likely that Kim Kyut'aek also looked toward Japan with a sense of nostalgia that might have affected his decision to return to and remain in Japan since he generally had positive comments in association with his time spent in Japan during both the pre-and post-colonial periods.
[257] Pettee, "US Psywar Operations in the Korean War," 13 and 16. These totals include: 102,702,000 fliers dropped on North Korean troops; 20,757,000 fliers dropped in Communist held territory; 43,921,000 fliers dropped in "Friendly and Liberated Areas."

leaflet dissemination campaigns spread to over 2.4 billion fliers and news bulletins. The original psychological warfare group consisted of nine operatives working for the Special Projects Branch of the Civil Intelligence Military Intelligence Service Division under the UN's Far East Command in Tokyo as part of an emergency plan initiated by Truman in 1949. In the six months after the start of the war, the group had grown to fifty-five members, including: 14 interpreters; 14 personnel located in Korea; and 27 staff, including administrative and secretarial positions, within the home office.[258] On January 24, 1951, the psychological warfare section of the Eighth U.S. Army, Korea (EUSAK) was elevated to division status and under the command of Brigadier General Robert A. McClure expanded the Psychological Warfare Branch (PWB) facilities and efforts.[259]

Despite the extensive history and use of psychological warfare and propaganda in World War II, the organization and procurement of personnel for the Korean War was described as "improvised" and "provisional" with very little coordination. The PWB issued numerous policy guidance ordinances starting on July 10, 1950 and continued throughout the duration of the war. In a dispatch on August 8, 1950, the PWB outlined the major themes to be used in their preparation of material:

> 1) To speak always from a UN and not from a U.S. viewpoint
> 2) To treat the conflict as aggression and not as civil war
> 3) To attack Communism in terms of its visible effects on everyday life and not in ideological and theoretical terms
> 4) To concentrate on simple and concrete subjects, simply expressed, with direct bearing on Korea[260]

[258] Pettee, 13.
[259] John Martin Campbell, *Slinging the Bull in Korea: An Adventure in Psychological Warfare* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 98. Brigadier General Robert A. McClure had been the director of psychological warfare at the Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expedition Forces in Europe during WWII.
[260] Pettee, "US Psywar Operations in the Korean War," 30.

While the PWB kept primarily to these themes throughout the initial stages of the war, additional warnings and precautions were added to the orders to be rescinded later as developments in the war required a reworking of strategy. For example, Policy Guidance No. 1 contained the warning: "In using the term 'puppet' to describe North Korea, do not connect the strings with Moscow…Do not link the Chinese Communists…." However, Policy Guidance No. 2, issued the next day, relaxed the policy by allowing reference to "moral responsibility" to the Soviets "because of its refusal to cooperate with the United Nations action."[261]

The first target group in the distribution of fliers consisted of South Korean troops and civilians, which lasted for the entire first month of the war, with the aim of bolstering morale in the face of North Korea's march south.[262] In mid-July, leaflets aimed at North Korean civilians, with the hopes they would also fall into the hands of North Korean soldiers, were dropped into North Korean territory. On August 9, 1950, the PWB created one million copies of the "Safe Conduct Pass," the first group of fliers solely targeting North Korean Soldiers.[263] On December 8, over a month following the initial clashes with the Chinese People's Army (CPA), the PWB issued a "Plan for Psychological Warfare Against Chinese Target Groups;" on December 14th, they approved the usage of the word "aggression" in reference to Chinese intervention.[264] Therefore, the last target audience was the Chinese soldiers once their entry into the war was recognized as permanent.

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[261] Pettee, 31.
[262] William E. Daugherty, "Evaluation and Analysis of Leaflet Program in the Korean Campaign, June-December 1950" (Technical Memorandum, Operations Research Office, John Hopkins University, January 23, 1951), 10, 6.25 chŏnjaenggi migun simnijŏn kwallyŏn charyojip.
[263] Daugherty, 138.
[264] Pettee, "US Psywar Operations in the Korean War," 31–32. The objectives of the "Plan for Psychological Warfare against Chinese Target Groups" consisted of the following: 1) To cause the Chinese soldier to doubt the necessity or rectitude of Chinese intervention in Korea. 2) To arouse resentment, among Chinese soldiers and civilians, against the USSR and the Chinese Communist regime by exposing Communist plans for exploitation and subjugation of China. 3) To convince the Chinese soldier and civilian of UN and US friendship for the Chinese people; 4) To counteract Communist propaganda by disseminating factual news.

Leaflets ranged in size from three by five inches to the size of a newspaper, printed in black, blue, or red ink. The composition ranged from blocks of only text to a mixture of text, photography, sketches, and cartoons. Research by the Special Operations Research Office classified the leaflets into three types: directive, informative, and persuasive, though these often crossed purposes.[265] Directive leaflets gave orders to soldiers or civilians. These would tell the target audience to follow certain procedures in order to save their lives like evacuate planned bombing areas or surrender utilizing an outlined set of instructions, including the "Safe Conduct Pass." One example of a directive leaflet drawn by Kim Kyut'aek called for Korean civilians to "sabotage your work; rise in rebellion; and actively help the partisans fight against the Communist aggressors in all places!" and North Korean soldiers to "desert your unit and hide until you can surrender to a partisan who fights for a free, united Korea." As with most directive leaflets, these concluded with the promise that if they show the flier they will receive good treatment.[266] On the front side, this flier graphically illustrated the reasoning for following these directives through an image of a giant octopus, an anthropomorphic representation of Communism, entangling a North Korean soldier, an elderly Korean in traditional *yangban* attire, and a mother and child in its tentacles.[267] The North Korean soldier and elderly Korean appear slightly startled with their arms raised in a gesture of surrender. While the *yangban* represents the

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[265] Stephen E. Pease, *Psywar: Psychological Warfare in Korea, 1950-1953* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1992), 47.

[266] Albert G. Brauer, "North Dakota State University Institute for Regional Studies Archives — Korean War Propaganda Leaflet Collection," Digital Collection, NDSU Libraries, accessed March 24, 2017, https://library.ndsu.edu/ndsuarchives/korean-war-propaganda-leaflet-collection. This flier is produced by the Psychological Warfare Section in the Headquarters of Eighth United States Army in Korea (EUSAK)(Serial No. 8130). Albert G. Brauer was the Chief of the Projects Branch, Psychological Warfare Division, G3 Section from February 1951 to January 1952. As an alumnus of NDSU, he collected and donated 638 leaflets to be stored and digitally converted as part of the library archive.

[267] Brauer. This flier poses several reasons why the North Korean civilians and soldiers should "cut off the evil tentacles of Communism." "The Communist aggressor, through false propaganda and empty promises, are enslaving the Fatherland and deceiving the people. Must only the North Korean soldiers do the dangerous fighting? The Korean civilians must do forced labor with little or no pay. The Communist army plunders the Korean's food and other supplies and then carries it off to the north."

Korean nation, its traditions and heritage, the true heart of this piece lies in the figures of the mother and child. Their looks of despair showcase a typical theme in fliers—a longing for home in a bold attempt to exploit family ties. By utilizing images of motherhood, the PWB and its artists hoped to take advantage of their sense of familial obligation, a strong and resonating force in any society.

Informative leaflets told about the destruction of certain targets, emphasizing UN superiority and Communist vulnerability. They could also "inform" soldiers and civilians of actions committed by their authorities or allies. For example, in a flier titled, "The Crimes of Kim Il Sung," it features an eight-panel cartoon with the first four panels illustrating an uncaringly cruel Kim Il Sung driving the Korean soldiers toward death, with the Chinese soldiers and Soviets as his weaponry; the second four panels traces his "crimes" against the civilians as the theft of food, compulsory labor, and executions. In a form of suggestive of tribute, it illustrates Korea's production machinery being sent off to the USSR.[268] Kim Il Sung, generally in collusion with the Soviets, would play the classic image of repressor throughout the PWB fliers. Though this cartoon presents this type of image, the absurdity in caricature style almost refutes its seriousness.[269] Informative leaflets also consisted of news fliers, "Parachute News,"

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[268] Brauer. This flyer was created by the Psychological Warfare Division, G3 Headquarters, EUSAK (Serial No. 8242) with contributing artwork from the Psywar ROKA. The cartoon outlines the "Crimes of Kim Il Sung" in the following order: 1) He has killed many thousands of young men by driving them into the battlefields; 2) He has invited the Chinese Communists to kill our brothers; 3) He has enriched himself by sacking property from the patriotic brothers; 4) He has murdered many of your patriotic brothers; 5) He has exploited the blood of the farmers by payment in goods; 6) He has mistreated the eight million North Korean brothers with compulsory labor; 7) He has killed thousands of our brothers by the "blood-liquidation;" (*p'ŭisuk*) 8) He has sent the production machines and materials to Russia. The reverse side of the flier presents a picture of a dove in the shape of a riveted armored tank and branded with the sickle. In the caption it claims, "This armored Communist dove of peace has brought suffering and death to the North Korean people."

[269] While cartoons were generally considered effective forms of psychological warfare, one wonders whether the creation of these satirical images of tragedy might also illustrate subtle forms of resistance in the artists against the production of propaganda. In adding humor to the situation and cartoon exaggerations did these artists intend to mock the message, or question its validity? Or was this type of cartoon simply meant to persuade the North Koreans by highlighting its absurdity through humor? While the latter is likely the intended purpose of PWD in ordering these types of cartoon fliers, it still causes one to wonder whether the cartoonists stretched these boundaries by

that would update soldiers and civilians about events in the world, the progress of the war, and UN objectives. Named after the popular Japanese language newspaper, *Rakkasan Jiho*, produced by the Psychological Warfare Branch, South West Pacific Area, in World War II, "Parachute News" sometimes included clips from world news sources—primarily U.S. and South Korean—and cartoons.[270] However, according to a report by the Operations Research Office, these news sources were heavily biased, so amounted to little more than propaganda and likely ineffective.[271]

The final classification of fliers, the persuasive leaflet, tried to convince the audience to take a certain action or change their minds in support of the enemy. Hunger, in particular, played an important role in persuading defections, since malnutrition, even among soldiers, was leading cause of death. According to various statistics, at least two million civilians lost their lives during the course of the Korean War.[272] Of those two million civilians, it is safe to say that a large percentage of them died due to circumstances related to malnutrition—whether directly the result of starvation or indirectly related to illnesses or acts of desperation performed for the purpose of acquiring food. The countless accounts and stories of boney figures lying in ditches, starving children roaming the streets, and the hollow-eyed stares of those suffering and dying of malnutrition also gives validity and a human face to the statistics. In Kim Sŏnghwan's war drawings, the signs of malnutrition appeared frequently, even in high-ranking military officers, doubly attesting to the pervasiveness of food shortages during the Korean War.

creating their own mockery directed back at the PWD and wartime ideologies. This a method often used in editorial cartooning and could have been initially conceived to be later directed and focused within post-war subject matter.

[270] Daugherty, "Evaluation and Analysis of Leaflet Program," 20.

[271] Daugherty, 19–20.

[272] Cumings, *Korean War*, 43.

This lack of food, especially within the military, provided a prime target for psychological warfare in both North and South Korea. Of the four themes emphasized in the Psywar planning operations against North Korean and Chinese troops, "surrender and receive good food" was listed number one.[273] Numerous fliers produced by EUSAK promised food if one surrendered, and many fliers addressing North Korean soldiers or civilians claimed that the shortage of food was the result of the North Korean government hording it for themselves or giving it to the Chinese armies in exchange for their support in the war. In one collaborative flier between the Psywar ROKA and the Pyswar EUSAK, a well-fed Kim Il Sung stuffs brimming bowls of rice into the gigantic mouth of an oversized and overweight Chinese soldier. To his side a grossly thin woman symbolizing the "hungry North Korean compatriots" holds onto her young son, his bones distinctly protruding from his chest, and gazes longingly at the food. Another woman, possibly dead, lies in front and under the foot of Kim Il Sung—a symbol of his repression of the people. The caption reads: "The North Korean puppets are simply traitors for they feed the Chinese Communist Army your insufficient food supplies and because they pay no attention to your starving North Korean countrymen!"[274] In addition to emphasizing starvation as a motivation for defection, the flier clearly showcases a common theme of oppression by authorities with the North Koreans playing the victims.

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[273] Pease, *Psywar*, 19. These four themes included: 1) Surrender and receive good food, humane treatment, medical care, and shelter from the dangers of war; 2) Surrender and you will stay alive to return to your home after UN forces win the war; 3) Un forces are superior in firepower. You cannot win. 4) A living North Korean patriot is better than a dead one.

[274] Brauer, "NDSU Korean War Propaganda Leaflet Collection." North Korea also used similar themes. For example, a North Korean flier disseminated around Christmas time illustrated caricatures of U.S. soldiers and businessmen celebrating with a sumptuous feast, while drinking and kissing *kisaeng*. A thin Korean soldier stands in the entrance, unwelcome at the party, and through the open window in the background, a mass grave covered in skulls looms as a haunting reminder of the deaths upon which this feast was built. The caption reads: "It's Christmas! It's New Years! All of you have been driven toward death, and these bastards binge before you like this" (Hallim Taehakkyo (Korea), *Han'guk chŏnjaenggi ppira [Korean War Fliers]* (Kangwŏn-do Ch'unch'ŏn-si: Institute of Asian Culture Studies Hallym University, 2000), 411.)

This is further shown in another example by Kim Kyut'aek where the flier illustrates a high ranking North Korean officer looming within a mass of dark dream-like clouds showing medals to two North Korean soldiers. This haunting image of three comrades—now reduced to mere skeletons—represented the North Korean soldiers who sacrificed their lives for these rewards. The vision prompts the two North Korean soldiers to throw away their weapons and go over to the UN side, following a path labeled as a "Road to Hope."[275] As with promises of food, this illustrated what was also a largely prevalent theme in persuasive fliers, which was presented in emotionally triggering though logical form: surrender is preferential to dying.[276]

Since painting all North Koreans as an enemy would, obviously, render many fliers ineffective, a separation between "good" and "bad" Korean citizens and soldiers was needed. Most UN and North Korean fliers clearly demarcate the difference between friend and foe within the image of authority. Low-ranked soldiers were considered "good" or at least naïve; officers or high-ranking officials were "bad" and deceitful. Separating of the Korean population into categories of victims and victimizers based solely on their rank allowed Koreans to mentally both divide and retain their loyalty to the Korean nation. It categorized Koreans into two types of citizens: the rulers and the ruled. The rulers were fundamentally different and separate from the whole of Korean society, exhibiting loyalties to foreign powers. In fact, this difference was precisely what allowed Koreans to retain their bond as a nation capable of reunification because it was the rulers who caused this forced separation; the rulers were the "true" enemy needing to

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[275] Brauer, "NDSU Korean War Propaganda Leaflet Collection." This leaflet was produced by the Psychological Warfare Division, G-3 Headquarters, EUSAK (Serial No. 8178). The back side of the leaflet addresses the comrades of the NKPA, prompting them to ask themselves the following questions: "What is the real meaning of a 'hero medal?' The selfish Communist leaders hold these medals up to you as bait—bait to lure you to death and not glory. Instead of food when you are hungry, they display medals, instead of warm clothes when you are cold, they talk of medals. Comrades! Do not be deceived by their generous offer of medals. Leave the darkness and come over to the light; come over to the UN lines and join the thousands of your comrades who are already here. Do not hesitate! Tomorrow may be too late!"
[276] Pease, *Psywar*, 47.

be resisted. This separation of Korea into rulers and ruled would have many unintended consequences in the future for the authorities who initially promoted these ideas in their propaganda.

The purpose of these persuasive fliers was to show that the promises of Communism were contradictory to the realities and the only course when faced with such contradictions is to resist, fight, or abandon such ideologies. A survey of 50 North Korean and Chinese Communist POWs, conducted prior to distribution of this leaflet, summarized the POWs' reactions to this flier with the following four comments:

> 1) The leaflet points up well the deceit inherent in all Communist promises, the ultimate end of which is death for the individual.
> 2) The leaflet heightens everyman's feeling of injustices. No one likes to be made the fool.
> 3) It portrays accurately the underlying emptiness of all Communist promises and enables the soldier to see them for what they are—worthless inducements to exchange one's life for a piece of metal, or a pat on the back.
> 4) It sobers up these men who are intoxicated with glory.[277]

These interviews highlight the reasoning and sense of betrayal that forms when realities fail to measure up to the propaganda promises. The fliers reinforced the idea that contradictions between the promises and ideologies and the reality of authority's actions was something to be resisted, an idea that could be easily transferable to other forms of government and authority. As will be discussed in later chapters, in the 1950s and 1960s, the fledgling pro-democracy movements were largely fueled by the frustration in the contradiction between the institutional and economic promises in liberal-democratic rhetoric and the reality of corruption, poverty, and

[277] Brauer, "NDSU Korean War Propaganda Leaflet Collection." Though these statements were gathered under severe circumstances that clearly showcased an attempt by the POWs to cater to the expectations of their captors, it also reveals a clear understanding that these fliers were produced with the intention of altering the perception of the individual and that their underlying objectives as propaganda pieces were most likely understood by the target audience.

dictatorship. As taught within the fliers, when faced with such contradictions, one must reject and resist the authorities. This caused some to take action—during the war and later—often following the exact methods proscribed by the propaganda: they joined anti-authoritarian (pro-democracy) movements or fled (immigrated) to other UN nations (like the U.S.). Therefore, in addition to heavily promoting and perpetuating the idea of Communists as the enemy, the propaganda fliers also lay the ground for authoritarian resistance in general. As aptly explained by those exposed to such rhetoric, "No one likes to be made the fool."[278]

2.5 *PWB Flier Production: Kim Sŏnghwan's War Experience*

The majority of the content of the fliers used in the war were designed and produced by the PWB in Japan.[279] In response to particular objectives or urgent requests from command headquarters in Korea, a staff of all English-speaking personnel would select a theme and write the text in English. Translators would then convert the text into "meaningful" Korean, Chinese, or Russian depending on the target audience for the flier. While debates occurred within the PWB on whether to allow the interpreters to create the messages based on their own cultural understanding, this was generally rejected. An analysis report by the Psywar Center states the reason for rejecting natives in writing propaganda was because the Chinese or Koreans hired for assisting in translation had no training in waging psychological warfare or specialty in cultural studies. "They were either Chinese or Koreans of more than average (for Chinese and Koreans) education with a good knowledge of English who knew no more of their own peoples' psychology, customs and culture than so many average American business men, grade school

[278] Brauer.
[279] For an excellent discussion on some of the fliers produced by the PWB in Japan during the Korean War, see Yi Imha, *Chŏk ŭl ppira ro mudŏra: Han'guk chŏnjaenggi miguk ŭi simnijŏn [Bury the Enemy through Leaflets: An Account of US Psychological Warfare in the Korean War]* (Seoul: Ch'ŏlsu wa Yŏnghŭi, 2012).

teachers, envelope addressors or 'previously unemployed' Americans would know of American psychology, customs or culture."[280] While this might seem like a sound argument, this deficiency could have easily been remedied by hiring a Chinese and Korean with more "expertise," though it is difficult to qualify the meaning of "expert." The bulk of the men enlisted into the PWB were recent college graduates, unfamiliar with Korea—except for taking a few classes conducted by "Asian experts"—and with only six weeks of training in psychological warfare.[281] In fact, many of those creating the fliers served their entire tour of duty in the cushy Japanese-chauffeured army housing in Tokyo—never setting foot in Korea. In the same report referenced above, it claims: "There never has been psywar personnel who were area specialists. There never has been psywar personnel who were linguists with the exception of one officer who was not fluent in the pertinent language."[282] Therefore, the earlier statement and attitude toward Chinese and Koreans' involvement tends to reflect a general prejudice toward Asians and practices regarding administration in Korea.

The art department, however, ended up developing a more collaborative process with their Asian companions. Like the writing and translation department, the artists handled the design and artwork of the fliers based upon the selected theme prepared by the PWB staff. Before the arrival of U.S. artists in August 1950, the PWB headquarters hired civilian artists—two Chinese, one Korean, and one Japanese—with the initial thought that they would simply assist in the finishing work of the U.S. staff designs. Liang Tin-Ming served on Chiang Kai-Shek's staff and painted murals on the walls of government buildings throughout China. He was

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[280] Herbert Avedon, "PsyWar Operational Deficiencies Noted in Korea—A Study" (PsyWar Center, November 10, 1953), 10, 6.25 chŏnjaenggi migun simnijŏn kwallyŏn charyojip.
[281] Thomas M. Klein, *Psychological Warfare in Korea: Life and Times in the First Radio Broadcasting and Leaflet Group, 1951-52* (Greenwich, CT: RHP Books Round Hill Productions, 2002), 24.
[282] Avedon, "PsyWar Operational Deficiencies Noted in Korea," 57.

described as “having an intimate knowledge of Chinese Communists and history…used to develop many allegorical images in his depiction of leaflet’s art requirements.”[283] Yang Lung-sun also came from the same area of Taiwan as Liang, who acted as his mentor. Prior to joining PWB, Tetsuri Oishi worked as a Japanese cartoonists and illustrator of children’s books. Rounding out the group was Kim Kyut’aek, the famous cartoonist who arrived from South Korea after having been recently “forced” to work in an equivalent North Korean “psychological warfare” artist workshop in Seoul. The U.S. artist Gudmund Berge described Kim Kyut’aek as “skilled at depicting human body and facial expressions that captured the gut essence of the leaflet’s text. He knew the characteristics of the North Koreans from personal contact, and his newspaper background made him capable of meeting the deadlines with aplomb.”[284] The age, experience, and talent of the Chinese, Korean, and Japanese artists soon overcame initial prejudices of the U.S. artists, and according to the memoirs of the first U.S. artist group, “it was they [the Chinese, Korean, and Japanese artists] who came up with the creative concepts and basic design of leaflets after some discussion of what objective each leaflet was expected to serve.”[285] While the majority of the production of the psywar leaflets represent the omnipresence of U.S. hegemony during the Korean War and to a fading degree Japanese hegemony as well, the activities of the art section show that even within this unilateral framework tensions occur that defy the beliefs of U.S. superiority and acknowledge the native expertise and stake in the war.

[283] Klein, *Psychological Warfare in Korea*, 41.
[284] Klein, 42.
[285] Klein, 41.

2.6 *Early Genre Weapons: The Propaganda Art School*

Though the art department of the PWB in Japan would start to see mutual cooperation between a multi-national group of interpreters and artists and an opportunity to live a safe, relatively comfortable existence, the cartoon artists remaining in Korea still faced many harsh conditions, which were removed despite their attempts to demonstrate loyalty and promote their works through associations. Since most of the artists fled to Busan as the NKPA marched south, Kim Sŏnghwan initially tried to find work there. Instead, he found himself once again marked for conscription by the ROKA. To avoid this fate, Kim Sŏnghwan fled to Taegu. He first tried to obtain employment as a cartoonist with Kim Yonghwan, who was attempting to revive *Manhwa sinmun* (*Cartoon News*), but a lack of commissions at this time caused Kim Yonghwan to turn him away.

In the spring of 1951, Kim Sŏnghwan heard news that the civilian office of the Ministry of National Defense in Taegu was seeking cartoonists as part of the War Artist Association (*Chonggun Hwagadan*, WAA) under the Armed Forces Information and Education Division (*Chŏnghun'guk* AFIED*)*. With few job opportunities available, Kim Sŏnghwan and Kim Yonghwan both signed up. Kim Sŏnghwan attended the AFIED Propaganda and Art School (*Chŏnghun'guk sŏnjŏn'gwa misultae*) with around 30 other painters. These numbers would increase to around 70 or 80 artists, most who were also members of the Korean Artists Association.[286] On the surface, the AFIED Propaganda Art School might appear like an attempt by the PWB to create training center to produce Korean "experts" in propaganda art in accordance with their expanding initiatives, but according to Kim Sŏnghwan, the content of the fliers assigned to Korean artists within the organization generally fell under the category of

[286] Kim Sŏnghwan, "Chongi p'okt'an," 7.

directive or informative leaflets aimed at South Koreans.[287] "We had to quickly make all sorts of fliers with contents like 'Don't forget the war' or 'Abstain from drinking, singing, dancing, which will create disharmony,' directed toward the [South Korean] citizens."[288] The majority of North Korean or Chinese-directed persuasive leaflets still came from the PWD in Tokyo, continuing the imperialist mentality and sense of mistrust by the UN in Korean's ability engaged in psychological warfare against North Korea and China.

While bias against Korean produced propaganda art was apparent the PWD directives, the AFIED Propaganda Art School may have expanded to utilize their services more if the war had not settled into one of border skirmishes as shown in an incident in April 1951, when Kim Sŏnghwan was asked to produce a set of North Korean and Chinese-directed persuasive leaflets. While Kim Sŏnghwan was editing the Army soldier's magazine, *Victory Comics* (*Manhwa sŭngni*), an army major approached him with the urgent request to create two leaflet bombs: one directed toward the North Korean military; one directed toward the Chinese military.[289] Requests for civilian-targeted fliers were common amongst the cartoonist staff, but since it was known that the majority of North Korean or Chinese-directed leaflets came from Kim Kyut'aek at the PWD in Tokyo, this request struck Kim Sŏnghwan as a bit odd.[290] After forty minutes of hassling by

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[287] Kim Sŏnghwan, 8.
[288] Ch'oe Yŏl, *Han'guk manhwa ŭi yŏksa*, 98.
[289] Kim Sŏnghwan, "Chongi p'okt'an," 7–8.
[290] Most of Kim Sŏnghwan's work within Propaganda Art School tended to be directed toward South Korean citizens and not North Korea or China. The possible reason Kim Sŏnghwan gives for this request is that the Chinese Communist Army was drawing close so they needed to urgently produce the fliers, which would not be completed in time if produced in the Tokyo PWB. After the Chinese Communist Army withdrew past the front line and the war turned into border skirmishes, the continuation of a wartime propaganda group producing fliers in Korea may have been seen as less necessary since the Tokyo branch was better equipped to create the fliers. By autumn, Kim Sŏnghwan's work would consist of contributing cartoons to army magazines and sketching trips accompanying the 6th division army. The reason for the major's request may have been some sort of publicity ploy to try to prove South Korea's commitment to anti-communism or their ability to produce fliers without assistance from Japanese or UN artists as a lead up to the creation of the War Artists Association. The impatient and passionate demeanor of the major, as described by Kim Sŏnghwan, suggests some ulterior political motive (or publication deadline) other than simply a desire to see if Kim Sŏnghwan could produce a piece of propaganda aimed at the North Korean and Chinese military.

the major, who stomped around the room impatiently, Kim Sŏnghwan finished his drawings, and the major rolled up the fliers in an envelope before dashing out the door. The major shouted out, "these fliers, which will fall like snow upon the heads of the Chinese and Communists, will turn the fighting around!"[291]

According to Kim Sŏnghwan, the reason for the urgent request was that the Chinese Communist Army was drawing close, so the army needed to quickly produce the fliers. This would not be completed in time if produced by the Tokyo PWB.[292] After the Chinese Communist Army withdrew past the front line and the war turned into border skirmishes, the continuation of a wartime propaganda group producing fliers in Korea was seen as less necessary since the Tokyo branch was better equipped to create propaganda fliers. While this was only small request for persuasive fliers, the fact that the group was initially set up and in the process of training artists for this purpose in Korea suggests that if the fighting had not settled into border wars, there might have been more activity in psychological warfare flier production on the Korean peninsula. But, this is counter-historical. By autumn, Kim Sŏnghwan's work would primarily consist of contributing cartoons to army magazines and sketching trips accompanying the 6th division army.[293] Though his time officially producing propaganda was brief in comparison to the amount of time he would spend creating cartoons for the weekly magazines for servicemen, the incident with the army major also brought Kim Sŏnghwan his first moment of foreign recognition.

Half a month later, in the beginning of May, the army major returned to the office of the Propaganda Art School and spread open the U.S. independent military daily, *Stars and Stripes*.

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[291] Kim Sŏnghwan, "Chongi p'okt'an," 8.
[292] Kim Sŏnghwan, 9.
[293] Kim Sŏnghwan, 9.

The front page contained a copy of the two cartoons Kim Sŏnghwan drew for the major. With great pride, the major exclaimed, "This is the first of our country's cartoons to be placed in a foreign newspaper, aren't you excited about it?"[294] Despite what would generally be seen as a great achievement amongst most Koreans, Kim Sŏnghwan's peers failed to react or give any congratulations, which momentarily confused him, so Kim Sŏnghwan did not know how to react. The reaction (or lack of reaction) by his peers likely had to do with jealousy, but it also suggests a vague disinterest in U.S. recognition and approval, perhaps brought on by the war.

After this event, Kim Sŏnghwan escaped to a makkŏlli house where he bitterly tried to drink away his disappointment in his peer's reaction. In reflection, Kim Sŏnghwan felt he would have given an appropriate congratulations to them if they achieved similar international recognition. In his memoirs, he recalls this produced a moment of madness where he started to chuckle aloud as he imagined his fliers "falling on the heads of the North Korean and Chinese army like heavy snow."[295] This may seem like a minor incident, but, according to Kim Sŏnghwan, it was an illustrative example of a pattern of poor treatment of artists, especially cartoon artists. The fact that his companions did not congratulate him attested to a sense of desperation felt by many artists as they tried to eke out a meager living, barely surviving. In war, daily living trumped fame and recognition.

2.7 *War and Daily Living: The Korean War Artists Association*

Though artists received some minor financial support from the government, in practice, they received little preferential treatment or special accommodations. As Kim Sŏnghwan described the situation, "artists rarely had had the opportunity to display inside public buildings

[294] Kim Sŏnghwan, 8.
[295] Kim Sŏnghwan, 8.

properly chilled for exhibitions. In places like temple gardens and park clearings, artists stood paperboards and had exhibits there. Only refugees, unemployed persons, and children admired the paintings."[296] In this poor environment, artists became indistinguishable from the general refugee and were often treated as no better than "beggars."[297] This lay in stark contrast to the treatment or rumored treatment of artists in Japan (and perhaps even in North Korea), which might have accounted for some defections. This poor treatment initially surprised and disappointed some artists, who hoped by joining the War Artists Association, it would not just relieve the financial burden and threats of conscription, but also provide a better and more distinguished life. In memoirs, Kim Sŏnghwan elaborated on this general perception:

> During World War II, a War Artist Association had been formed in Japan, and we had heard that prominent artists had received special treatment like that of a major general, and each and every artist received field grade officer positions. However, our War Artists Association, like an ordinary enlisted soldier, had to request a sleeping space on the tatami floor, and at the place that regular enlisted ate, our meal we need eat consisted of one bowl of thin bean sprout soup and bowl of rice. Of course, our salary and such was so unimaginably small. We just remained because it guaranteed that we were not dragged away for national defense.[298]

Some of the perceived mistreatment of artists might have simply been an inflated sense of self-importance or a lack of understanding of their situation, but officers and ordinary soldiers as well as writers tended to treat artists poorly.

> Young ensigns and junior lieutenants ascended the stairs where they stared and mocked us without reserve, "These men are just hack artists!" Because there was

[296] Kim Sŏnghwan, 7.
[297] Kim Sŏnghwan, 7.
[298] Kim Sŏnghwan, 7. In Kim Sŏnghwan's description of the mentality of the artist joining the War Artist Association, he reveals another layer of thought generally left uncommented upon when referencing this era and the war artists' experience: nostalgia for Japan and the colonial period. Since WWII left the Korean peninsula free of battle scars, leaving artists generally free from physical danger, a comparison to the Colonial Period and nostalgia for that sense of security is understandable. This sense of nostalgia and popularity of things Japanese would extend to other areas of the art world, including Japanese-style cartoons, which would see a resurgence of popularity during the war, Ch'oe Yŏl, *Han'guk manhwa ŭi yŏksa*, 101. Some artists, such as Kim Kyut'aek, would remain in Japan long after the armistice agreement, lured by the creature comforts of "superior" economic conditions in Japan that were largely supported by industrial projects developed to support U.S. allies during the Korean War.

> absolutely no consideration by military high officers for artists, junior officers belittled us.[299]

Kim Sŏnghwan contrasts this with the treatment given the war correspondents and writers by the Ministry of Defense and officers, who treated these "well-known 'cultural assets' with utmost kindness" and actively engaged them in conversation. While Kim Sŏnghwan attributes this distinction to their ability to garner publicity easily through the media and a writers' natural talent for gab, it also references a growing perception within the military of the uselessness of artists. With improvements in photographic technology, the status of war artist as documentarian diminished, causing many officials to question the reasoning for artists in war, outside of general propaganda, which also increasingly utilized photography.[300] The ROK government created official war artists units and a War Artist Association, in the tradition of other powerful nations, but without much of the prestige. Since these organizations started to perceive artists less and less as documentarians and more as propagandists, it pushed these positions out of the frontlines to rear support, a less prestigious and less "masculine" position. Since war correspondents were still sent to the frontline and war artists generally remained in the rear, it opened them up to ridicule and discrimination by soldiers who tended to openly flaunt their masculinity by bragging about their frontline experiences, as described by Kim Sŏnghwan.

In fact, during the Korean War, few artists, even those officially part of the War Artists Association, witnessed the battlefront, and those who did usually did not go for long. Most

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[299] Kim Sŏnghwan, "Chongi p'okt'an," 7.

[300] As shown in WWII, this debate produced remarkably different results amongst nations. In Japan, artists received preferential treatment and gathered under official organizations, though still subject to producing propaganda works; in the U.S., the government formed an official Art Advisory Committee, but shut it down within a few months as a "frivolous expenditure," Barbara McCloskey, *Artists of World War II* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 2005), 176. Chinese war artists existed somewhere in between, enjoying official sponsorship by the Nationalist and Communist governments when the members complied with their interests, which seem consistent with the treatment of artists in North Korea, Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture: Resistance in Modern China, 1937-1945* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1994).

painters not directly involved in drawing works for psychological warfare spent most of their efforts organizing exhibitions. According to Kim Yongna, artists received few specific directives when it came to producing paintings for the war, so this left them a larger amount of artistic freedom.[301] Instead of combat art and battle scenes, most documentary paintings depicted life in the rear. The artist' Yi Chun (Lee Joon) described the mentality of those involved in the War Artists Association:

> The war painters did make several works, but most of them tended to be small sketches, so it is difficult to call them serious war documentary paintings. This was because there was a lack of materials and we were all focusing on how to live day-to-day and survive the war. There was little desire to invest an anti-communist ideology in our work or to encourage people's morale. I also believe that we wanted to avoid using paintings to document the tragedy of our people fighting one another.[302]

Despite this general avoidance of the frontlines, the Ministry of Defense still required some of the young artists to spend time near the front so they might document the war activities. Some complied or volunteered, wishing to increase their prestige as a soldier by claiming frontline experience, while others simply followed orders.[303]

Though Kim Sŏnghwan did not want direct combat experience—as shown in his various attempts to avoid conscription—he did wish for greater prestige and he still held the compulsion to document wartime experiences las he did with his earlier watercolors, so he volunteered for frontline duty as a war artist. In late October 1951, Kim Sŏnghwan spent time near the frontline with a platoon of troops attached to the 6th Army Division near the Kŭmsŏng district, Kangwŏn Province. Observing from a dugout, he described the passages of the foxholes forever twisting

[301] Kim, "Korean War Art," 109.
[302] Kim, 111.
[303] While Kim Sŏnghwan did not volunteer for front-line service, he repeatedly highlights this experience in interviews and writings as proof that he served beyond normal artists, which allowed a unique vision into the realities of front-line soldiers' lives.

across the hillside and the sound of bullets grazing across his ears ceaselessly. “The sound of our forces’ artillery fire was audible and continued in intervals every few minutes; in the daytime, reconnaissance planes flew high overhead so we could know the position of enemy movement. The world turned very slowly….”[304] When the platoon he was following received orders to descend from the uplands, he entered into an area that served as a battery position for both the ROK and U.S. troops. While observing the difference between these two armies, he noted that the ROK troops wore their full-dress uniforms and paid close attention to the orders given by the signal corpsman before changing the angle of trajectory for their artillery fire, following strict orders and procedures. In contrast, the U.S. troops often wandered around half-dressed. Between the constant and deafening barrages, two U.S. servicemen played handball, one man lay fast asleep, and another smoked a cigarette. “If I looked at it optimistically, it was simply men filling the time, but if I viewed it pessimistically, were they truly sincere about the war?”[305]

While this scene of a nonchalant U.S. army might conjure up images of the antics of the doctors of M*A*S*H, the hit U.S. comedy produced in the 1970s and set during the Korean War, Kim Sŏnghwan’s commentary also reveals a distinction between the attitudes of U.S. and ROK troops. With the removal of General MacArthur by President Truman on April 11, 1951 and the failure of UN peace negotiations in July, the war settled into border skirmishes and guerilla warfare. On October 25, at the same time that Kim Sŏnghwan was observing the 6th Army District, the UN resumed its peace talks at P’anmunjŏm. Unfortunately, due to Ridgway’s insistence, who favored a hard-liner approach to negotiations with the Communists, and Syngman Rhee’s desire to gain further ground and possibly once again march north, they

[304] Kim Sŏnghwan, “Chongi p’okt’an,” 9.
[305] Kim Sŏnghwan, 10.

reached no agreement on a cease-fire until November 27.[306] Though fighting still continued on the ground, this period of peace negotiations might have cultivated amongst U.S. troops a more relaxed attitude or at least an ambivalence toward the war that made them less eager to participate in operations. Unfortunately, the negotiations would fall apart in early January and continue off and on for the next year and a half, which would shift the perception of many U.S. servicemen from their initial feelings of triumph to defeatism.[307]

The South Korean soldiers were also not immune to these feelings of defeatism as shown in the illustrations of Kim Sŏnghwan. In his portraits of South Korean soldiers, only two soldiers appeared unmarked by war-weariness. He draws the majority of soldiers with neutral or sagging faces, their eyes gazing blankly ahead, burdened by the weight of the war. In one of the darkened hovels, a soldier rests his head between his arms, possibly asleep. His features are masked by a long-hooded cloak, which seems to emphasize and symbolize his exhaustion. Within the light of a single candle buried in the wall of the hovel, another solder quietly reads a book while his gun and helmet rest near him. These images reflect back to some of Kim Sŏnghwan's earlier attempts to illustrate "normalcy" and domesticity within the context of war shown in his watercolors drawn during the occupation of Seoul. The relics of war remain in the civilian world; the pleasures of civilian life continue within war.

2.8 *Acorn Warrior and the Rise of Children's Cartoons*

One of these pleasures of civilian life that rose swiftly in popularity despite poor production quality was children's cartoons, which also started to take on war themes. While

[306] Richard Peters, *Voices from the Korean War: Personal Stories of American, Korean, and Chinese Soldiers* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2004), 36–37.
[307] Sheila Miyoshi Jager, *Brothers at War: The Unending Conflict in Korea* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2013), 266.

temporarily going AWOL in the midst of his work as a civilian attached to the Busan army corps, Kim Sŏnghwan met with the novelist Pang Kihwan (1923-1993) in Taegu.[308] Together they collaborated, with Kim Sŏnghwan illustrating, to produce a story of a young soldier titled *Acorn Warrior* (*tot'ori yongsa*). This cartoon exploded in popularity. The first edition quickly sold out with 10,000 copies, which led to Kim Sŏnghwan illustrating a second and third volume of the series before turning over the work to Kim Ŭhwan, who undertook the fourth volume.[309]

The first issue of *Acorn Warrior* connected with youth by featuring a young boy named Acorn who lost his mother and was rescued by South Korean soldiers in the woods.[310] The soldiers took care of him, feeding him rations and dressing him in a miniature uniform. While attempting to catch fish for dinner in a near-by river, Acorn ran into a North Korean and Chinese soldier who first tried to bribe him and then threatened him, demanding that he reveal the location of the South Korean base. Through clever trickery, Acorn manages to fool the two soldiers into allowing him to hold their guns, which he then turns against them and leads them back to the camp as prisoners of war.

A few days later, Sergeant First Class Hŏ, the soldier who rescued and befriended him, left for reconnaissance, but Sergeant Hŏ was lost during the mission, prompting Acorn to leave secretly to search for him. In his quest, he consulted mountain and crow spirits, but they could not find Sergeant Hŏ. As it grew dark, he stumbled across Sergeant Hŏ, who had injured his leg. While trying to figure out how to get him back to the base, two enemy soldiers drew near, seen

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[308] Ch'oe Yŏl, *Han'guk manhwa ŭi yŏksa*, 100. Pang Kihwan (1923-1993) is a children literature writer, known for a series of boy's novels where the children are seen as more receptive to reality than the adults. In 1953, he would unofficially marry the novelist, Im Ogin, who in 1945 started an orphanage for young girls. Their meeting and reunion in Taegu during the war might have been part of the intimate connection to the plight of the orphan seen in this work.
[309] Ch'oe Yŏl, 100.
[310] Kim Sŏnghwan and Pang Kihwan, "Tot'ori yongsa [Acorn Warrior]" (February 1951), Permanent Exhibition Room, National Library of Korea.

only as shadow figures. Fearful of their lives, Sergeant Hŏ shot one of the enemy soldiers, but Acorn stopped him from shooting the second. Instead, he captured the soldier and forced him by gunpoint to carry Sergeant Hŏ back to the camp, saving two lives in the process.

The inspiration for the story derived from the suffering of the war orphans living around the army camps, and the cartoon became a way to interject a sense of humanity and purpose into their lives by turning an orphan, a homeless and often rejected member of society, into a distinguished soldier. The image ran contrary to the projection of the bereft orphan in need of rescue that the U.S. military. This was cultivated during and after the Korean War as part of the U.S. vision as "rescuers" that Arissa Oh would describe in her study on Korean War orphans. They turned "Korean children into victims: of poverty; homelessness; lovelessness; Communism; and for GI babies, racism."[311] This kind of narrative would bolster an adoption industry that mirrored the geopolitics of neo-colonial asymmetry in the U.S.-Korea relationship following liberation. Though orphaned children were vulnerable to many of the forces listed above, it became problematic because, as expressed by Arissa Oh, "the conversation about Korean adoption provided no room for the possibility that these children could avoid grim fates without being saved by Americans."[312] While this vision of the U.S. as the "savior nation" would characterize many of the conservative chronicles—both domestic and abroad—of the Korean War, the U.S. is absent within Kim Sŏnghwan's narrative and the image of the orphan does not convey the tragic sentimentality of what would become the standard Cold War orphan story.

Instead, the child is seen as a hero, cared for by South Korean soldiers and honored as a warrior. It shows the South Korean army in a fully positive light and possessing the ability to

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[311] Arissa Oh, "From War Waif to Ideal Immigrant: The Cold War Transformation of the Korean Orphan," *Journal of Amercian Ethnic History* 31, no. 4 (June 2012): 44.
[312] Oh, 44.

combat “the enemy” without outside assistance; the only foreigner present is a Chinese soldier accompanying the North Korean soldier. It is consistent with the sense of autonomy present in the war propaganda fliers, which illustrate North Koreans as under the influence of China. While Chinese influence is visually whispered within the cartoon, it does not go so far as to show the North Korean soldier as a dupe for the Chinese, which is the persuasion imagery typically seen in the propaganda fliers. Instead, the North Korean soldier at first steps in to protect Acorn, overriding the Chinese soldier’s aggression. Though both characters threaten Acorn, they are not indiscriminately violent or particularly evil-looking, and they display humor in their interactions with Acorn. Therefore, the Communist soldiers are less seen as “enemies” and more as misguided and foolish. This display of humor humanizes the “enemy” and allow Acorn to sympathize with the shadowed, unknown figures in the final scene, saving the life of one “enemy” soldier despite the potential danger. It reminds the reader that the North Koreans are redeemable and must too be saved in the end, a part of the re-unification narrative.

Acorn Warrior grants a sense of autonomy within the figure of a child by giving him control over the chaotic brutality of war through his clever actions and ability to overcome the shadows by revealing their secrets as either non-threatening, as in the case of the discovery of the injured Sergeant Hŏ, or surmountable, as with the shadowed North Korean soldier. The comic is meant to create a connection between the children and the war effort as was reiterated in opening page accompanying the story:

> Dear children,
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> How hard have you suffered? How long have you been trembling in your little hearts from the ignorant barbarians and scary gunfire?
> But, children, we adults never forget you. The even bigger and fierce battle was just frantically won.
> Now, with our re-victory together, we send a small gift to you.

> It is the story of the child "Acorn," who is suffering like you, but with only a little support, bravely fights. This story, illustrated by Mr. Kim Sŏnghwan and edited by Pang Kihwan, we firmly believe will re-energize and delight you.[313]

The granting of autonomy in the figure of Acorn struck a chord in the hearts of young readers, many who suffered or witnessed tragedies as the result of war. Kim Sŏnghwan described the comic "like an oasis to the children of the capital city, who had long been starving for cartoons… when it was announced that the second one would be coming out soon, that night after the shop was closed, the children flocked to the door by twos and threes and knocked, demanding the second volume."[314] The success of *Acorn Soldier* and the political and social atmosphere encouraged similar anti-communist and military themed children's cartoons to appear as serials in magazines or as separate publications. In 1954, Kim Chongrae published *Red Land* (*polkŭnttang*), which was an adaptation of a Chinese novel published to increase anti-communist consciousness.[315]

Kim Sŏnghwan also introduced military themes in some of his Kobau cartoons, who appeared in issues of *Soldier Comics* (*sabyŏng manhwa*), *New Sun* (*sin t'aeyang*), and *Hope* (*hŭimang*), contributing to the war genre and reproducing many of the themes introduced in his training as propaganda artists in the AFIED Propaganda Art School and under the War Artist Association. When Kim Sŏnghwan first introduced "Kobau at the Frontline" (*Chŏnsŏnŭi Kobau*) in the issues of *Soldier Comics*, the comic filled the page with fourteen-panels with a narrative style different than what would become the four-panel Mr. Kobau.[316] The cartoon begins with Private First-class Kobau sleeping at the side of a mountain where he is awoken and rushed to

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[313] Kim Sŏnghwan and Pang Kihwan, "Tot'ori yongsa."
[314] Han Yŏngju, "Han'guk manhwasa kusul ch'aerok," 114.
[315] Ch'oe Yŏl, *Han'guk manhwa ŭi yŏksa*, 100.
[316] Taehan Min'guk Yŏksa Pangmulgwan, ed., *Kobau ka para pon uri hyŏndaesa [Korean Contemporary History through the Cartoon Kobau]* (Seoul: Taehan Min'guk Yŏksa Pangmulgwan, 2014), 13.

have a meeting with his platoon commander, who orders him to fly a reconnaissance mission over enemy territory. While flying over the enemy camp, he witnesses old men and women with children strapped to their backs being whipped by a fat Chinese soldier as they struggled to carry heavy sacks as part of artillery fortifications. The Chinese are also seen pushing replacement planes and tanks toward the boarder as well as forming a line of soldiers ready to fight. In his return trip, he declares, "Bastards! By all means, you'll see me again!" Kobau reports back to his commander on the "abuse of our countrymen" and the preparations for an imminent foreign invasion. The comic ends with Private First-class Kobau charging at signposts marked as "foreign intruder" while shouting "Drive out the barbarians!"

"Kobau at the Frontline" illustrated similar themes as the informative fliers, described earlier, propagated by the PWB emphasizing and "informing" soldiers and civilians of the actions committed by North Korean authorities and their allies. This included scenes of compulsory labor, harsh punishment, and theft of food as seen in the fattened leaders. As with the themes in *Acorn Soldier*, the main enemy and impetus behind the abusive treatment are the Chinese soldiers. The North Koreans play a secondary role, exploiting rather than driving the invasion labeled explicitly as "foreign" and uncivilized in the language of Confucian notions of geo-political and social hierarchy. The Chinese are the "barbarian" other in contrast to their traditional place as the center of civilization. This is further emphasized by their disregard for the Confucian social custom of the respect for the elderly, who is whipped while forced to labor.[317]

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[317] The cartoon also includes a woman carrying a child, which replicates the mother theme often seen within propaganda fliers that utilized the imagery of the waiting mother longing for her lost husband or son. In this cartoon, Kim Sŏnghwan takes this image a step further to show the mother as suffering additional abuse, possibly as the result of a loss of protection from a missing husband. For further discussion on the gendered aspects of the mother image, see: Yi Imha, *Chŏk ŭl ppira ro mudŏra*, 182–96.

In the end, these destructive foreigners need to be driven out and resisted in order to free the abused Koreans in addition to protecting the homeland from a growing invasion.

As noted by Kim Sŏnghwan, the Kobau cartoons used the informative theme to show the exploitive nature of the enemy, which demands resistance. These informative cartoons were encouraged by the War Artists Association as appropriate for a South Korean target audience, who read the magazines where Kobau appeared. They also proved popular in other markets, like children's cartoons, as seen in *Acorn Soldier*. The realities and nearness of the conflict made war topics fresh and salient, increasing their appeal along with the desire to establish a sense of control through fantasy. Because there were few opportunities for artists outside of war commissions, Kim Sŏnghwan found himself less and less able to find time to work on his watercolors as "the demand for my cartoon side (as opposed to the artistic side) increased rapidly."[318] The Korean War would mark a dramatic shift in Kim Sŏnghwan's life—both in his artistic and ideological motivation. In the daily production of leaflet bombs, humorous adult and children's comics with war and propaganda-focused themes provided excellent training for the usage of cartoons as genre weapons. While not all of Kim Sŏnghwan's themes held political significance—just as his later works would mix lifestyle or pure "gag" comics with politically critical cartoons—these early cartoons created a base understanding in the fundamentals of psychological warfare, which he would later turn into weapons against authoritarianism in the style of resistance emphasized in the form in which they were first birthed.

[318] Ch'oe Yŏl, *Han'guk manhwa ŭi yŏksa*, 98.

1.6 *Conclusion*

By the end of the Korean War, the casualties suffered totaled more than four million with half of those civilians.[319] The trauma and sacrifices of war produced a lasting impact on the entire peninsula. For some, it solidified previous prejudices or brought new ones into focus, including the ideological divide that justified the conflict. The post-liberation period fostered confusion, ambivalence, and heated passions in the concepts of democracy, socialism, and communism, which was often fueled by underlying regional, class, and nationalistic antagonisms. However, the Korean War, through trauma, made these concepts personal with high stakes attached. The middle ground was wiped away in this ideological and physical polarization. In South Korea, anti-communism became the hegemonic discourse that would be utilized as a weapon backed by a threat of physical violence, imprisonment, and a return of the destruction inflicted by the north.[320] The experience of the Korean War made these threats real and the potential consequences devastating. This would sometimes manifest itself into anger and hatred toward North Korean soldiers, which was played out in the atrocities committed by both sides. Nevertheless, there was still an attempt to differentiate the enemy as "foreign" in the image of Chinese and Soviet leaders. North Koreans were still thought as able to be turned, saved, and converted once they realized the contradictions seen in the promises given by leaders and the deadly realities brought on by foreign influence and corrupt authorities.

As shown in this chapter, propaganda leaflets spent a considerable amount of space decrying communism, but they generally depicted the individual North Korean soldiers with

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[319] South Korea sustained 1,312,836 casualties with 415, 004 dead; estimated casualties in North Korea numbered 2 million with about 520,000 soldiers; Chinese estimate about 900,000 soldiers lost their lives. For Americans, a total of 36,940 perished with 33,665 killed in action and 3,275 dying from nonhostile causes. 92,134 Americans returned home wounded with 8,176 reported missing. Among other UN allies, there were 16,532 casualties and 3,094 dead. Cumings, *Korean War*, 44–45.

[320] Choi, *Democracy after Democratization*, 50.

compassion, blaming the war and its consequences on the leaders and the nature of communism. This division between rule and ruled would provide the means for Koreans to retain their bond as a nation capable of reunification because it was the *rulers* who caused this forced separation. It would also create unintended consequences by providing the means of resistance against authoritarianism. If the authorities were not providing for or supporting their people, they were the enemy so struggling against those rulers was not only just, but necessary. Fliers emphasized contradictions and the idea that when faced with a contradiction in a practice or ideology, one must resist, fight, or abandon the foundation of that contradiction. These ideas proliferated throughout the propaganda leaflets and would be utilized in future anti-authoritarian democracy and unification movements.

As Kim Sŏnghwan attests, an artist is often lost in the chaos of war. Artists in South Korea were often pushed to one side or viewed as tools for the propaganda machine. Seen as unfit or unwilling to join as soldiers, they received ridicule from authorities and enlisted personnel because their perceived lack of masculinity and loyalty to the cause.[321] Kim Sŏnghwan and other cartoonists coped with this perception by actively participating in wartime organizations, producing propaganda fliers and posters, and organizing shows of their works. As Kim Sŏnghwan and the lives of other cartoonists' show during the Korean War period, when choosing between security and intellectual freedom, sometimes one had to give up freedoms for security. Essentially, when faced with real dangers, like starvation and death, many artists compromised with authorities, which would profoundly affect their feelings of personal worth and treatment in society. Overall, this chapter is meant to shed light on this dark and noble

[321] At the time of writing this chapter, there has been no study done on women artists or cartoonists, so it is uncertain whether they participated in war art production or received negative treatment. From all accounts, the industry was dominated by men. If future studies produce evidence of women cartoonist active during the war or prior to the war, I will include a discussion on gender instead of simply masculinity. Further research is needed.

experience of survival, often lost in a space of trauma and "forgetting." Like Kim Sŏnghwan would conclude, "In order to avoid the repression of tremendous liberties, we had no choice but to endure some lack of sympathy and a little repression."[322]

[322] Kim Sŏnghwan, "Chongi p'okt'an," 10.

Chapter 3. RESISTANCE BY DESIGN: "MR. KOBAU" AND THE RISE OF THE EDITORIAL CARTOONIST (1953-1958)

"A newspaper without an editorial cartoon is tantamount to giving up an important weapon."[323]

-Kim Sŏnghwan, *Tonga ilbo*

During war, comics and comic artists generally serve propaganda purposes, promoting and pursuing the military and ideological focus of the leaders in power. In peace, comics can sooth the wounds ravaged in war through humor and escape, allowing sufferers to forget their pain. As expressed by Ch'oe Yŏl in his study of the *History of Korean Cartoons*, "Cartoons are cultural, but they are also entertainment, a weapon, and a fantasy. In South Korea society, they worked as entertainment and fantasy after the war."[324] The early part of the 1950s largely produced works that fell into this category of entertainment and escape as the comic industry saw an upsurge in popularity of youth comics—first war-themed and then student-focused—with benign, government-approved subjects and little controversy. However, by the end of the decade, comics, especially newspaper comics, started to take on more controversial subjects, acting as a genre weapon against the corruption of the Rhee regime.

The trajectory of the comic industry in general and especially editorial cartoons and their creators reflect the larger structural changes in Korean politics and society. The Cold War ideological framework of anti-communism and national development characterized and limited much of creative subject matter through external and internal censorship. The fear of North Korean invasion and the desire of Rhee's Liberal Party to remain in power created a need for the

[323] *Korea Joongang Daily* February 18, 2013.
[324] Ch'oe Yŏl, *Han'guk manhwa ŭi yŏksa*, 104.

control of public opinion. The press was often blamed for spreading false reports and encouraging agitation, which led to increasingly draconian censorship laws. However, while Rhee tightened his grip upon the press, there was still some allowance for permissible critique.

This chapter will show how Kim Sŏnghwan developed and transformed the four-panel "gag" comic of "Mr. Kobau" into sharp editorial and political satire in reaction against the growth in press censorship laws and increasing acts of government corruption and violence. Kim Sŏnghwan would take advantage of a space of liminality made available as the Rhee regime tried to negotiate between its desire to control press criticism and need to maintain a veneer of liberal-democracy as the ideological contrast to North Korean communism. [325] At first, it left his comics unregulated, but as Rhee tightened his control and Kim Sŏnghwan took on more political themes. Kim Sŏnghwan's political cartoons would draw more public and government notice, leading to arrests, interrogations, and fines. Though these punishments were intended to intimidate and silence Kim Sŏnghwan, instead, he demonstrated a paradox of censorship: repression or threat of repression may increase one's resolve to confront the authoritarian power and even boost the popularity and strength of the item or person censored. The scandal that erupted from Kim

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[325] The concept of liminality derives from the English word, "limit," which has been traced to both the Latin word *limen*, meaning "threshold" in the sense of a limit, and *limes*, referring to a particular "boundary," "frontier," or "limit." It first emerged in 1909 by Arnold van Gennep in reference to the state of "in-between-ness" during rites of passage. Since then, the concept broadened to include political and social change in addition to rituals. Bjorn Thomassen posits liminality as a *central* concept in social sciences. He argues that liminality highlights the moments or periods of transition where "structure and agency is not easily resolved or understood" and "the normal limits of thought, self-understanding and behavior are relaxed, opening the way to novelty and imagination, construction or destruction." Bjørn Thomassen, *Liminality and the Modern: Living through the In-Between* (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 1. Thus, according to Arpad Szakolczai, liminality is transformative in nature, but it does not necessarily imply the dualistic understanding often associated with social development. Instead, it carries the potential of a non-evolutionary look at change through the space of "in between." Arpad Szakolczai, "Living Permanent Liminality: The Recent Transition Experience in Ireland," *Irish Journal of Sociology* 22, no. 1 (2014): 33. As a transition, the space can be peaceful, but even in peace it denotes a sense of violence for the passage implies a critical component of "suffering" and destruction as fundamentally tied to this experience of crossing between one stage of life to another—"alluding to both the destruction of previous stability and the possibility of failure." Ágnes Horváth, Bjørn Thomassen, and Harald Wydra, eds., *Breaking Boundaries: Varieties of Liminality* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015), 20. This instability creates a period of freedom and anxiety.

Sŏnghwan's arrest would cement his four-panel comic as a legitimate form of political critique and catapult "Mr. Kobau" into pop culture, leading to a popular song and film production. In the future, this would help protect him from public censor and arrest as the Rhee regime realized their error in visibly punishing a cartoonist.

3.1 *Mr. Kobau and the Revitalization of the Comics Industry*

As the Korean War settled into a steady, though violent, pattern of border disputes, stability partially returned to the ROK in 1951 as communities attempted to rebuild lost infrastructure and lives shattered by the war. Newspapers and magazines started to reopen and a small market for children's comic publications emerged in Taegu as Kim Yonghwan restarted his production of *Cartoon Press* (*Manhwa sinbo*), which he began prior to the outbreak of war. His small staff included Kim Sŏnghwan, whom Kim Yonghwan placed exclusively in charge of its production, and Kim Sŏnghwan introduced several new comic ideas within these pages, including Kobau. *Cartoon Press* also included the first appearance of drawings by Chŏng Ungyŏng, the future artist of "Auntie Walsun" (*Walsun ajimae*), an editorial cartoon that drew inspiration from Mr. Kobau and would share in its immense popularity for forty-seven years.[326] Other children's magazines emerged with the publications primarily located in the safety zones of Busan and Taegu, including: *New Friend* (*Saebŏt*); *Boy's World* (*Sonyŏn segye*); *Hope* (*Hŭimang*); *Student Academy* (*Hagwŏn*); and *New Sun* (*Sin t'aeyang*).[327] While this opened up markets for comic artists, the profits remained low due to the general state of poverty and lack of expendable income for the majority of the population. Furthermore, poor quality of printing presses and paper continued to plague production. In order to reduce the cost of printing,

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[326] Ch'oe Yŏl, *Han'guk manhwa ŭi yŏksa*, 97.
[327] Ch'oe Yŏl, 98.

publishers forced artists to draw on zinc copy sheets that produced a phenomenon called a "one-time cartoon printing" (*ttaegi manhwa*) that tended to feed the belief in the expendability of cartoons, which were often viewed as akin to trash or "toilet paper."[328]

The character Kobau underwent many changes and appeared in several different magazines in its initial years of publication as Kim Sŏnghwan experimented with themes and cartoon styles. Kobau's first appeared in November 1950 as the bumbling, mustached father of Kosari in the 12-panel serial comic called "Master Kosari" (*Kosari-gun*) in *Cartoon Press*.[329] With a rounded physique, he was bald with a single strand of hair that was generally covered up by a hat. He wore glasses and typically dressed in Western-style shirts, pants and suits. Over time, the figure would change and by the 1960s, Kobau would lose some weight, his moustache and fedora hat. The strand of hair would also slowly develop into a stylized form of expression, depicting moods hidden beneath his glasses and moustache.[330] These early cartoons utilized a longer, narrative framework of 12 panels to lampoon modern life through a mixture of dialogue and pratfalls. Though Kim Sŏnghwan would mark this as Kobau's debut, he primarily served as a secondary character with only minimal development. Kobau continued to appear occasionally in future publications of "Mr. Kosari," but Kim Sŏnghwan also created his own series featuring Kobau as a stand-alone character that began a month later, on December 30, 1950, in the magazine *Enlisted Soldier Comics* (*Sabyŏng manhwa*). Here, he adopted the usage of the 4-panel cartoon form and pantomime, which would become the signature style of Kobau for most of the next six years.

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[328] Ch'oe Yŏl, 98.
[329] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: che-1-kwŏn: haebang 40-yŏn hyŏndae sisa manhwa 1951-yŏn-1961-yŏn [Kobau Modern History Volume 1: Modern Political Cartoons 40 Years of Liberation, 1951-1961]* (Seoul: Koryŏga, 1987), 12.
[330] The strand of hair curves slightly forward normally. When Kobau is surprised, it rises stiffly. When he is flustered, or embarrassed, the hair becomes zigzagged. If he becomes angry, it stands straight up. Occasionally, the hair forms a question mark to show confusion.

In addition to the military themes described in chapter two, Kim Sŏnghwan's early pantomime cartoons tended to feature Kobau utilizing and repurposing Western-style technologies. In the first Kobau cartoon published in the *Cartoon Press*, Kobau accidentally dripped a blot of ink from a fountain pen onto the overcoat of his Korean-style suit. Rather than distress about it, Kobau decorated the rest of his overcoat with similar ink blotches so that it formed a decorative pattern. Kim Sŏnghwan later titled this cartoon, "Failure to Success."[331] (Figure 3.1) These sorts of creative manipulations of every-day objects continued into subsequent cartoons. For example, Mr. Kobau substituted a Korean-style flat fan for a Western-style umbrella that rotated like an electric fan to create a more forceful breeze on a sweltering day. He also practiced a round of tennis in order to master the forceful, lunging-style handshake needed when greeting a Westerner. While Kim Sŏnghwan often featured useful repurposing of Western objects and technology, he also highlighted their failures. When Mr. Kobau attempted to fix his car, he grew frustrated and threw away the engine, choosing to continue his trip holding the shell of the gutted-out car. The newness of the field allowed for a free sense of experimentation and fluidity in character design since the public was less familiar with cartoon genre characteristics.

In 1953, Kim Sŏnghwan introduced the cartoon series, *Long-legs, Short-legs* (*kkŏkkuri-gun changdari-gun*), in *Student Life* (*Haksaenggye*) magazine. It would run in several magazines, develop into a four-volume series, and inspire a film in the mid-seventies. *Long-legs, Short-legs* built upon a "brand concept" of a tall, skinny youth partnered with an overweight friend whose continuous pesky questions and antics managed to get them into numerous troubling and amusing situations, allowing for a layering of social commentary. Though a

[331] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 18.

popular archetype within Western culture, the skinny-man, fat-man duel emerged as a fresh comic juxtaposition that would capture the hearts of many youths wishing to escape from the harsh realities of war-torn Korea into a domestic celebration of youth rebellion and curiosity. Here, Kim re-appropriated a familiar Western form and transformed it to conform to the Korean context and the youth's role in society as transmitters of modernity, questioning while at the same time acquiring many of the trappings of Western society and legacies of tradition.

3.2 *Mr. Kobau's Beginnings as a four-panel Newspaper Cartoon*

The rising popularity of *Long-legs, Short-legs* and the success of *Acorn Warrior* brought much-needed financial windfall to Kim Sŏnghwan, who was living in a shantytown in Tongch'ŏn Market with five relatives. It kept him busy, and it allowed him some freedom in project development, which increasingly drew him toward newspaper publications. In 1954, he started to take greater notice of the four-panel cartoons in the U.S. newspapers circulating among G.I.s at the time, especially Chic Young's "Blondie," which started gaining popularity in the *Han'guk ilbo*.[332] In response, Kim published commentaries in the popular magazines, *Hope* and *New Sun*, on the significance of the four-panel form, which received favorable notice, but these writings did not immediately translate to a publication offer by newspaper editors.[333]

One day in late January 1955, Kim Sŏnghwan waited for an army officer friend at the Mona Lisa Café, a smoke-filled tea house frequented by artists, cartoonists, and authors, which would often erupt into heated conversation criticizing new works.[334] In the midst of the swirling smoke, the poet Yi Sangdo, who occasionally requested cartoons to accompany his writings

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[332] Taehan Min'guk Yŏksa Pangmulgwan, *Kobau ka para pon uri hyŏndaesa*, 257.
[333] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 12.
[334] Kim Sŏnghwan, 16.

during Kim Sŏnghwan's refugee years in Taegu, appeared and informed him that he "had taken charge of the newspaper cartoon page for the *Tonga ilbo*" and he requested a sample drawing for a serial cartoon.[335] Besides the U.S. translated "Blondie," there were no four-panel cartoons in the newspaper at this time, which opened up an irresistible opportunity for Kim Sŏnghwan to pioneer a new genre in South Korea. The following day, he presented several cartoons, including "Mr. Kobau" as possible examples for the serial publication. A few days later, he received approval with the expectation that "from tomorrow, the serial 'Mr. Kobau' will be published."[336] Despite concern over the artist's fee and a general lack of spare time, Kim Sŏnghwan quickly accepted and started its first run in the *Tonga ilbo* on February 1, 1955.

Kim Sŏnghwan initially followed the pattern of his 1950 drawings of Mr. Kobau that consisted primarily of pantomimed humor with little or no dialogue and interspersed with slapstick-style jokes. This included unfortunate falls, ridiculous costumes, and the mixing of contrasting and sometimes unrelated social situations in order to highlight the absurdity of the seemingly mundane. Through this exaggerated mirror, he showcased the difficulties many Koreans felt in adjusting to the influx of U.S.-style Western culture and the replacing of traditional Korean-style customs, mannerisms, institutions, and technologies.

Kim Sŏnghwan's first newspaper cartoon featured Mr. Kobau draped in a comforter and shivering next to a pot of coals. (Figure 3.2) Unable to keep warm within his own home, Mr. Kobau decided to move to a greenhouse to take a nap. He removed all the plants and promptly fell asleep in their place. The record of the first greenhouse appears in the *San'gayorok* as part of the "Annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty" in 1438, which described it as an *ondol* heated system of structures to house mandarin trees during the winter and would later expand to include a variety

[335] Kim Sŏnghwan, 16.
[336] Kim Sŏnghwan, 16.

of vegetables and flowers.[337] However, this early paper and corn-cob design differed from the Western-style glass structure depicted in the cartoon, which was seen as a foreign import. The greenhouse was generally thought as a means for helping farmers escape the unpredictability of the seasons, which contributed to economic stagnation, peasant poverty, and hunger. By repurposing the greenhouse, Mr. Kobau illustrated two characteristics of Korean society that Kim Sŏnghwan often highlighted within his cartoons. First, he championed a sense of Korean ingenuity and practicality in his ability to utilize technologies in multiple and sometimes unintended ways. This sense of championing the scientific, pioneering spirit appealed to many liberal and nationalist's objectives in the post-war period, including Chang Chunha, founder of the influential "liberal nationalist" magazine, *Sasanggye*.[338] Second, Kim showed how some Koreans, especially older Koreans, often misunderstood the purpose of imported technologies, misusing them and sometimes undermining their intent and purpose. This cartoon struck at the difficulties faced in adjusting to the changes in modernity as well as the personal suffering faced by many ordinary people during the winter season. However, the social commentary is relatively mild, and it primarily serves as a means for people to temporarily escape life's trials through laughter.

Most of the early Mr. Kobau cartoons followed similar patterns in confronting the frustrations of modernity such as traffic, increase in electricity fees, dating, child rearing, taxes, etc. and either falling victim to an exaggerated absurd situation built within these themes or overcoming it through an unintended or clever pratfall. Within a couple of months similar four-

[337] Sang Jun Yoon and Jan Woudstra, "Advanced Horticultural Techniques in Korea: The Earliest Documented Greenhouses," *Garden History* 35, no. 1 (Summer 2007): 68. The *Sangayorok* was discovered in 2000, and the usage of this type of greenhouse does not seem to be wide-spread so it is likely that Kim Sŏnghwan was unaware of these early Korean innovations and likely believed it to be a Western import.
[338] Kim, *Youth for Nation*, 127.

panel cartoons appeared in the other major newspapers like the *Seoul sinmun*, which featured Kim Kiyul's "Tot'ori-gun" (Acorn Boy). On April 1st, the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* started "Tukkŏbi" (Toad) (Figure 3.3). It was first drawn by Kim Kyŏngan before An Ŭisŏp permanently took over the character on July 1st. Like Kim Sŏnghwan's "Mr. Kobau," both of these cartoons would later start to take on political themes that sometimes mirrored the political point of view seen within their respective newspapers. Since the *Seoul sinmun* was a government backed publication at this time, the "Tot'ori-gun" comics usually kept its commentaries to social or politically acceptable themes. However, An Ŭisŏp (1928-1994) would follow Kim Sŏnghwan's lead in developing a distinctive, critical point of view that supported the politics of the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun,* which, along with the *Tonga ilbo*, formed the main oppositional critique to the Liberal Party.[339] According to Kim Sŏnghwan, because of his critical voice, An Ŭisŏp often faced greater pressure than himself.[340] They would develop a close friendship and occasional rivalry over the years, and together they would form the Contemporary Cartoonist Association, which I will discuss in greater detail in chapter four.

3.3 *Kobau's Awakening: The Liminality of "Mr. Kobau" and the Rise of the Editorial Cartoon*

In the early establishment of the First Republic in 1948, according to Jang-jip Choi, the democratic and authoritarian practices formed a balance, but this would change through the course of the Korean War when Rhee's government stabilized and tilted the balance quickly

[339] An Ŭisŏp was born in Inchŏn in 1924 and graduated from Ch'unch'ŏn Normal School (*ch'unch'ŏn sabŏm hakkyo*) in 1950. In 1953 he entered the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* where he worked as a project manager, head of tourism, and design manager. During the Korean War, he published editorial cartoons and children's cartoons in newspapers and magazines.
[340] Kim Sŏnghwan, Author's second interview.

toward authoritarianism.[341] As the 1950s progressed, the power of the state steadily concentrated into hands of the personal authority of President Rhee. In this "Caesarean Republic," Rhee monopolized executive power and held himself above the power of the National Assembly within a two-party system of limited competition between the Liberal Party, headed by Rhee, and the "loyal opposition" in the form of the Democratic Party (*Minjudang*).[342] The system was characterized as "democratic" but its practice was authoritarian. The opposition party and the National Assembly had the authority to check the presidential power in the beginning and in theory, but as Cold War anti-communism backed by the fear or the threat of the North created an atmosphere for oppositional oppression, the political competition could easily be repressed in the interest of national security.[343] As Rhee suppressed the basic democratic institutions of free competition, free press, and free elections, it would create a contradiction between the liberal-democratic ideology of the republic and the authoritarian reality. In viewing these contradictions, the manipulation and corruption behind them, and the limitations placed upon the press, the frustrations grew into criticism, especially within the press, as they increasingly spoke on behalf democratic demands of society.[344] With a higher degree of autonomy relative to other decades, the voice of the press would become a central force in the democratization struggle, but this voice was still limited, creating the circumstances for Kim Sŏnghwan's movement to creating his genre weapon.

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[341] Choi, *Democracy after Democratization*, 40.
[342] Choi, 35. As described by Jang-jip Choi, by the end of the Korean War, most independent candidates ceased to exist due largely to the ideological polarization and exclusion of the moderate left in the political process that began with the controversy and opposition to the division process in 1948. The Democratic Party is the successor to the Democratic National Party (*Minju Kungmindang*, 1949-1955), which originated as the Korean Democratic Party (*Han'guk Minjudang*, 1945-1949).
[343] Choi, 40. For most of the dissertation, I will refer to "opposition party" in a generalized sense though it can sometimes incorporate more than just the Democratic Party. This is partially because of how there tends to be a two-party system of "ruling" (*yŏdang*) and "opposition" (*yadang*) parties, as described by Jang-jip Choi, and it is also often how Kim Sŏnghwan refers to political parties within his "Mr. Kobau" cartoons.
[344] Choi, 78.

Press censorship laws sometimes faced scrutiny by U.S. officials. As described earlier, several laws emerged within the U.S. occupation period as part of U.S. military policy that showcased the tension between threats of national security and ideology. This tension would continue to play out as part of the justification for continuing, and often implementing harsher restrictions on the press that would undermine U.S. attempts of liberal-democratic importation and place the U.S. in the contradictory position of supporting military strongmen out of perceived geo-political necessity. With the breakout of the Korean War, the military imposed censorship on all newspapers, which generally remained in place even after the 1953 armistice. Journalists also employed their own self-censorship either to avoid pre-censorship conflicts or out of the martial spirit that accompanied wartime journalism. This did not curb their criticism of government related to issues such as domestic policies, land reform, and pro-Japanese collaboration, which often faced virulent attacks within the press.[345] This restrained, though harsh reporting transformed into what can been described as a form of anti-communist liberalism that would continue following the end of the Korean War. The two newspaper cartoons that were sporadically published in the *Kukche sinbo (National News*) and *Yŏnhap sinmun* (*Associated Newspaper*) during the Korean War also adhered to this mode of publication by either avoiding or championing anti-communist, pro-military points of view.[346]

In an attempt to curtail criticism, on October 14, 1954, Rhee made a statement setting guidelines that would limit the numbers of newspapers in Seoul to two or three. Widespread opposition from the public and the press caused Rhee to abandon the measures.[347] In 1955, the

[345] Kim Yŏnghŭi, "Han'guk chŏnjaenggi Yi Sŭngman chŏngbu ŭi ŏllon chŏngch'aek kwa ŏllon ŭi taeŭng [The Press Policy of the Rhee Seungman Government and the Response of the Press during the Korean War]," *Han'gukŏllonhakpo* 56, no. 6 (December 2012): 369.
[346] Kim Sŏngho, *Han'guk ŭi manhwaga 55-in [55 Korean Cartoonists]* (Seoul: P'ŭresŭbil, 1996), 345.
[347] Kyu Ho Youm, *Press Law in South Korea* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1996), 46.

Rhee government made another attempt at regulation by introducing a "Temporary Measure for Governing Publications Act" (*Ch'ulp'anmul e kwanhan imsi choch'ibŏp*) to the National Assembly. This empowered the Director of Information of the Rhee administration to license or suspend publication of periodicals "when they [ran] inflammatory articles disrupting the national security or publish[ed] stories that are false, distorting, or violating [the] law."[348] As with previous measures, opposition from the press forced the National Assembly to once again abandon the bill. Though many legacy laws from the U.S. occupation and Korean War remained on the books, the press still retained some limited space for criticism, which would become increasingly restrictive over the next five years.

Cartoons fell under similar forms of censorship, but the regulation for the industry largely went unnoticed due to their position primarily as forms of entertainment with themes that generally supported anti-communism. Kim Sŏnghwan's early work also tended to conform to government policy with little questioning of ideological assumptions. However, the daily experience and interactions with reporters at the *Tonga ilbo* and their confrontations with external and internal forms of censorship slowly shifted his point of view and the focus of "Mr. Kobau" from "gag" humor to political satire.

One of his first observations of press censorship laws came on March 15, 1955 when the *Tonga ilbo* published a typographical error in an article about the Korea-U.S. Oil Agreement. In the headline, "Waiting the approval of the higher-ups (*kowinch'ŭng*), the draft of the Korea-U.S. Oil Agreement," the typesetter "accidentally" inserted in the beginning of the title two letters (*koeroe*) that mean "puppet," a term used to refer to North Korean's subservience to the USSR. Since the mistake was a typeset error, it was only discovered near the end printing process. The

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[348] Youm, 47.

Tonga ilbo halted printing but could not retract all of the publications in time. In his memoirs, Kim Sŏnghwan described how they painstakingly tried to collect all the misprints:

> The typeset of "puppet state (*koeroe*)" was added to the front of the title by mistake. It was in the middle of printing that it was discovered and could not be reprinted. Therefore, the paper was already in the street for 60 minutes and it had been 315 minutes since it was mailed out so it was a very difficult task to gather it all. And because it took 120 minutes to gather it all, it was distributed to the readers for 255 minutes. Like this, they got rid of it.[349]

It was considered taboo to call the Korean President a "puppet" of foreign powers, and President Rhee and the ruling Liberal Party took this typo as a criticism of South Korea's relationship with the U.S. and demanded harsh punishment by closing the newspaper and conducting criminal investigations of the reporters. The government indefinitely suspended the paper for a month under Ordinance 88 despite efforts by the *Tonga ilbo* staff after discovery to correct the error.[350] Upon finding out that only a simple mistake caused it, they lifted suspension on April 17. Contemporary critics viewed this as an excuse by President Rhee to punish the *Tonga ilbo*, which was close to the opposition party. Kim Sŏnghwan would also later describe this incident as an example of the government's excessive attempts to silence the press and their "rebuke of the tyranny of the Liberal Government" shown in newspapers such as the *Tonga ilbo* and *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*.[351]

After barely escaping these charges, the *Tonga ilbo* re-opened on April 18, 1955. Kim Sŏnghwan's comic following the re-opening partially poked fun of the event by presenting a vague reference to the necessity of having to "sell" a morning paper early when the newspaper boy does not return with his change.[352] (Figure 3.4) In latter commentaries, Kim Sŏnghwan

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[349] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 43.
[350] Youm, *Press Law in South Korea*, 47.
[351] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 43.
[352] *Tonga ilbo*, April 18, 1955.

would present this comic as a reference to the *Tonga ilbo* shutdown even though it does not distinctly mention this event.[353] Indirect references and vague commentary were a common tactics for expressing critical views during the colonial and post-colonial eras—"so much so that it was as much a political tactic as a style of writing."[354] This would make up a key component of many of Kim Sŏnghwan's early illustrations. Political discourse under the Rhee administration, according to Charles Kim, in *Youth for Nation*, tended to follow patterns of "permissible liberal nationalist criticism," which drew on three common methods: "(1) being nonspecific; (2) using the nation narrative; and (3) engaging in social-science explanation."[355] While Kim Sŏnghwan's cartoon was not specific in its reference, he links to the event by using a newspaper as a joke immediately following a one-month suspension of the *Tonga ilbo*, and this imagery linkage within a joke presents a partial, if somewhat unsophisticated critique.[356] Kim Sŏnghwan, in later commentary, highlighted the shutting down of the *Tonga ilbo* as an example of the extremes in the Liberal Party government's overreactions.[357] Due to fear of government overreaction and Kim Sŏnghwan's low status as a new cartoonist, at this time, he kept his commentary subtle.

Over the next few months, Kim Sŏnghwan observed the effect of restrictions on the press under the National Security Law. "Opposition-friendly" newspapers, like the *Tonga ilbo* and *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, would sometimes bring to light scandals and stories of political resistance, but because of fear of reprisal, they would also leave stories untold. As Kim Sŏnghwan expressed in an interview I conducted in July 2015, "the lack of conversation on political issues

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[353] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 43.
[354] Kim, *Youth for Nation*, 111.
[355] Kim, 110.
[356] Only one the Mr. Kobau cartoons prior to this event illustrated Mr. Kobau reading a newspaper, though the newspaper would become a common theme in later cartoons. Early cartoons tended to consist of slapstick style pratfalls and domestic situations with rare references to news, except when significant.
[357] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 42–43.

in the press frustrated me."[358] While the government played close attention to the editorials in the press, during this time, "I generally was left alone to my drawing because censors did not pay much attention to cartoons." Because he realized this gave him a space of freedom not enjoyed by most reporters, Kim Sŏnghwan then decided he would use the ambiguous nature of cartoons to symbolically show what was not allowed to be spoken by reporters. Essentially, "the government made me into a political cartoonist."[359]

One of the first areas Kim Sŏnghwan critiqued was government corruption and bribery. On June 5, 1955, he published a cartoon depicting Mr. Kobau as a chauffeur for a heavy-set government employee who he declares is "so heavy that the car can't run properly."[360] (Figure 3.5) Kobau raps gently on the government employee's protruding stomach, which produces a hollow sound. He then examines the employee internally with a magnifying glass that reveals an army jeep concealed within his stomach. "My god! You've eaten the Willy's Jeep!"[361] This cartoon utilized the humor mechanism of the shocking reveal to symbolically represent the underbelly of government theft and bribery that characterized much of the Rhee regime. In particular, it depicts a scandal involving National Assembly members, who were accused of concealing U.S. army jeeps for personal use and sale that came to light at the end of May 1955. He conveyed this by writing "National Assembly" in Chinese characters on the side of the jeep.[362] The practice of politicians colluding with businesses in order to gain political favors and access to U.S. aid had become systematic in the ROK and would erupt into several additional scandals over the next year. Kim Sŏnghwan would include many cartoons decrying profiteering

[358] Kim Sŏnghwan, Author's second interview.
[359] Kim Sŏnghwan.
[360] *Tonga ilbo*, June 5, 1955.
[361] *Tonga ilbo,* June 5, 1955
[362] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 44.

in general or targeting the government branch or business group involved at the time. However, they rarely addressed specific individuals since this could open him up for charges of libel, which would become a means for the Rhee regime to legally shut down critical commentary.

Interestingly, the cartoon also showcases the U.S. neo-colonial presence within the ROK, but it is not highlighted and, thus, second and almost inconsequential compared to the disease of government corruption. Censorship laws specifically forbade criticism of U.S. military actions. The ROK's dependence on foreign aid made the Rhee's government particularly sensitive to criticism of the U.S. Kim Sŏnghwan tended to remain neutral in his viewpoints on the U.S. This was especially true in his early cartoons when he was still testing out the limits of permissible critique. Though Kim Sŏnghwan would occasionally criticize policies that originated from the U.S. and often lampooned South Korean obsessions with western cultural and technological imports, the presence of the U.S. was not questioned. Instead, his focus remained on the ROK government and society. As a means for survival, this allowed his works to continue by avoiding a subject that might make him a target and prevent publication of his drawings as shown in the *Tonga ilbo* incident. However, the lack of critique of U.S. presence in South Korea continued in Kim Sŏnghwan's own writings over the years and when referencing the historical context of his comics. For example, the description published in 1987 of the June 5th (1955) comic barely mentioned the geo-political atmosphere of U.S. aid even though such critiques were more permissible and popular in the late 1980s. Therefore, it is possible that his reasoning for not bluntly criticizing the U.S. might stem from personal admiration and a connection to the liberal-democratic ideals that the U.S. championed—though not always practiced—rather than simply an example of censorship.

Except for a handful of comics, through much of 1955, Kim Sŏnghwan primarily focused on themes confronting societal ills and every-day idiosyncrasies by utilizing pantomime and gag-driven humor. His turning point came in October 1955, after a month of observing the reporting on the highly controversial "Taegu Daily Terror Incident," which Kim Sŏnghwan labeled as "the number one act of recorded press suppression that arose under the Liberal Party."[363] On September 13, 1955, the *Taegu maeil sinmun* (Taegu Daily Newspaper) published a highly critical editorial, "Do Not Use Students as Political Instruments," by the editor-in-chief Ch'oe Sŏkch'ae.[364] The article lambasted the local government officials and education administrators, who collaborated in canceling classes for several thousand middle school and high school students to participate in a ceremony welcoming Im Pyŏngjik, the permanent Korean observer at the United Nations (*Yuen taep'yobu sangim taesa*), and possible nominee for the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs.[365] This practice of routinely mobilizing students was seen as a blatant attempt to curry favor with the dignitary. Ch'oe Sŏkch'ae started the editorial observing frequent street marches of middle and high school students with a reference to a "certain kind of march" (*monjongŭi haengnyŏl*) where the Taegu area officials mobilized students for four hours to welcome Im Pyŏngjik. Ch'oe Sŏkch'ae targeted an established pattern of mobilizing young students for political goals. At the time, it was part of a broader, regime-backed effort with the goal of removing the communist nations of Czechoslovakia and Poland from the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in the Demilitarized Zone.[366] This critique was part of a series of opinion pieces and columns published in the *Taegu maeil sinmun* over the proceeding months

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[363] Kim Sŏnghwan, 66.
[364] Ch'oe Sŏkch'ae would remain highly regarded amongst South Korean journalists because of his resilience in fighting for media freedom at the cost of his own personal risk. This included global recognition as he was honored in the first special ceremony for 50 World Press Freedom Heroes in recognition of the 50th Anniversary of the International Press Institute (IPI) in 2000. The award has since been distributed annually at the IPI World Congress.
[365] Kim, *Youth for Nation*, 109. At this time, Im Pyŏngjik held the highest South Korean position at the UN.
[366] Kim, 109.

criticizing local abuses in power that infuriated the Liberal Party-aligned officials. In retaliation, members of an anticommunist group, *Kungminhoe*, together with the local Liberal Party that ran the campaign put up posters in the center of the city and sent twenty thugs to the offices of the *Taegu maeil sinmun* on September 14. Though the thugs escaped punishment, Ch'oe Sŏkch'ae was arrested for violation of the National Security Law on September 17 on the pretense that his words "attacked" the official stance of the government against the "hostile" communist nations' inclusion in the Supervisory Commission.[367] As one of the better-known "slip-of-the-pen-incidents" (*p'irhwa sakŏn*), Ch'oe Sŏkch'ae was tried three times and found innocent each time, ending with a final Supreme Court trial and acquittal on May 8, 1956.[368]

In a rare realistic caricature drawing, Kim Sŏnghwan depicted three men representing the *Taegu maeil sinmun* National Assembly Investigation Team arriving to deliver their assessment. (Figure 3.6) At a press conference, a representative of the Liberal Party reads out a statement saying, "It's not an open daylight act of terror; it was an incident at 4:30 p.m."[369] Upon reading the newspaper, Mr. Kobau glances at the clock and exclaims, "Oh no! It's already past 4:30 p.m." In the final panel, Kobau is shown with two chairs covering his head and body acting as a shield as he declares that he feels his life is threatened. In this comic, Kim Sŏnghwan references a series of press conferences given by representatives of the Liberal Party and law enforcement denying the thugs' actions as terrorist activities. Instead the representatives praised them as "heroic undertakings" and even wished the government to "present a national medal to the

[367] Kim, 109.
[368]"1955 Taegu maeil sinmun t'erŏ sakŏn [1955 Taegu Daily Newspaper Terror Incident]," Sajinkirok ŭro ponŭn Hanguk hyŏndaesa IV: P'irhwa sakŏn, accessed May 3, 2019, http://theme.archives.go.kr/next/pen/knowledgePenAccident.do.
[369] *Tonga ilbo* October 12, 1955.

youths whose acts of terror was because of the burning passion of patriotism." [370] In other words, the terrorists deserve medals. In particular, the comic rephrases an infamous quote by the Inspection Commissioner of the Kyŏngbuk Police Station, who said, "Terrorism carried out in broad daylight is not terrorism," the fodder for the punchline.[371] This ridiculous classification of the concept of terrorism provided prime materials for a joke, but it also showed the open hostility toward even minor criticism in government policy, especially in relation to Communist nations. As Kim Sŏnghwan would describe:

> 'The Taegu Daily Terror Incident' was not simply an unfortunate ordeal of one district newspaper, but it was an act of press suppression that weighed the life and death of the whole Korean press. Since it was the first public engagement of the press and the people's rights versus government and autocracy, the people could not help but observe with passionate concern.[372]

As Kim Sŏnghwan stated in his 1965 biographical essay collection, "when the September 'Taegu Daily Daylight Terrorism Incident' arose, at that time, I started little by little to take on satire."[373]

As more government corruption scandals came to light with little punishment of those responsible, trust started to diminish among the population, and Kim Sŏnghwan's personal frustration grew regarding the lack of accountability within the government and the press' ability to check these problems. He showed this in the "National Handsomest Mouth Trap Competition" that featured the embezzlement scandals of the tax office clerks and bank employees.[374] (Figure 3.7) The banner specifically uses the term *agari*, an extremely derogatory term for "mouth,"

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[370] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 67. Kim Sŏnghwan refers specifically to two Liberal Party Assembly Members. The quote referencing "heroic undertakings" was attributed Pak Sunsŏk (1904-1992), and the quote regarding the medal came from Ch'oe Ch'angsŏp (1899-1979).
[371] *Tonga ilbo* September 19, 1955.
[372] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 67.
[373] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau in'gan tongmurwŏn*, 231.
[374] *Tonga ilbo* October 14, 1955. In addition, the cartoon may present a visual reference to the "Handsome/Fat Baby Contests" that occurred annually to propagate an idea of increasing wealth and prosperity by weighing babies and awarding the "fattest" child. It also was the first time that he started to change the style of Mr. Kobau into what would become the more familiar character drawing.

which equates to phrases such as "shut your hole" or "shut your trap" in English. He illustrated several governmental agencies, specifically targeting the banks and tax offices. Before a stern looking panel of judges dressed in police uniforms, Kobau declares the tax official the winner because he had eaten the most funds. As described by Kim Sŏnghwan, his critique centered on the embezzlement scandals that arose out of the Liberal Party's attempt to gain funds for the upcoming Vice-Presidential campaign.[375] One of these included government officials who substituted raw cotton marked for soldier's use as winter blankets and coats in exchange for cheaper material. Most of the cotton was sold on the market for hundreds of millions of won in profits to be used as campaign funds and bribes.[376] Kim Sŏnghwan describes the scandal that erupted:

> This incident occurred with the Vice-Presidential election coming and the need to acquire election money ahead of time. However, he [Ri Kibung (1896-1960)] was a slippery fish, and the National Assembly presented this typical case without having an excuse.
>
> In the interest of the US and their concerns, the government dealt with the terms of the FAO [Food and Agricultural Organization]. The system of utilizing military items for civilian purposes was shot down as corruption, but it was just sound and fury with an exaggeration of the incident [against the tax clerks] because the government was the major mastermind behind the incident. As such, it came to nothing [fizzled out] (*hŭjibujidoel su pakke ŏpsŏtta*).[377]

While generally targeting the tax office, the cartoon referred specifically to the incident above and the arrests, imprisonments, and beatings of tax evaders. This occurred while members of the National Assembly sheltered US army supplies as part of their personal gain.[378] Though the subtext of the cartoon centered around these incidents, Kim Sŏnghwan did not specifically target

[375] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 45.
[376] Kim Sŏnghwan, 44–45.
[377] Kim Sŏnghwan, 45.
[378] Kim Sŏnghwan, 44.

the National Assembly within the cartoon. As he described later, he saw these incidents as interrelated in their corruption though the ultimate blame lay within the Liberal Party. Still, he restrained himself in his critique, targeting the tax office clerks instead. Though many have since praised this cartoon for its critical assessment of the situation and cite it as a breakthrough and a "brilliant piece of work," Kim Sŏnghwan partially regretted his restraint.[379] "Honestly, the King [of the contest] would have been someone entirely different if I had my way."[380] While Kim Sŏnghwan may have wanted to directly attack the Liberal Party, the threat of retaliation still loomed enough within his mind to force him to self-censor his ideas. However, the lack of retaliation upon publication opened the possibility that he could present a political critique.

Over the next year, Kim Sŏnghwan started to intersperse his pantomime-style cartoons with occasional government critiques. As with the "corruption contest" cartoon, Kim Sŏnghwan received no punishment, which opened up the potential in his mind of exploring new, controversial subjects. His attacks gradually became more targeted toward specific institutions and the Liberal Party. The tax collector and Mr. Kobau's attempt to avoid his rounds became a regular feature in the series, often highlighting changes in the tax codes that unfairly targeted the poor while playing upon the general frustration toward how those funds are allocated. Government sponsored thugs and their intimidation became another major focus of Kim Sŏnghwan's comics.

For example, during the Presidential and National Assembly Elections of 1956, Kim observed and illustrated the physical abuse and intimidation suffered by the opposition parties at the hands of the ruling Liberal Party that included hundreds of arrests and beatings. Within this hostile environment, the Progressive Party (*Chinbodang*) emerged under the leadership of Cho

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[379] Ch'oe Yŏl, *Han'guk manhwa ŭi yŏksa*, 125.
[380] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 45.

Pongam (1898-1959). Under the rhetoric of anti-communism and anti-authoritarianism, this new party also called for social welfare programs for the rural and urban poor. This attracted many leftist advocates and created a temporary coalition that, along with Cho Pongam's personal appeal, boosted the popularity and support for the opposition party.[381] The Progressive Party's tenants, especially the offer of a "peaceful unification" based on a sense of balance in terms between the hegemonic interests of the U.S. and the Soviet Union, captured the imagination of many Koreans. It also gained acceptance among the centrist opposition parties frustrated with Rhee's provocative campaign for re-unification.[382] Cho Pongam's popularity threatened Rhee's position, which led to various "witch hunts" against opposition party members and arrests. In the April 19, 1956 comic, Mr. Kobau opens a barrel marked "May 15 Election," while asking, "Is it an atmosphere of freedom? Or an atmosphere of terror?"[383] (Figure 3.8) He sees what appears to be the tail of an ox, a zodiac symbol that indicates a quiet, dependable, patient temper, peeking from the barrel. Pleased, he pulls on the tail. Instead of an ox, a lion emerges. The cartoon implies the fear tactics of the Liberal Party used to maintain their power. Though Cho Pongam would lose the presidential bid and the Progressive Party would dissolve within the year due to factionalism, the possibility that Rhee could have come close to losing the election if the two

[381] Cho Pongam is generally described as a moderate socialist or moderate leftist. The rise of the Progressive Party was partially due to the aftermath of the Pusan Political Crisis in 1952 and Constitutional revision in 1954 that further strengthened the presidential power. Under slogans of "anti-dictatorship-protect-democracy," several congressmen defected from the Democratic National Party and Liberal Party. Under a new coalition, the Progressive Party proposed three primary tenants: 1) implementation of responsible politics; 2) establishing a exploitation free economic system; 3) accomplishment of a peaceful unification. Yunjong Kim, *The Failure of Socialism in South Korea: 1945-2007*, Routledge Advances in Korean Studies 30 (London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2015), 68–69. For further reading on the status of social-democratic politics in Korea, consult Kim, *Failure of Socialism in South Korea*.

[382] Kim, *Failure of Socialism in South Korea*, 69.The support by the centrists was not universal. Some members of the Democratic Party stated, "We would rather negotiate with Kim Il Sung than allow Cho Pongam to become President." When the Democratic Party Presidential candidate, Sin Ikŭi, suddenly died of cancer in the midst of the May election, it led to greater support for Cho Pongam and opposition. It was an open secret at the time that some of the Democratic Party leaders encouraged voters to elect Rhee over Cho Pongam. Kim, 74.

[383] *Tonga ilbo* April 19, 1956.

parties had come together was not forgotten by Rhee. It most likely contributed toward Rhee's crack down on progressive leaders, like Cho Pongam, and members of the Democratic Party.[384]

To further illustrate these acts of political terrorism, Kim Sŏnghwan's drawings became more explicit in their meaning, depicting actual acts of brutality. As a symbol, he would draw a bat floating in the air as though wielded by some invisible hand.[385] (Figure 3.9) It would then attack a member of the opposition party, leaving behind a visibly bandaged or bruised victim. These critiques generally followed the election cycles or scandals involving arrests of reporters. The cartoons, at first, left the perpetrators of violence to some unknown force, allowing the audience to fill in the guilty party, which created an implication of government involvement without explicitly citing their culpability. While reporters and authors often used similar forms of coding or symbolism to imply government responsibility, the comic form allowed Kim Sŏnghwan to take it a step further through visual representation and the power of empty space that increased the difficulty for censors to justify removal. This technique of empty space also resembles a form of censorship protest often employed by the newspapers where erased areas were left blank in order to indicate government involvement and removal of information. Therefore, the invisible hand both implies government action and their attempt to cover up.

While Kim Sŏnghwan often utilized blank space to imply government involvement, he also started to experiment with different caricatures. These included: the thief, the unemployed man, the anxious man, the optimistic man, the beggar, the boss, and the policeman. He also showcased many domestic characters, including a wife, children, and a dog. The dog, in

[384] In the end, the dead Sin Ikŭi received 21 percent of the votes, just under Cho Pongam's 23 percent. Chang Myŏn (1899-1966), the Democratic Party candidate for Vice President won over Ri Kibung (1896-1960), Rhee's Liberal Party's pick for Vice President. This loss would cause further tension that would also help in creating the political circumstances leading to the democratic movement of the 1960 April Revolution, described in chapter four.
[385] *Tonga ilbo* May 11, 1956.

particular, became a tricky subject and a target of government censors, since it could imply shady dealings. During the October 1956 election, Kim Sŏnghwan published a comic in the magazine *Cartoon Seasons* (*Manhwa ch'unch'u*) that mocked the police attack of the Legislative Assembly member Chang T'aeksang in the form of a dog bite. As a result, Kim Sŏnghwan was taken into custody by the police where he was fined a penalty and released.[386] While this experience sometimes made him more cautious in utilizing the dog character, it did not shut down his critique or experimentations in representational forms.

During the 1957 National Assembly election period, Kim Sŏnghwan started to illustrate the invisible hand as thug characters with intent and purpose. In the May 29th comic, a group of three thugs carry a bat, a large rock, and glass bottles to an opposition assembly rally with the intent of stirring up trouble. (Figure 3.10) Mr. Kobau announces the assemblyman, who is heard off-stage clattering up to the podium. As the three thugs lift their weapons to rush the stage, the assemblyman appears covered head-to-toe in bandages. This takes the thugs off-guard, and they pause and ask, "Hold on… Where shall we hit him this time?"[387] The fact that there is no room left on his bandaged body thwarts the plans of the government planted thugs, and the image implies the state as the perpetuators of violence. It specifically references an act of government supported terrorism four days prior to the publication of the cartoon.

On May 25, 1957, a crowd of 200,000 people gathered at Changch'ungdan Park to hear speeches from the Democratic Party (*minjudang*). As described by Kim Sŏnghwan, a witness to the event:

> Five minutes into the growingly eloquent speech by the leader of the Democratic Party, Cho Pyŏngok, (1894-1960), a group of sharply dressed unknown assailants in hats and dark sunglasses came out of nowhere, shouted and rushed the podium.

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[386] Ch'oe Yŏl, *Han'guk manhwa ŭi yŏksa*, 126.
[387] *Tonga ilbo*, May 29, 1957.

> In an instant, the exhibition area turned into a scene of utter chaos. Despite desperate efforts by security guards to pacify the scene, the assailants rushed the platform, tore apart the paper fliers for the conference, and set the microphone station ablaze. The entire stand continued to burn, and the assailants unhurriedly stepped aside.
>
> Until this time, there was not one single "so-called" police officer responsible for keeping public order to be seen, and once the unknown assailants vanished, a group of plain-clothes police officers appeared and said they would repair the inside of the grounds as the opposition party fussed about. A short while later, the head of the Central District Police Station arrived at the scene. The assailants had lit the amplifier on fire, and a young man appeared from inside the crowd to extinguish the flames. The police swiftly grabbed him and hauled him away to the Central District Police Station.
>
> At 4:35 p.m., the speakers, who were already unable to address the crowd through a burnt-out microphone, felt drained, and Dr. Cho Pyŏngok spoke with a trembling voice, "The repeated assaults of the mob are gradually eradicating this country's democracy through brutality. Let's struggle to claim the rights of the people!" The people stood and quietly watched this pitiful figure. The hearts of the crowd, scattered and powerless, were full of unspoken resistance so how could Mr. Kobau not be tear-soaked with pent-up anger?[388]

Possibly emboldened by this experience, Kim Sŏnghwan would keep the memories of the violence and political suppression alive in the newspapers. He illustrated several additional comics depicting the acts of terror—some directly attributed to the "Changchu'ungdan Park terrorism"—and preserved these images in the public mind after the photos stopped appearing in the papers.[389]

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[388] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 120–21.

[389] The *Tonga ilbo* featured photographs of the event on the front and third pages of the newspaper. The photos on the front page showed the speakers, Cho Pyŏngok and Chŏn Chinhan, prior to the attack. Page three showed a wide-angle shot of the crowd; a photo of the "hoodlums" responsible for the violence; the damage to the microphone stand after the attack; and a member of the crowd injured by a thrown rock. *Tonga ilbo* May 27, 1957. The *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* showed a wide-angle shot of the crowd on the front page. Page three contained three photos of the speakers prior to the attack and next to two images of the "unidentified assailants" closing in on the opposition party members and the microphone platform on fire. An Ŭisŏp would visually represent this event in a one-panel cartoon depicting a newly released movie starring a monstrous King Kong-like figure attacking the crowds of Changch'ungdan Park. *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* May 27, 1957. The Chosŏn Ilbo produced no photographs or cartoons about the event with only a single editorial. *Chosŏn Ilbo* May 27, 1957. Kim Sŏnghwan would produce numerous cartoons over the next several weeks depicting acts of bullying and violence with some directly attributed to the "Changch'ungdan Park Terror" even after the newspapers stopped producing photographs, which were generally only published near the time of an incident. Kim Sŏnghwan's cartoons and visualizations allowed this reminder of violence surrounding the incident to continue in the reader's mind for several weeks following the event.

On November 21, 1957, Kim Sŏnghwan's increasing confidence compelled him to broach the highly contentious and taboo subject of North Korean unification. Mr. Kobau appears at the window of a neighbor's house displaying a newspaper and proclaiming to a sickly elderly gentleman under care of a nearby physician that "Your son is alive in North Korea!"[390] (Figure 3.11) The gentleman leaps from his bed and proceeds to run northward, followed by his concerned doctor, wife, and son as the gentleman shouts, "Before I die, I have to meet him once." Once he reaches the armistice line, he gazes north with a telescope and declares, "You rascal, come here!" Turning toward Mr. Kobau, the family members proclaim him responsible for this quagmire. Though the cartoon does not directly address unification, it still implies a critique of the division and the harm it caused to family unity. The crazed look upon the elderly gentleman's face may also reference Rhee's march north policies that Rhee would drag out when experiencing a crisis. This is shown metaphorically as illness when hearing the news. Finally, the shifting of blame in the end to Mr. Kobau, and thus the media, illustrates an inner critique of journalists and the consequence of sensationalist headlines. Even Kim Sŏnghwan occasionally would bemoan the tendency toward sensationalism that could interfere with legitimate reporting, which I will discuss in greater detail in chapter five. Yet, at the same time, this "blaming the media" for the exaggeration of events would also provide a convenient excuse for government censure—in both the Rhee and Park regimes—and serve as the pretext for implementing harsher regulations and stricter laws regarding reporting, limiting the freedom of the press. Kim Sŏnghwan's cartoon contains all these ideas. Nevertheless, the critique was more self-reflective than blatantly critical of government or press policy.

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[390] *Tonga ilbo* November 21, 1957.

Kim Sŏnghwan could present these critiques and was able to shift from a traditional gag-comic into an editorial cartoon by taking advantage of a space of liminality within the Korean press and concept of humor. At the *Tonga ilbo*, Kim was considered neither a traditional reporter nor illustrator, which were strictly regulated, so it kept him initially off the officials' radar. In general, South Korean censors placed undue emphasis upon written word, which was a continuation of Japanese colonial practices. Authorities often lacked an understanding of comic forms of expression. This was further compounded by the form in which Kim Sŏnghwan initially published his cartoon. The one-panel form of political cartoons came from a long-standing Western tradition that clearly categorized it within a particular genre of political satire. Korea also had a forty-year history of sporadic publishing of traditional one-panel political cartoons. This often corresponded to periods when the Korean or Japanese colonial government wished to broadcast an image of press freedom by opening up a valve of political critique. However, this form, with its overt caricature, still fell under anti-defaming laws dealing with realistic representation.

Since the one-panel form was clearly categorized into a particular genre of political satire, it remained highly visible and often fell under the censorship axe. This is shown by the one-panel form's relative absence from the newspapers since the start of the Korean War. However, four-panel comics were generally seen as non-political, slapstick humor, so censors tended to ignore the medium. This created a sense of ambiguity in classification, which opened up more space for potential critique since four-panel cartoons could be misclassified as simply "jokes" and not worth of serious inquiry. Kim utilized this liminal space to test the limits of self-expression and transform and transition the four-panel gag-comic into political satire.

"Mr. Kobau" would come to be known for its political satire, but the non-political subject matter was more than just a means for filling space between scandals or providing light-hearted humor. The scattering of socially themed cartoons made up as much of the character as the political commentary. This light-hearted "everydayness" and sentimentality toward the struggles of the lower-middle class with the aspects of modernity defined the experiences of many of his generation. Conflicts navigating traffic, department stores, household chores, child rearing, and such would highlight various aspects of cosmopolitanism that both showcased and sometimes questioned the advancement of western society against the "peculiarity" or "backwardness" of Korea, which also emerged in the literature and film of the 1950s.[391] This would translate into a privileging of the values of liberal-democracy as a universal system to be acquired as part of a desire for cosmopolitanism. While the early drawings of Mr. Kobau followed this pattern, as the character evolved, he started to approach new technologies and trends with a clever inventiveness that would highlight native ingenuity rather than disparage it, especially when attempting to evade authorities or protect the socially or politically marginalized from abuse.[392] Even those who may not agree with Kim Sŏnghwan's political point of view could enjoy the daily antics of Mr. Kobau and his cast of characters. When held in custody for "slip-of-the-pen" charges, he would sometimes be approached for a sketch or autograph from a "fan" in the police department.[393] Furthermore, the "everydayness" of the cartoons made the political satire even more potent; it was a technique that allowed him to retain his audience, keep the political satire fresh, and prevent the dulling effect of streaming criticism.[394]

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[391] Chŏng Yŏngjin, "1950-yŏndae segyejuŭi wa hyŏndaesŏng yŏn'gu: Kangnyŏkhan chuch'esŏng kwa pongswaedoen kaesŏng [The 1950s Cosmopolitanism and Modernity: Powerful Subjecthood and the Blockaded of Individuality]," *Kyŏreŏmunhak* 44 (2010): 292.
[392] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 79.
[393] *Han'gyŏre* June 14, 2015.
[394] Kim Sŏnghwan, Author's second interview.

While many of Mr. Kobau cartoons satirized and celebrated the struggles of the lower-middle class, Kim Sŏnghwan also spent considerable ink sympathizing with beggars and shanty-town dwellers as an example of the unevenness in economic development. He drew rough sketches of daily life scenes in the street, like those created during his war years, which he would later develop into a series of drawings displayed as part of a "Shanty Town Exhibition" in 2004.[395] They were filled with Kim Sŏnghwan's mementos and memories collected from the early 1950s, when he lived with five other relatives in a shanty town in Tongch'ŏn Market. They humanized the experiences of the poor by providing a window into mundane aspects of daily existence as evidence that "we have lived like this."[396] However, his characterizations in his cartoons and pencil drawings are not one of noble suffering—the beggars and destitute inhabit just as many humorously flawed characteristics as the wealthy—or a call for a social revolution. Instead, it is a judgement upon society in their treatment of the poor compared to the wealthy and well connected. It would embody the framework and connectivity to the consequence of political corruption that peppered his cartoons. By highlighting the unfortunate, he showed the failures of the state in their promises to raise the people from poverty.

The prevalence of poverty and its linkage to the "affliction of the common people" also appeared in the characters of the robber and thief, whom Kim Sŏnghwan saw as the result of when the "joys and sorrows of the lives of ordinary people suffer from poverty" and the "thieves and robbers take different forms whenever such occasions arise."[397] Sometimes the thieves and robbers would appear as frightening characters or potential threats, but they also turned up as amusing or "misguided," developing a rapport with the reader and normalizes their activities.

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[395] The exhibition would also be published into a book. Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kim Sŏnghwan ŭi p'anjach'on iyagi*.
[396] Kim Sŏnghwan, 7.
[397] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 82.

Their omnipresence in society showed the breakdown of societal norms due to war, division, and corruption. The robber or thief was not just individuals who suffered from economic hardship, though he saw this as a key contributing factor to the rise in crime rates; a "thief" was often used to highlight government corruption as well and its pervasiveness in businesses and politics. As Kim Sŏnghwan explained, "Whenever there was a corruption scandal that became a current event, I expressed it humorously in the form of a thief or robber and condemned it stealthily…. Kobau always stood by the side of the ordinary people and would mercilessly attack the corrupt acts of public offices shown in the facsimile of a thief. "[398] These stand-ins would sometimes take on an obvious caricature of a "thief" and sometimes they would appear as "plain-clothes thief," a businessman or politician who "passed" as ordinary citizens but embodied the same characteristics and behaviors as a thief. While the "thief" characters might sometimes appear amusing or sympathetic, since Kim Sŏnghwan saw them as a result of poverty and desperation, the "plain-clothes thief" did not impart empathy, but embodied the true villainy of society since he saw their motivations as stemming from greed and corruptive power. "On the day that thieves and robbers disappear from the comic Kobau, our society may have also become a society ruled over by justice."[399]

3.4 *The Kyŏngmudae Satire Scandal*

"Mr. Kobau" eventually reached a point in criticism that crossed the permissible threshold. As shown in previous examples, "Mr. Kobau" grew more direct in its attack by specifically referencing government officials and developing a style of critique more reminiscent

[398] Kim Sŏnghwan, 82.
[399] Kim Sŏnghwan, 82.

of political cartoons. This came to a head in 1958 with the infamous "Kyŏngmudae satire."[400] The cartoon depicted two night-soil collectors bowing deeply and speaking with exaggerated graciousness to an approaching night-soil collector from the residence of President Rhee.[401] (Figure 3.12) He presented it as a critique upon the undue subservience and sycophancy given to government officials. As he wrote later regarding the incident, "if people did not brown-nose to President Rhee, they would be accused of communism and branded as a traitor to the country."[402] On January 24, 1958, the police arrested Kim Sŏnghwan and interrogated him for two days. The reason for the arrest was for "insulting Kyŏngmudae" and spreading falsehoods in newspapers under Article 1 Section 9 of the Minor Offences Act (*kyŏngbŏmjoe ch'ŏbŏlbŏp*).[403] In a summary trial, a judge fined him 450 won, and Kim Sŏnghwan was released. This would be the first time in Korean history that an editorial cartoonist was put on trial for a "slip-of-a-pen" incident.[404]

Criticisms of his arrest and its implications in freedom of speech appeared in the front-page editorials of the *Tonga ilbo* and *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*. In the often controversial "Excursus" (*yŏjŏk*) column of the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, an anonymous author declared, "it was 'nonsense'

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[400] Kyŏngmudae, the Blue House, is the official residence of the President of the ROK.
[401] *Tonga ilbo* January 23, 1958. The cartoon specifically references President Rhee's fake son-in-law scandal, which became a social problem in the latter half of 1957. On August 30, 1957, a young man was arrested at Kyŏngju Police Station for impersonating Rhee's adopted son, Ri Kangsŏk (1936-1960), who was the son of the leader of the Liberal Party, Ri Kibung (1896-1960). The fake son pretended to inspect the police station in the name of "his father," President Rhee. The Police Chief is purported to have deferred graciously and exclaim "his great honor in having the son come all the way here." He was given the "royal treatment" at the Kyŏngju and Yŏngchŏn Police Stations, including the use of a car, until he, later revealed as Kang Sŏngbyŏng, was recognized as fake. "Kwihashinmom" became a buzzword for culminating fraudulent practices. The incident showcased the power held by Ri Kangsŏk and unwillingness for officials to question authority. Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 153.
[402] Kim Sŏnghwan, 153.
[403] *Tonga ilbo* January 31, 1958.
[404] Taehan Min'guk Yŏksa Pangmulgwan, *Kobau ka para pon uri hyŏndaesa*, 32. It is unknown whether this statement might apply to North Korea as well. Some editorial cartoonists escaped to North Korea before or during the Korean War and disappeared or worked under the North Korean regime. Since most of their works followed North Korean ideological principles and North Korean cartoons do not criticize the Kim regime, it is doubtful that they might have fallen victim to "slip-of-a-pen" charges. More research is needed in this area.

that from the judgment of the government's civil servants, a cartoon, in other words, an expression of fantasy is called authentic 'truth.'"[405] The *Tonga ilbo*'s "Editorial" built upon this further by stating that an editorial cartoon is meant to exaggerate and be symbolic:

> If you start to present comics as false reporting…anything that does not resemble a real thing or a photograph of a real thing and does not depict real events will be pressed with false reporting…And in our society, there will be no choice but to eradicate these self-same cartoons…Thus, if we do not seek more than the greatest prudence in trials, the protection of civil liberties will be seriously injured.[406]

Most commentaries viewed Kim Sŏnghwan's "slip-of-a-pen" charge as a clear example of the government's oversensitivity and abuse of power, and the debates would continue amongst lawyers, academics, and critics. Many of them revolved around the idea of creative fiction, and how it is meant to illuminate truthful ideas: cartoons not a "true" or "realistic" representations. "The cartoonist presents fictitious subject matter and gives laughter or some facts that are satirical; if this is brought into question, shouldn't you put in a picture instead of drawing a cartoon?"[407]

This overzealous reaction to criticism was seen as a direct result of the passage of the Negotiated Election Act (*hyŏpsang sŏn'gŏbŏp*) on January 1, 1958, which prohibited newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals from publishing "'false facts' about candidates that could help them win or lose the election," though Kim Sŏnghwan was not "technically fined" under the law.[408] As shown in the article, "More Attention Paid to the Cartoon Criticism

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[405] *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* January 29, 1958. The "Excursus" column was maintained by a group of anonymous editorialists, which allowed for greater critique through anonymity.
[406] *Tonga ilbo* January 31, 1958.
[407] *Tonga ilbo* January 30, 1958.
[408] Youm, *Press Law in South Korea*, 47. Some of the heightened sensitivity toward political speech might also be related to the arrest of the former Presidential candidate for the Progressive Party (*Chinbodang*), Cho Pongam, on January 12, 1958 for espionage. Kim Sŏnghwan produced an "Mr. Kobau" cartoon on January 18 that criticized the Rhee regime as using the label of communist to get rid of political rivals.

Slip than the Election," Kim Sŏnghwan's prosecution is seen as an example of—though not the most egregious—political censorship.[409] In the same article, Kim Sŏnghwan makes an "apologetic" statement saying: "In every point, it (Mr. Kobau) has satirized society's troubled status. Beyond a shadow of doubt, it was not intended to insult Kyŏngmudae, and consequently, I don't think that I insulted them."[410] However, the statement is part of a warning on the pettiness of the search for criticism that might be perceived as prosecutable "false facts" in the upcoming National Assembly election. It is more of a vindication of Kim Sŏnghwan's satirical style than an admission of guilt. Instead of forcing him into silence, the "Kyŏngmudae scandal" furthered Kim Sŏnghwan's resolve to develop his methods in satirical reporting and focus on government corruption, which brought increasing fame and importance to "Mr. Kobau."

The fame from the scandal affected cartoon artists in various ways. Some rallied behind Kim Sŏnghwan in solidarity. An Ŭisŏp featured an illustration of Tukkŏbi in a one-panel cartoon observing Mr. Kobau receiving a writ of notice on a misdemeanor charge from the city police. (Figure 3.13) Tukkŏbi exclaims in surprise, "Mr. Kobau! I feel as though this could happen to me!"[411] Kim Sŏnghwan would produce a similar conciliatory comic for An Ŭisŏp following the shutdown of the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* the next year. As a result of the scandal, Cho Hangri, who was only a student at the time, received his first break in the *Chayu sinmun* (*Freedom Daily*). Prior to the arrest, the *Chayu sinmun* spent weeks delaying publication of his cartoon submission, but immediately following Kim Sŏnghwan's scandal, the newspaper featured his four-panel cartoon within the center of the cultural news section, starting his career.[412]

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[409] *Tonga ilbo* January 28, 1958. This article does not directly reference the Negotiated Election Act, but it does mention this type of press repression as something to watch for in the upcoming election.
[410] *Tonga ilbo* January 28, 1958.
[411] *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, January 28, 1958.
[412] Cho Hangni, *Pyŏllo hago sipchi anŭn iyagi: manhwa, k'at'un, ch'ulp'an, illŏsŭt'ŭ, aenimeisyŏn kkachi... Cho Hangni ch'angjak insaeng 54-yŏn [Unwanted Conversation: From Manhwa, Cartoon, Illustrator, Annimation... the*

Kim Sŏnghwan would satirize his experience by linking it to acts of censorship. On January 29, he wrote one sentence, "in Kyŏngmudae, there is no 'shit' (*ttong*)," signed as Mr. Kobau. It appeared in the "Air Gun" (*konggich'ong*) column, titled "Shit Cartoon Trouble" (*ttongmanhwa malssŏng*).[413] In what seems like a retractive statement, he mocked the charge of "offensiveness" by utilizing the word *ttong*, an informal—and potentially offensive—word for excrement. On February 1, he showed Mr. Kobau observing a Don Quixote style battle against a windmill of censorship, a delusion that he could defeat the great monster.[414] (Figure 3.14) While the four-panel cartoon now became synonymous with the political critique in Korea so that Kim Sŏnghwan could no longer take advantage of its liminal space, the popularity of the form and its ubiquitous nature within the Korean press added a layer of protection that allowed Kim Sŏnghwan to continue his critique despite increasing censorship.

> As the "Kobau" cartoon gradually caught the public gaze, the Liberal Party government started turn a hated glare upon it, and slip-of-the-pen episodes appeared endlessly. Two times a slip-of-a-pen incident passed through the district court system—this was the October 1956 and January 1958 episodes—which only resulted in making the "Kobau" cartoon even more famous. When the authorities became aware of this, from that moment, they avoided formal booking, and secretly started to put pressure on me. This included: arbitrary appearances by authorities, written statements, erasure of a published cartoon, being shadowed, and such.[415]

Despite this increasing pressure, Kim Sŏnghwan observed the mounting frustration with the Rhee regime. Kim Sŏnghwan capitalized upon this pent-up anger. Utilizing his popularity as a shield, he grew more defiant.

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54 Years of the Life of the Creative Artist Cho Hangni] (Bucheon, Korea: Korea Manhwa Contents Agency, 2012), 19.

[413] *Tonga ilbo* January 29, 1958. The "Air Gun" column was a small satirical piece that poked fun of society utilizing quotes or sayings from known or anonymous authors. It first ran from April 1, 1953 until January 1961. It resumed publication again on August 15, 1963, but it was suspended once again in February 1964.

[414] *Tonga ilbo* February 1, 1958.

[415] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau wa hamkke san pansaeng*, 14–15.

3.5 *Kim Sŏnghwan and Popular Culture*

While the "Kyŏngmudae satire" placed Kim Sŏnghwan squarely on Rhee's political radar, it also bolstered Mr. Kobau's visibility, raising its status in popular culture. Capitalizing further on his popularity, artists and merchants started to utilize the name or character of Mr. Kobau in order to sell films and products. Across the country, shop signs started to appear on billiard halls, laundry facilities, makkŏlli houses, stationary sellers, coffee shops, etc. displaying the name "Kobau" to draw people in, which Kim Sŏnghwan described as "pleasant to see."[416] When the name or image started to appear on mass market and industrial products, he saw it more as a concern. In the artistic community, there was a belief that mass-production inherently reduced the value of objects. Since comics are mass-produced culture products, many artists and intellectuals felt scorn for comics. Kim Sŏnghwan did not have an inherent disdain for consumer culture, but he disliked the usage of his character especially by corporations. He believed companies often held less of the appreciation than a local shop owner in maintaining Kobau's image and may taint his character.[417] The proliferation of these items would lead him to registering a patent for Kobau in order to better protect his image.[418]

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[416] Kim Sŏnghwan, 18. It is unclear when some of these shops appeared though Kim Sŏnghwan says that they started to appear at this time. To this day there are still shops with the name Kobau attached to them, and some of these crossed over into the U.S. diaspora.
[417] Kim Sŏnghwan, 18.
[418] Taehan Min'guk Yŏksa Pangmulgwan, *Kobau ka para pon uri hyŏndaesa*, 264. I am uncertain when he registered for a patent, but it might have been around the time that he registered the copyright of "Mr. Kobau" in 1969. The *Tonga ilbo* also started printing a small advertisement at the bottom of the "Mr. Kobau" cartoons in August 1969, which would become the most expensive advertisement space amongst all of the Korean dailies—about four to five times the normal fees. According to Kim Sŏnghwan, advertisers would compete and have to prove that they "advertised consistently with big advertisements before they could even be considered for that space." Lent, *Asian Comics*, 82. Some contracts could last up to a year for the slot below the four-panel cartoons. However, at this time, the usage of cartoon advertising was still rare and in its early stages of development. More on this will be addressed in chapter eight.

The spreading of Kobau's brand imagery was the beginning of shift in attitude toward the market values of cartoons, but it did not always equate to greater profits or respect for the artist. When Kim Sŏnghwan began his run at the *Tonga ilbo*, the advertising manager asked, "why waste good advertising space for political cartoons?" and many people simply inquired, "why do cartoons?"[419] Though circulation and advertising revenue increased following the publication of "Mr. Kobau," the profits did not pass onto Kim Sŏnghwan or other editorial cartoonists, which was attributed to the general negative view of cartooning in the public and amongst the newspaper executives. "We only got pennies at the papers—almost as bad as what page boys got. When I started (about 1949), cartoon reading was the hobby of children only. We had much difficulty at first. Many cartoonists dropped out because their work was not popular."[420] However, as the decade progressed, the popularity of cartoons increased, allowing some cartoonists to eke out a living. Though newspaper cartoons provided a regular income, it was insufficient for survival, requiring artists to diversify their work, a characteristic difference that Kim Sŏnghwan saw between the professional community of Korea and the U.S., which, in his opinion, had a more developed comic and newspaper industry.[421] This is one of the reasons that he decided to form the Contemporary Cartoonist Association in 1956, which I will discuss in chapter four, as part of a means of professionalization and cultivation of an industry held in little respect.

Though most still regarded cartoons as low-quality children's entertainment, "Mr. Kobau" and the four-panel editorial cartoon attracted more adult audiences. The political scandals illustrated in the comic contributed toward its acceptance as a form of critical

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[419] Lent, *Asian Comics*, 83.
[420] Lent, 83.
[421] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau in'gan tongmurwŏn*, 180–81.

journalism and adult entertainment. This would also inspire other artists and mediums not strictly reserved for children. A song, "Mr. Kobau," which debuted in November 1957 and was performed by the emerging folk singer, Kim Yongman (1933-present), grew in popularity.[422] A comedic film called *Kobau*, directed by Cho Chŏngho (1919~) and written by Pak Sŏngho (1926~), opened on 1959 March 15, which starred Kim Sŭngho (1917-1968) and Kim Hŭigap (1923-1993).[423] It was the first film ever produced based on a Korean serial cartoon character.[424]

The film followed the entanglements of six lower-middle class individuals and their interactions with Mr. Kobau, who is characterized as a stingy and timid real estate agent. A contemporary film reviewer described it as an "older-style," sentimental drama that "radiates the 'humanity' of the petit bourgeois (*sosimin*)…life scenes of mingled feelings of joy and sorrow, and warm compassion flowed from the back alley of the modern city, which left me with a smile."[425] The movie resembled many of the B-rated melodramas of the 1950s that tried to capture the clashing of social and economic newness with traditional values as part of a desire for cosmopolitanism.[426] Though the film may have attempted to draw upon some of the circulating ideas in the creative community regarding the desire for love and a modern, urban lifestyle, the script was not reflective of Kim Sŏnghwan's image of the character, Mr. Kobau, or his political sensibility. As the reviewer further pointed out, the film was "unfocused" and "absent of satire," which appeared as a nod to the realization that the film was not written by Kim Sŏnghwan.[427] Though Kim Sŏnghwan made a different scenario for the film, the script was

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[422] "Kobau Kim Sŏnghwan chakp'um chŏnsisil," 13. In interviews, Kim Sŏnghwan often refers to children singing versions of "Mr. Kobau" in the street.
[423] *Tonga ilbo* March 15, 1959. Currently, there is no viewable copy of the film.
[424] "Auntie Walsun" would spin off a highly successful Korean drama in the early 1960s. The first feature-length Korean animation, *Hong Gil Dong*, came out in January 1967.
[425] *Tonga ilbo* March 15, 1959.
[426] Chŏng Yŏngjin, "1950-yŏndae segyejuŭi."
[427] *Tonga ilbo* 1959 March 15.

penned by the rookie screenwriter, Pak Sŏngho (b. 1926), whose script, according to Kim Sŏnghwan, "was far from the image that I drew of Kobau… resultingly, (Kim Sŏnghwan's) script never saw the light of day."[428] While he would admit that he thought the actor, Kim Sŭngho performed the character of Mr. Kobau well and was glad that the film lasted for enough time in the theaters so that the production company did not lose money, he generally grimaced when asked about the quality of the film and rarely mentions anything beyond its existence in interviews.[429]

Despite his personal distaste toward the movie, he viewed this as an example of how "the image of Mr. Kobau seems to vary, according to the viewer, which could be an advantage or a disadvantage."[430] He would occasionally receive letters from fans that ranged in topics from heart-felt comparisons of inspirational father-figures to the requesting of advice regarding life choices that seemed to reflect the belief that Kim Sŏnghwan was the same age as his famous character.[431] Though the character of Mr. Kobau was well-known, Kim Sŏnghwan as a personality was less recognized, largely due to his self-proclaimed "non-social, introverted personality that generally avoided public speaking" at this time that kept him from publishing photographs of himself associated with the cartoon.[432] This allowed him to walk in the street and observe the events and daily interactions within the city without facing questions or scrutiny regarding his work. He could then reveal the spirit of events with greater accuracy, not worrying that his presence might cause others to alter their performance in hopes of making or avoiding an impression. It also made it easier for him to skirt authorities, though this would diminish as his

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[428] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau wa hamkke san pansaeng*, 19.
[429] Kim Sŏnghwan, 19.
[430] Kim Sŏnghwan, 20.
[431] Kim Sŏnghwan, 17.
[432] Kim Sŏnghwan, 15.

public persona grew in line with the scandals arising from "slip-of-the-pen" incidents and public cartoon or art exhibitions. While in custody during his first "slip-of-the-pen" incident in 1956, the detective in charge made him sketch a figure of Kobau on the fly in order to assure that he was the actual author and not a substitute.[433] And when he attempted to enter the newly installed television broadcasting station at the Hwasin Department Store in order to make a video publicizing the cartoon production scene, the guard held him back suspiciously as a "young man with shaggy hair and a casual short-sleeve shirt" until the studio paged him by loudspeaker.[434] The anonymity added protection at time, but it also caused problems since many people believed that he was nearer the age of "Mr. Kobau," (late 50s) than his actual age (mid 20s).[435]

Though the movie, *Kobau*, was mild, and non-political in general themes. It still managed to touch upon scandal—though in an indirect way. On November 28, 1959, Im Hwasu (1921-1961), the film director, "political gangster," and infamous head of the Anticommunist Artists Group (*pan'gong yesurindan*) assaulted and broke three ribs of the comedian Kim Hŭigap (1923-1993), one of the stars of the film "Mr. Kobau," for using a scheduling conflict as a pretext for not participating in an election campaign for the Liberal Party.[436] The *Tonga ilbo* publicized the beating under the headline, "The Film Community Trembles Before Authority's Violence," where Kim Hŭigap mentions being threatened by Im Hwasu and his Anticommunist Artists Group.[437] Despite the publicity, the police avoided investigating the incident and witnesses felt too intimidated to speak out. Kim Sŏnghwan decided to visually symbolize Kim Hŭigap's inability to file an accusation against Im Hwasu and the ineffectiveness of the police in

[433] Kim Sŏnghwan, 15.
[434] Kim Sŏnghwan, 15.
[435] Kim Sŏnghwan, 17.
[436] *Maeil sinmun* November 11. 2013.
[437] *Tonga ilbo* November 29, 1959.

preventing violence in a "Mr. Kobau." It shows man physically beaten by a "thug," who shouts at him the threat that if he tells, the thug will kill him. (Figure 3.15) When the police officer arrives, the injured man waves off his help. It ends with a dejected looking police officer overlooking a murdered individual, saying, "This person too didn't press charges and died."[438] However, Kim Sŏnghwan also does not specifically name the assailant in the cartoon, further illustrating the power that Im Hwasu and political "thugs" had over the artistic community. Kim Sŏnghwan describes the attack as an example of how the "branding of 'communism' (*ppalgaengi*) under the pretext of anti-communism brought people, who did not follow the orders of Im Hwasu, to a standstill, and for not a small time, the cultural community were under the power of lapdogs of the Liberal Party."[439] It would become one of the many acts of brutality that lead to Im Hwasu's eventual downfall and helped turn the people against the Rhee regime.

3.6 *Conclusion*

In a 2010 interview with the *Munhwa ilbo*, Kim Sŏnghwan claimed that the creation of the "Kyŏngmudae Satire" cartoon was "intentional," and that he thought about it for about a month. "When foreign cartoons have a 'slip of the pen' incident, they all become famous. I also aimed for that snare (*hamchŏng*)."[440] The perceived overreaction of the Rhee regime resulted in a boost in his popularity, which gave credence to Kim Sŏnghwan's desire. While in the safety of the democratic South Korea of the 2000s, claiming to purposefully antagonize the government for the purpose of fame might seem like sign of hubris. This was shown in the look of surprise expressed by the interviewer. However, the political atmosphere of the late 1950s did not

[438] *Tonga ilbo* December 1, 1959. Kim Sŏnghwan does not specifically reference the attack in either this or a similar cartoon published on December 3, but he labels both these as the "Im Hwasu incident" in his 1987 commentaries.
[439] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 218.
[440] *Munhwa Ilbo* October 1, 2010.

guarantee that Kim Sŏnghwan would escape with light punishment. It took him well over a month to decide to satirize incident of the "fake" son of Syngman Rhee. This attests to the possible difficulties and danger that Kim Sŏnghwan faced.

The "Kyŏngmudae Satire" built upon Kim Sŏnghwan's proclivity to make taboo subjects and contradictions within governmental practices more visible through exposing, or in this case, resurrecting scandals to serve as points of criticism. This tendency was first seen in his early drawings done in school of war themes, described in Chapter One, that were rejected by his teachers as too controversial for the national art competition though they masked their trepidation through trivial criticism. It also manifested in his watercolor drawings during occupation of Seoul, illustrated in Chapter Two, which revealed the hidden horrors covered up by mundane scenes of daily life.

His intentionality shows his awareness of how "Mr. Kobau" could be utilized as a genre weapon in creating scandal for the Rhee regime. Through caricature, he informed and sowed the seeds of public opposition by challenging and criticizing government actions. This would help in feeding the growing resentment in the Rhee regime, as will be discussed in chapter four, seen in the Liberal Party's corruption, disregard for electoral procedure, political terrorism, and seemingly obsessive desire to remain in control no matter the costs, which would drive many toward the opposition. He achieved this by taking advantage of a space of liminality in the form of the "gag" comic, which was previously unrecognized as political genre and could utilize ambiguity through metaphor underneath the radar of government censors while Kim Sŏnghwan gradually turned non-specific references into more direct metaphorical attacks. At the Tong-A Ilbo, Kim was considered neither a traditional reporter nor illustrator, which were strictly regulated, so it kept him initially off the officials' radar. This created a sense of ambiguity in

classification as well, which opened up more space for potential critique since four-panel cartoons could be misclassified as simply "jokes" and not worth of serious inquiry. Kim utilized this liminal space to test the limits of self-expression and transform and transition the four-panel gag-comic into political satire. In the end, as seen in the "Kyŏngmudae Satire," the humor and ambiguity of the comic protected the form and even made the criticism of it appear ridiculous, reversing the scandal and turning it against the Rhee regime.

The political atmosphere of the mid-50s also helped in creating this liminal space. Rhee's Liberal Party's misuse of U.S. aid and corruption during the early 1950s that was fueled by his principle of self-reliance in economic strategy created serious inflation, which produced uncertain and unsustainable business cycles, and directly affected the living conditions of the lower classes.[441] Though support for Rhee initially ran high in the post-liberation period because of his pro-independence leadership roots and through the backing of the U.S., who saw him as essential for success against communist infiltration, Rhee's efforts to suppress opposition, his corruption and involvement in massacres, scandals, and coverups, diminished this support.[442] By the mid-50s, much of Rhee's grass-roots support had diminished and opposition parties formed an anti-dictatorship coalition that would propel the creation of the Democratic Party as the

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[441] Kim, *Failure of Socialism in South Korea*, 67. Though the price of goods first started to sore between 1945 and 1948, and in 1951, the price jumped most dramatically after the Korean War to 814 percent. In addition, though the GNP would peak at 7.7 percent in 1957, it would decline to 5.2 percent in 1958, 3.9 percent in 1959, and 1.9 percent in 1960.

[442] Sungjoo Han, *The Failure of Democracy in South Korea* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), 16. One example of a massacre and coverup was the Kŏch'ang massacre, which involved the slaughter of 701 villagers in south-central Korea by the South Korean 11th Army division assigned to mop up Communist guerrilla forces in February 1951 (Korea Joongang Daily February 10, 2003). When an investigation team sent by the National Assembly attempted to visit the area in April 1951, South Korean soldiers disguised as partisans fired upon the investigation team to interrupt the mission. The National Assembly sent a second investigation in May, which confirmed the reality of the massacre and led to the sentencing of Major Han and Colonel Ok Ikgyun to life in prison; Syngman Rhee would grant clemency to both officers. In addition, Syngman Rhee would later appoint Colonel Kim Chongwŏn, who staged the fake skirmish to halt the National Assembly investigation, as director of the national police.

core.[443] The 1956 presidential election secured a third term for Rhee, but this was largely due to the sudden death of Democratic Party Leader, Sun Ikhŭi (1892-1956), from overwork just prior to the election. Sun Ikhŭi's name was on the ballot despite his death, and still he managed to secure twenty percent of the vote. Rhee's sense of political security was further reduced when Cho Pongam, leader of the Progressive Party, gained an impressive thirty percent, and the Democratic Party representative, Chang Myŏn, won the Vice Presential election. This fear of diminishing support compelled Rhee to use laws and the police to manipulate elections and suppress oppositional voices in the media.

Rhee's crackdowns on speech in his attempt to maintain control would make the voice of Kim Sŏnghwan more significant as traditional editorial outlets in the press became further regulated and suppressed, as will be described in Chapter Four. Through the character of "Mr. Kobau," Kim Sŏnghwan played a key role in sowing the seeds of resistance by cultivating a relatable persona through which he could raise a voice of protest against government malfeasance, electoral manipulation, economic stagnation, and oppression of speech. This served as a source of commiseration and means by which to press the levels of permissible critique under the Rhee regime. In his cartoons, he championed a form of liberal-democratic ideals that highlighted the social inequalities stemming from a systemic corruption and ineptitude in management that came to characterize the Liberal Party. In turning authorities and problems into caricature, it diminished their strength by transforming objects of power into tangible, and thus, surmountable forms. The comic then provided an outlet by which to partake in a sense of communal suffering, binding the opposition in shared laughter and providing an easy means to

[443] Kim, *Failure of Socialism in South Korea*, 68.

distribute those opinions to outsiders of the community, possibly creating new allies, momentum, and sustainability in the search and struggle for democracy.

Appendix 1. CHAPTER THREE EDITORIAL CARTOONS

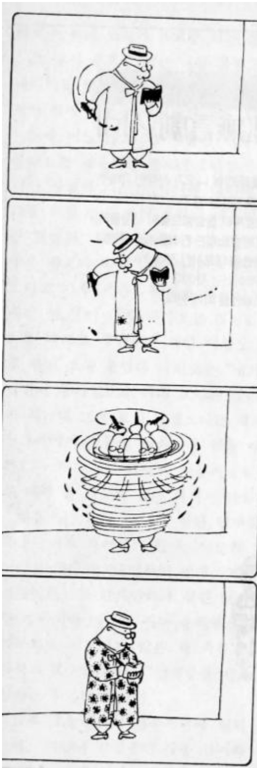

Figure 3.1 (December 1951)

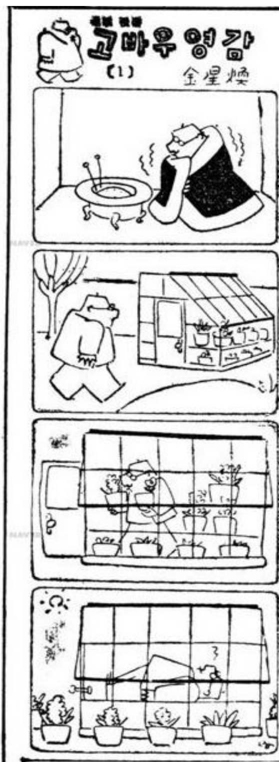

Figure 3.2 (February 1, 1955)

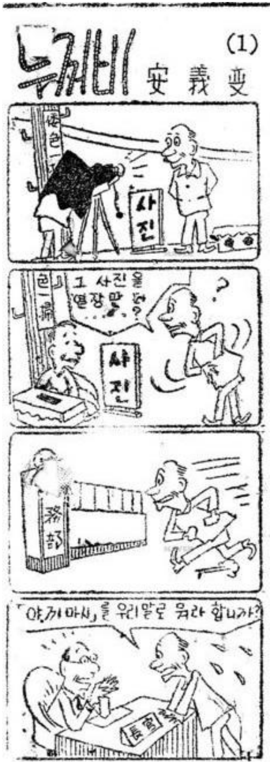

Figure 3.3 (February 1, 1955)

Electric Pole Sign: Getting rid of Japanese Style
Sign: Photo

TKKB: “Ten more copies of that picture.”

Sign: Ministry of XX Affairs

TKKB: “What is Yakkimashi in our language?”
(Yakkimashi=copy in Japanese)
Name Plate: Minister

Figure 3.4 (March 15, 1955)

K: “Hey! Give me a newspaper”
Kid: “I don’t have change”

K: “Go get some change quickly”

K: “Oh No! This is a big problem! He’s been gone for an hour. I need to have the money to pay for the tea.”

K: “Tomorrow’s newspaper has come out!”

Figure 3.5 (June 5, 1955)

Chinese characters on Jeep: National Assembly

K: "Sir, you are so heavy the car can't go properly."

K: "My god! You've eaten the Willy's Jeep!

Figure 3.6 (September 12, 1955)

Chinese characters: *Taegu maeil sinmun* National Assembly Investigation Team come back to Seoul

Announcer: "It's not an open daylight act of terror; it was an incident at 4:30 p.m."

K: "Oh dear! It's already past 4:30."

K: "I feel as though my life is threatened."

Figure 3.7 (October 14, 1955)

Sash #1: Tax Office Representative
Sash #2: Bank Representative

Banner: “National Handsomest Mouth Trap Competition”

K: “The tax office representative decidedly gets first prize for eating 50,000,000 won in national funds.”
Table: Judges

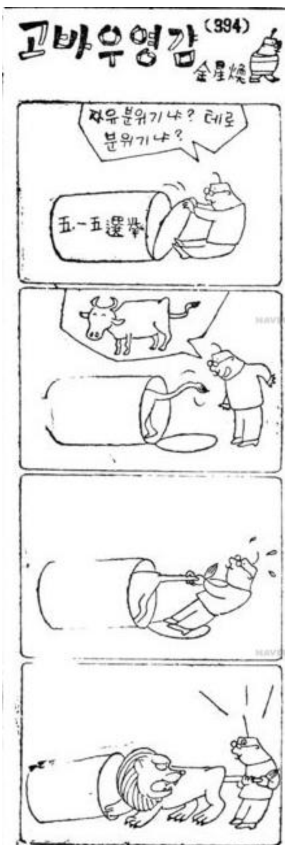

Figure 3.8 (April 19, 1956)

K: “Is it an atmosphere of freedom? Or an atmosphere of terror?”

Writing on barrel: May 15 Election

Figure 3.9 (May 11, 1956)

Cartoon title: Excessive Terrorism

Newspaper: Anti-Ruling Party Paper

Poster: Opposition Party Poster

Megaphone: Opposition Party Publicity/Propaganda

Opposition Party Member: "Now that my head is so hardened, I can use it to penetrate the Iron Curtain."

Figure 3.10 (May 29, 1957)

Thug #1: "The opposition assemblymen are going to give a speech again, aren't they?
Thug #2: "Let's terrorize them!"

K: "Right now the opposition assemblyman is ascending"

Thug #2: "Throw on my mark"

Thug #2: "One…two!"
[clatter clatter]

Thug #2: "Hold on…Where shall we hit him this time?"

Figure 3.11 (November 21, 1957)

K: “Your son is alive in North Korea!”
Father: “Is that true?”

Father: “Before I die, I have to meet him once.”

Doctor: “How far are you going?”
Wife: “This is a big problem!”

Father: “You rascal, come here!”
Doctor: “You know you’re responsible for this.”
Sign: Armistice Line

Figure 3.12 (January 23, 1958)

Night Soil Collector: “Ack! Here he comes.”

Night Soil Collector: “Illustrious sir, what brings you to this humble place?”

K: “Who is that elderly gentleman?”
Night Soil Collector: “Shhhhh”

Night Soil Collector: “He’s the man who collects shit from the Presidential Residence.”

Figure 3.13 (January 28, 1958)

Sign above door: City Police
Notice: Misdemeanor Article 1 Clause 9

[Tukkŏbi's visit]

"Mr. Kobau! I feel as though this could have happened to me!"

Figure 3.14 (February 1, 1958)

Don Quixote: "I'm going to try to give it a nudge."

Don Quixote: "Take this!"
[Hard hitting sound]

[wheel turning sound]

K: "I'm not sure what words of comfort I can say…"

Figure 3.15 (December 1, 1959)

Mugger: "Bastard! If you accuse me, I'll kill you."

Victim: "I'm not making an accusation. No charges."
Police Officer: "Therefore, there's nothing I can do."

Police Officer: "It's a murder."

Police Officer: "This person too didn't press charges and died."

Chapter 4. "A GUN IS GIVEN TO BE SHOT": THE STRUGGLE, RESISTANCE, AND SACRIFICE FOR DEMOCRACY (1958-1960)

> "When the student demonstrators arrived at Jungno4ga, suddenly about 600 unidentified assailants rushed out of the darkness, each wielding hooks and hammers in their hands, and attacked the students. Many of the students bled profusely and the blood flooded the streets. Because of this attack on Korea University Students, the people's opinion of those in power started to fall.
>
> On April 19, [1960] about 20,000 middle, high school, and college students, like a flood came out upon the streets. For the purpose of protesting the thoughtless action of the corrupt election, the masses gathered, and one could feel the emptiness of the authorities. They cried out loudly, 'President Rhee resign!'"[444]
>
> -Kim Sŏnghwan

The lead up to the overthrow of the Rhee regime, known as the April Revolution (1960), would be a key period of democratic awakening in South Korea. Though Kim Sŏnghwan would enjoy a greater range of freedom to critique compared to most journalists, the political atmosphere of the late 1950s was not conducive to critical journalism even in the form of cartoons.[445] The National Security Law (NSL), which would become increasingly more restrictive during this period, made the involvement in political activities, seen as hostile to the anticommunist state, punishable by death.[446] Applied liberally and broadly, the regime used the NSL not only toward criticisms of key policies and words, but actions seen as undermining governmental prestige, as seen in the targeting of Kim Sŏnghwan's "Kyŏngmudae Satire."[447] As pointed out by historian, Charles Kim, this was not done in an "Orwellian fashion. In fact, it can even be said that intellectuals enjoyed a reasonable degree of freedom to voice opposition as

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[444] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 252.

[445] In 1960, after the overthrow of Rhee, an editor at the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* estimated as many as two thousands journalists were arrested during Rhee's presidential rule. Kim, *Youth for Nation*, 110.

[446] Kim, 110.

[447] The prosecution of Kim Sŏnghwan for the "Kyŏngmudae Satire" would fall under Article 1 Section 9 of the Minor Offences Act (*kyŏngbŏmjoe ch'ŏbŏlbŏp*), but the reasoning for targeting his cartoon as "insulting Kyŏngmudae" by authorities was still the same as accusations against reporters under the National Security Law.

long as it remained within the bounds of authorized discourse."[448] Kim Sŏnghwan would continue to push those boundaries in this period under the tactics of being nonspecific and using a nation-centered narrative.

Echoing the nation-protecting narratives propagated during the Korean War, as discussed in chapter two, and within the framework of anticommunism, the idea of state protection became increasingly those who opposed the regime. Rhee's undemocratic practices contradicted the liberal-democratic ideology claimed as the basis and reason for the maintenance of a strong military and separate states.[449] Those critical of Rhee claimed the suppression of democracy placed the nation into potential danger of communist influence and propaganda when the state failed to live up to its ideological promises of the superiority of democratic institutions. As the limitations for political space and critique increased, the struggle against the Rhee regime became narrowly defined in the terms of "democracy" versus "dictatorship" challenged under the norms of parliamentary democracy and due process.[450] Nonetheless, this narrow definition would create a powerful space for critique, especially the critique of the "contradictions" between Rhee's procedural abuses and the promises of choice in the democratic process, which would form the main—though not only— rallying cry against the regime.

The late 1950s also started to see a desire for professionalization develop within the leaders of the cartoon community with the growth in popularity of newspaper and magazine cartoons. Comics, as a creative field, was generally regarded as close to or sometimes literally "trash," and the creators often went unrecognized by the general population and artistic

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[448] Kim, *Youth for Nation*, 110.
[449] Sunhyuk Kim, *The Politics of Democratization in Korea: The Role of Civil Society* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000), 33.
[450] Jang-jip Choi, "Political Cleavages in South Korea," in *State and Society in Contemporary Korea* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993), 25–26.

community. This caused them to desire to flock together and form informal communities and associations, which gathered monthly at several well-established tea houses. However, when those informal gatherings became professional organizations with the choice to establish bonds, perhaps necessary ones, with the Rhee regime, Kim Sŏnghwan chose to protect his image as an activist by resisting attempts at incorporation into the Rhee regime. He refused to join the government-backed Federation of Korean Cultural Societies and rejected bribery. This made the choice of whether or not to join a professional organization a political act.

Instead, Kim Sŏnghwan would create a separate, "progressively motivated," cartoonist organization, which would also serve as a place for professionalization and cultivating friendships that would help maintain a communal bond of protection and support during difficult periods. These layers of personal and public protection, along with an increase in national outcry against the Rhee regime, would help in providing the strength for Kim Sŏnghwan to maintain his critical voice even after the shutdown of the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* for opposition reporting. In maintaining this critical voice, "Mr. Kobau" encouraged students, who grew up reading many of Kim Sŏnghwan's cartoons, and participants in the April Revolution to fight against the election irregularities and political corruption that ran contrary to the spirit of the liberal-democratic values of fair competition. Through this, he helped provide some of the structural support of the movement toward democracy through sustained, daily interactions that provided a digestible form of opposition politics that could cultivate the sense of communal backing necessary for successful social movements.

4.1 *Korean Cartoonist Association and Contemporary Cartoonist Association*

The creation of artist associations, including cartoonists, faced several barriers—both internal and external. Regulations against informal gatherings, which began during Japanese colonial rule, would continue long after liberation, and Rhee's government viewed many of these self-reliant social groups as potential places for "anti-social" activity, which by targeting such organizations as potentially hostile, in turn, discouraged artists from forming into official associations.[451] In general, artists associations tended to stay away from overtly political topics, though cartoonists were sometimes recruited for political propaganda as shown in chapter two. Despite barriers, these types of informal artist groups served several purposes that would encourage their creation: 1) They built creative connections between artists that could form the basis for collaborative works or exhibitions, a possible economic windfall. 2) They often developed into official artists associations, like the Korean Cartoonists Association and Contemporary Cartoonists Association, discussed in this chapter, even if barriers were placed in establishing a formation or the "official" aspects were not much different than informal gatherings of like-minded individuals.[452] 3) They provided sources of comradery and friendship

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[451] Son Sangik, *Han'guk manhwa t`ongsa(ha)*, 222. Under colonial rule, Japan established several laws restricting the gathering of self-governing social groups by requiring strict approval for their establishment in an attempt to control and prevent the spread of anti-colonial resistance cells. This kept many artists from actively seeking each other out to develop friendships or collaborative efforts in fear of being labeled as political agitators. In 1925, Kim Pokjin and An Sŏkju formed a group of comic artists called the Chosŏn Cartoonists Fraternity, and in 1936, Choi Yŏngsu briefly led the establishment of a Cartoon Research Institute. However, according to Son Sangik, no activity exists within these two organizations besides the official record of their formation. My own readings of interviews with comic artists active during this period also suggest a lack of desire to create a formal organization or professionalize within Korea prior to the Korean War.

[452] Kim Yonghwan also established contacts with the Korean Association for the Study of Korean Children's Books (*Han'guk adong yangsŏ yŏn'guhoe tongin*), which was formed just before the Korean War. These collaborations included fellow cartoonists, such as Kim Sŏnghwan and Kim Ŭihwan, who worked with the literary artists Pak Tujin, Pak Mogwŏl, and Pang Kihwan on several projects prior to and during the Korean War. Son Sangik, 223. In 1953, Kim Sŏnghwan and Kim Yonghwan, along with Sin Tonghŏn, formed an Ink Painting (Calligraphy) Group (*Somukhoe*) with illustrators such as Paek Yŏngsu, Kim Yŏngchu, and Kim Hun, which helped boost the status and sales of their comic strips. In addition, Kim Sŏnghwan, feeling the desire to branch beyond children's comics, worked as a member of the Stylistic Prose Group (*munjangga tongin*), which included Kim Hwajin, Yi Sangro, and Kim Kisŭng. Son Sangik, 223. In the late 1950s, Kim Sŏnghwan moved further toward establishing contacts with more well-established adult literature authors in addition to the children's book's authors.

that would help lift spirits during dark times. 4) They could provide opportunities and protection, as seen in chapter two with the Korean Artists Association, by establishing connections to government agencies. However, these type of government connections contained risks if the regime fell out of power. This was seen by artists who joined the North Korean Artists Association during the northern occupation of Seoul, because it did provide necessary protections at the time of joining though those protections were lost after Seoul returned to southern control. Even when the governing regime remains stable in power, the government agency could and often did serve as an additional regulatory board to censor artists. The choice to join one of these associations became a political, personal, and sometimes necessary decision through the Rhee (1948-1960) and especially during the Park Chung Hee years (1961-1979) when ethics committees played major roles in regulating reporter and artists critique and creativity. This choice on whether to connect these comics associations to government sources of power also created a rift that would develop between Kim Sŏnghwan and Kim Yonghwan concerning the artistic direction and purpose of comics.

As the popularity of comics started to grow in the post-liberation period (1945-1950), cartoon artists naturally started to flock to each other in an attempt to gain insight into different forms of expression, pool their resources, and establish contacts with like-minded art and literary artists in order to better display their works. In 1948, Kim Yonghwan formed the first post-liberation comic artists group, called the Comic Literary Society (*manhwaga tonginhoe*) where he gathered cartoonists active in Seoul and published the magazine *Cartoon Parade* (*Manhwa Haengjin*) in September as part of an effort to organize a comic exhibition and "develop comic strips in side by side displays to promote the business."[453] The six-teen page magazine ran into

[453] Son Sangik, *Han'guk manhwa t`ongsa(ha)*, 224.

difficulties early when Kim Yonghwan's cover satirizing the role relations between the great powers drew the ire of the newly elected President Rhee, who was depicted on the cover. Thus, because of the political content of the cover picture, the magazine lasted only three issues before being suspended by the Ministry of Education.[454] Nonetheless, the same year, the Comic Literary Society held the first comic exhibition in Korean history.[455] While many of the members of Comic Literary Society broke away during the Korean War, the group continued as an unofficial voluntary organization until the 1970s, organizing several exhibits, but never truly developing a strong or persistent point of view.[456] The Korean War also saw a shift in ideological motivations, as discussed in chapter two, when some cartoonists, such as Kim Yonghwan, started to become more conservative in their creations and associations due to a need to distance themselves from prior contacts with communist or leftist organizations.

Starting in 1954, as comic publications grew in popularity, old and new cartoonists started to gather regularly at cafés, like the Montblanc Café, later the Figaro Café as the numbers of interested cartoonists increased.[457] The Figaro Café group first acted as a friendship organization dedicated to improving the craft, but fissures within the group developed. They fractured into two separate factions, pushed by Kim Sŏnghwan, who believed that the groups should reflect differences in style and audience.[458] The two new groups divided between those who composed primarily children's cartoons and followed more conservative, non-political views of the craft, and those who adhered to more "progressive" or "innovative" approaches to the art-form with their primary focus on adult, newspaper cartoons and political satire.[459]

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[454] Lent, *Asian Comics*, 82.
[455] Son Sangik, *Han'guk manhwa t`ongsa(ha)*, 224.
[456] Son Sangik, 225.
[457] Son Sangik, 226.
[458] Han Yŏngju, "Han'guk manhwasa kusul ch'aerok," 63–64.
[459] Son Sangik, *Han'guk manhwa t`ongsa(ha)*, 226–27.

Led by Kim Yonghwan, the "conservative" children's comic's artists moved their location back to the Montblanc Café. This would become the base for the establishment of the Korean Cartoonists Association (*Han'guk Manhwaga Hyŏphoe*, KCA).[460] Upon launch, the KCA consisted of fifteen members and five officers of various ages from 18 to 45, who generally possessed high-level university or fine arts school backgrounds.[461] Though many came from qualified artistic backgrounds, there was no restriction in membership, and dozens more would enter with few established skills. As Kim Sŏnghwan described, "In Kim Yonghwan's Cartoonist Organization, if you just drew cartoons, if you had a name, if you had a book volume, they together made up the organization,"[462] which he believed permitted "bad cartooning" because of their "desire to increase membership."[463] Though members of the KCA tended to focus on children's cartoons, this was not a determining factor for membership, since most newspaper and adult cartoonists also drew children's cartoons at this time. While stylistic differences between children's and adult cartoons was a factor in Kim Sŏnghwan's choice to form a distinct group of newspaper cartoon artists, the primary reason was political and the pressure exerted by the KCA to support Liberal Party backed organizations.

According to Kim Sŏnghwan, members of the KCA, who were not already a member of the Federation of Korean Cultural Societies (FKCS, *Chŏn'guk Munhwa Tanch'e*

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[460] Son Sangik, 226.
[461] Son Sangik, 229. The name of the Korean Cartoonist Association first appeared in print in the July 1955 monthly issue of *Arirang* under the presumed name of *Taehan Manhwaga Hyŏp'oe*. However, due to a misunderstanding, in the official application, the Kim Yonghwan stamped the name *Han'guk Manhwaga Hyŏp'oe* upon the documents. After feeling it was more difficult to engrave a new stamp and reapply, the group decided to keep the new name, *Han'guk Manhwaga Hyŏp'oe,* as its official title since the difference was perceived as minor. (In organization documents, commentaries, and books, the group will sometimes be referred to as the *Han'guk Manhwaga Hyŏp'oe* and sometimes as the *Taehan Manhwaga Hyŏp'oe*. Occasionally, an author will use both names. To avoid confusion, I will simply use the English translation, Korean Cartoonist Association, which could be used for both organization names.
[462] Han Yŏngju, "Han'guk manhwasa kusul ch'aerok," 63.
[463] Kim Sŏnghwan, Author's second interview.

Ch'ongyŏnhaphoe), were pressured to join the FKCS largely due to urging from Kim Yonghwan.[464] The FKCS was a known right-wing organization made up of twenty-four affiliated organizations in arts, music, and dance that consisted of the highest rank members of the conservative camp backed by the Liberal Party government.[465] It was created in February 1947, when it split from the Chosŏn Confederation of Cultural Organizations (*Chosŏn Munhwa Tanch'e Ch'ongyŏnhap*), which, after endorsing the Democratic National Front (*minjujuŭi minjok chŏnsŏn*), was perceived to have Communist or leftist leanings.[466] Kim Sŏnghwan described membership in this organization as "having the image of government service (for the King's usage, *ŏyong danch'e*)," which would require loyalty to the Rhee government. "I hated the idea of joining this organization, so I decided to make a separate one."[467] By associating himself with the KCA and its affiliation with the FKCS, Kim Sŏnghwan feared that it would taint his image as an artist by possibly equating his work to "bad cartooning." It could also limit his ability to express himself politically in his works, where he was cultivating his political voice at this time, by making him "mechanically" subject to Rhee's governmental pressure.[468]

His rejection of the FKCS was also motivated by past experiences. This included Kim Sŏnghwan's view of the treatment of his father, Kim Tongsun, after liberation when Kim Tongsun's need to join a farming cooperation with Japanese colonial connections, described in Chapter One. It tainted his father's Korean independence activities. This upset Kim Sŏnghwan and made him wary of making similar decisions. He feared that a change in political climate could make previous political associations no longer desirable, which was also seen in his

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[464] Han Yŏngju, "Han'guk manhwasa kusul ch'aerok," 63.
[465] Son Sangik, *Han'guk manhwa t`ongsa(ha)*, 230. The organization changed to the Korean Federation of Arts and Cultural Associations (*Han'guk Yesul Munhwa Tanch'e Ch'ongyŏnhaph'oe*) following Park's 1961 May 16 coup d'état.
[466] Son Sangik, 230.
[467] Han Yŏngju, "Han'guk manhwasa kusul ch'aerok," 63.
[468] Han Yŏngju, 63.

experiences during the Korean War when artists were required to associated with government institutions to survive, as described in chapter two. It made Kim Sŏnghwan hesitant in making official ties to the government, especially a government he did not personally support. Kim Sŏnghwan was not alone in this belief, and therefore, along with An Ŭisŏp, who held a similar mindset, he gathered other newspaper cartoonists to create the Contemporary Cartoonists Association (CCA, H*yŏndae Manhwaga Hyŏphoe*) in order "to form a small group of creative artists with good abilities."[469] Kim Changdŏk, who entered as a member later, explained his reasoning for joining the organization: "There was pressure to join the FKCS, and they [CCA] opposed it because of their thoughts on their use of politics. The CCA had a sense of consciousness that distinguished them from the KCA, which mainly published comic books."[470]

The CCA launched in December 1956 with "the aim of achieving pure cartoon art."[471] The group included six official members and six associate members with Kim Sŏnghwan leading as chairman of the organization for the first three years. One of the key differences in the standards between the CCA and KCA was an emphasis on writing and the desire to explore innovative techniques. In cultivating their techniques, they used live nude models, a long-standing Western tradition in artistic composition.[472] Particular interest was given to Western style writings and comics, though the organization drew on many different influences in trying to

[469] Son Sangik, *Han'guk manhwa t`ongsa(ha)*, 232.
[470] Son Sangik, 234. In this passage, Kim Changdŏk also references Park's May 16th coup and the authorities as exerting increasing pressure for the group to join the renamed FKCS. During the Rhee era, the pressure to join the FKCS was primarily internal from other organizations or members with less military force, so it could more easily be resisted.
[471] Son Sangik, 231.
[472] The usage of nude female models comes from a long-standing Western tradition in artistic composition. While the nude female form can be found in art throughout the world, the sketching of live female models in learning how to draw and hone skills primarily developed in the late European Renaissance, and it continues as a Western teaching technique to this day. Though the usage of this practice as part of their meetings shows an inclination toward the West in their desire to find inspiration and improvement, both cartoonists associations utilized this practice, so it was not a distinguishing feature in the activities of the Contemporary Cartoonist Association.

cultivate their artistic and writing abilities. This included a desire for professional recognition, and their proclivity toward Western style caused the CCA to seek external inspiration and organizational support. However, this was not limited to the CCA. Since U.S. importation of comics held less restrictions and a perceived higher standard of artistic merit compared to Korean comics, both organizations sought contacts and official recognition from U.S. comic artists and organizations, which would result in a race and competition between the CCA and KCA for membership in the National Cartoonist Society (NCS). This became especially important to the CCA, who felt a greater necessity for outside recognition to legitimize and promote their association since the members chose not to associate with the FKCS, which limited domestic sources of prominent professional development.

In 1959, all seven full members of the CCA and twenty members from the KCA sought membership in the NCS, which was headquartered in the U.S. but also accepted applicants from "friendly nations." The NCS first emerged in WWII out of informal meetings between U.S. cartoonists gathering to entertain troops. This artistic group developed friendships, and starting on March 1, 1946, they organized regular, official meetings and collaborations. As part of their mission, the NCS regularly toured war zones and military installations around the world in coordination with the USO, which included a trip to South Korea in 1955.[473] During the trip, several of the future members of both cartoonist's organizations met with the NCS and exchanged experiences, including Kim Sŏnghwan. The exchanges between the cartoonists were brief due to language barriers and that the primary focus of the trip was to entertain the U.S. troops. This mission was productive because it would inspire Korean artists to later join the NCS, and it would be the first of several contacts that Kim Sŏnghwan would later cultivate over

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[473] "About the NCS," National Cartoonists Society, accessed May 4, 2019, https://www.nationalcartoonists.com/about/.

his years as a professional cartoonist. Though at this time, he was still a junior cartoonist, so attracted little notice. These Korea USO trips would also inspire the U.S. cartoonists. Gus Edson (1901-1966) and Irwin Hasen (1918-2015) found inspiration for the series, "Dondi," which starred a war orphan, from of their Korea trip where they visited the front lines and heard of the officers adopting Korean War orphans.[474] "Dondi" enjoyed huge success and ran in more than 100 newspapers for three decades (1955-1986).

Though the NCS primarily consisted of U.S. cartoonists, membership in the NCS expanded world-wide by 1959. The prestige associated with the NCS members and its connections to the U.S. made inclusion in NCS very attractive for both Korean cartoonist organizations. For the CCA, it also coincided with the group's philosophy toward innovation that sought out Western-style techniques and inspiration. The NCS required a portfolio establishing their skills as applicants, which made even the process an act of legitimization. All seven members of the CCA and about twenty members from the KCA, which held about forty members at this time, applied in 1959. Out of the applications, all seven members of the CCA qualified while only four of the KCA gained membership, which would become a source of jealousy and drama between the two groups.[475] Kim Sŏnghwan saw this as an example of the skills shown within his organization, since those who qualified from the KCA were "senior artists" and not the "low-quality cartoonists" that he believed unnecessarily filled the membership roll.[476] It also represented a shift in generations as it showed the ascendance of his group as leaders of the new generation and direction in artistic development. As part of this

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[474] Mark Evanier, "POV Online," *POV: Point of View* (blog), October 20, 2000, https://web.archive.org/web/20100812072346/http:/www.povonline.com/cols/COL312.htm. Though the inspiration came from the Korean War, Edson and Hasen switched the setting to WWII, possibly to make it more relatable. Since the character did not age, the origin of his adoption changed over the years to subtle references to the Korean War and Vietnam War.

[475] Son Sangik, *Han'guk manhwa t`ongsa(ha)*, 232.

[476] Han Yŏngju, "Han'guk manhwasa kusul ch'aerok," 63.

cultivation of the craft, Kim Sŏnghwan would publish several series on cartoon theory, developed out of Western and Japanese techniques, in the *Tonga ilbo* and magazines, starting in the late 1950s, pioneering the area of cartoon criticism in Korea., which will be discussed in greater detail in chapter five.[477]

Both hostilities and cooperation existed between the two organizations, which even Kim Sŏnghwan would later attribute to "a lot of drama." In *The Bitter History of Korean Cartoons after 1945*, Son Sangik downplays the tensions by claiming that "in reality, there was not that much of a difference in the degree of intimacy separating the two groups."[478] He divides this into several reasons: 1) there was little distinguishing difference between the types of drawings produced by the two groups; 2) only thirty cartoonists existed in South Korea and both the CCA and the KCA dabbled in adult and children's cartoons so "the true break-off point between them was meaningless;" 3) both groups contributed submissions to publications sponsored or associated with the other organization; 4) they collaborated together in producing two exhibitions that required joint cooperation prior to Park's military coup in 1961; 5) the two groups jointly filed a petition in 1957 to raise their artist's fee when cartoonists faced a sudden price increase in art supplies.[479] This is all true, and even Kim Sŏnghwan acknowledges these similarities, since he participated in many of these collaborative efforts despite his drive to distinguish a separate, "adult-centered" field. Nonetheless, most of the reasonings listed had more to do with the status of the field and a necessity to diversify in order to survive, as often seen in newly emerging markets. Kim Sŏnghwan frequently spoke of this in his writings and interviews. In a 1965 essay

[477] Kim Sŏnghun, *Han'guk manhwa pip'yŏng ŭi chaengchŏm: irŏ pŏrin manhwa munhwa ŭi chari ch'akki [Controversial Issues of Korean Cartoon Criticism: Finding the Place of Forgotten Cartoon Culture]* (Seoul: Taewŏn Ssi Ai, 2014), 94–132.
[478] Son Sangik, *Han'guk manhwa t`ongsa(ha)*, 233.
[479] Son Sangik, 233–35.

on "The Gradual Progression of the Korean Cartoonist Community," Kim Sŏng-hwan states that the Korean cartoonists must be a "jack-of-all-trades" and "work within several genres simultaneously" because the market has yet to develop the ability to support specialization.[480] He would also claim this to be one of the main differences between Korean and U.S. cartoonists at this time: an U.S. artist could afford to specialize and perfect their art while a Korean artist often could not. It was the reason for the poor status and quality of cartoons he was trying to combat.

Understated by Son Sangik's claims, newspaper cartoonists faced additional political pressures and potential dangers compared to children's cartoonists, including the possible professional consequences Kim Sŏnghwan and the CCA faced in rejecting the FKCA and forming a separate organization. As was often recognized, "no social organization could function effectively without giving unconditional support to Syngman Rhee and his Liberal Party," which included most "voluntary" organizations where the political power penetrated deeply.[481] The FKCA held powerful connections in the publishing industries and could easily find reasons to reject submissions since many viewed comics as a modular art form that was not dependent upon particular artists and could survive without their contributions. Though the rise in the popularity of serialized characters, such as "Mr. Kobau," would change this attitude, at this time, cartoonists still existed at a low level in professional reputation. This left them vulnerable and easily susceptible to pressures.

While both the KCA and CCA strived to heighten the levels of professionalization in the industry through cultivating artistic talents and contacts, the increase in the scale of membership in the KCA and the closeness to those in governmental power would place more value on the membership within the KCA for some. As expressed by Yi Chaehwa, who attended meetings at

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[480] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau in'gan tongmurwŏn*, 181.
[481] Han, *Failure of Democracy in South Korea*, 21.

both the KCA and CCA, "it became an obvious fact that in the future in order to publish education comics, one needed cooperation with the KCA, which was intimately hinted by word of mouth."[482] Nonetheless, the closeness to the Liberal Party would be seen as a deterrent for joining for members politically inclined to the opposition party, like Kim Sŏnghwan. Consequently, the CCA formed into a more intimate organization of membership, which attracted as well as repelled some members, like Yi Chaehwa, who would characterize the CCA as more passionate than the KCA and similar to a drinking organization.[483] Kim Sŏnghwan would also sometimes describe the CCA as a friendship drinking group, but over time, these friendships would serve as both a comfort and protection during difficult times. Their connections would last past the dissolution of the CCA and KCA following the Park's 1961 coup. As Kim Sŏnghwan would say, "they were not politicians," but the political nature of their newspaper cartoons would sometimes create political consequences as shown in his "slip-of-the-pen" arrest.[484]

4.2 *National Security Laws and The Kyŏnghyang sinmun Shutdown*

In late 1957, while Kim Sŏnghwan was engaging in activities associated with the CCA and increasing the political content in his "Mr. Kobau" cartoon, security and press censorship laws were changing in South Korea. In January 1958, around the time of Kim Sŏnghwan's "Kyŏngmudae Satire," the National Assembly passed two election bills that forbade newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals from publishing "'false facts' about candidates that could help

[482] Son Sangik, *Han'guk manhwa t`ongsa(ha)*, 233.
[483] Over time, Yi Chaehwa would slowly distance himself from the CCA, which would often erupt into passionate discussions over drinks, a consequence of their youth and frustrations with professional and political misfeasance. In his statement, Yi Chaehwa would suggest that most of the reason for his move away from the CCA had to do with a greater sense of professionalization felt with the KCA.
[484] Kim Sŏnghwan, Author's second interview.

them win or lose the election" as well as several clauses that curtailed access to news sources.[485] These laws were first proceeded by an increasing utilization of repressive pressures and laws restricting the press and political speaking, including: Newspapers and Other Periodicals Law (*Sinmun kit'a chŏnggi kanhaengmulbŏp*, Ordinance 88, 1946), Newspaper and Periodicals Permit (*Sinmun mit chŏnggi kanhaengmul hŏga*, Ordinance 88, 1946), and a Temporary Measure for Governing Publications Act (*Ch'ulp'anmur e kwanhan imsi choch'ibŏp*, Oct 21, 1955 and November 1957).[486] In 1957, the Liberal Party would revive all of these measures, including an attempt in November 1957 to incorporate a press clause in the Election Law Amendment Bill (*Sŏn'gŏbŏp*).[487]

These legal changes were revived largely due to Rhee's desire to remain control of governmental power justified in the experiences and sufferings in the wake of the Korean War, which were "articulated and rearticulated through the ideological apparatuses of the state to control the language, to set the parameters of common discourse, and to produce and reproduce an anti-communist world view that was immediate and real," as expressed by Jang-jip Choi. "The political terrain was rearranged by the terror of war, and anti-communism achieved a hegemonic hold over civil society."[488] This allowed the state to invoke anti-communism or

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[485] Youm, *Press Law in South Korea*, 47.

[486] Ordinance 88 was established in May 1946 under the USAMGIK and included the Newspapers and Other Periodicals Law (*Sinmun kit'a chŏnggi kanhaengmulbŏp*) and Newspaper and Periodicals Permit (*Sinmun mit chŏnggi kanhaengmul hŏga*). It vested licensing authority in the USAMGIK Department of Commerce, which required that all newspapers and periodicals to obtain licenses and display them prominently. This was done under the auspice that registration was necessary due to the shortage of newsprint, but the primary objective was to regulate the leftist papers, which engaged in the most inflammatory political journalism at this time. Since no "leftist paper" received a license under Ordinance 88 in 1946, the intension was clear. Youm, 41. The "Temporary Measure for Governing Publications Act" was first introduced on Oct 21, 1955 where it met with great opposition. While it failed to pass, it was once again revived in 1957, and it would form the foundation of the Liberal Party press policies.

[487] Mun Chean, "P'yŏnghwa Sinmun [Peace Press]," in *Han'guk minjok munhwa taebaekkwasajŏn [Encyclopedia of Korean Culture]*, 1995, http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/FieldNavi?keyword=%EC%96%B8%EB%A1%A0%C2%B7%EC%B6%9C%ED%8C%90/%EC%96%B8%EB%A1%A0%C2%B7%EB%B0%A9%EC%86%A1&ridx=421&tot=444&ids.

[488] Choi, "Political Cleavages in South Korea," 23.

national security to legitimize government practices while nationalism transformed, in this context, from the idea of peaceful unification to anti-communism.

The economic crisis came to a head in the late 1950s. The poor economic situation came from industrial and agricultural devastation due to war, which severely hampered what was already a small-scale manufacturing and unspecialized agricultural economy in South Korea.[489] This was further exasperated by national division, displacement, and years of Japanese colonial exploitation. The Korean War made the ROK more dependent on U.S. aid, though as argued by Woo Jungen, it did not place Rhee under complete U.S. control as he wheedled deals, manipulated currency markets, employed import substitution, and invested in industry while still building the military security of the state.[490] Nonetheless, U.S. policy still had substantial impact on the ROK as seen in the abrupt pivot in 1957 through the implementation of the Development Loan Fund (DLF), when the U.S. took on a more holistic approach to security that emphasized modernization and economic development not just security concerns.[491] This was done under the belief and later patronage of the Kennedy-Cooper resolution (March 25, 1958) that posited economic development as the most expedient way to end the Cold War as part of cost-benefit analysis.[492] As a means to improve South Korea's fiscal management, which was ripe with corruption, the Combined Economic Board, under U.S. guidance, formulated initiatives where 1) net monetary expansion was not allowed for 1957 and the first half of 1958; 2) a ceiling was imposed on government deficit; 3) commercial banks must receive approval with the Monetary Board of BOK, under the control of the Combined Economic Board, for loans exceeding 10

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[489] Choi, 25.
[490] Woo-Cumings, *Race to the Swift*, 43–72.
[491] Woo-Cumings, 69.
[492] Woo-Cumings, 70.

million won.[493] In addition, the U.S. cut aid from the all-time high in 1957 of $382,893,000 to $222,204,000 in 1959.[494] Though these measure curbed some of the hyperinflation of the mid-50s, it also created a extended period of economic recession when the expected investment from the private sector never materialized leading to unemployment and a plummeting in GNP growth.[495] Since criticism of the U.S. was a touchy subject, this left most of the blame in the hands of the Liberal Party and Rhee as the prolonged recession fueled opposition criticism and decline in support. Woo Jungen described it as "the Sword of Damocles not simply hanging over the health of the economy, but Rhee's political system as well."[496] One of the wielders of that sword would be Kim Sŏnghwan, through his cartoon weapon, but it would not be a swift execution and Rhee would brandish his own swords through laws, intimidation, and punishment as he continued to tighten his control in an attempt to maintain power in the face of increasing opposition.

In response to the attempts to censor press criticism and respond to the government's claims of "false reporting" written in the clauses within the election bills, mentioned above, members of the Korean Copy Editors Associations (*Han'guk p'yŏnjip kija hyŏph'oe*) founded a "Newspaper Code of Ethics" (*sinmun yulli kangnyŏng*) on April 7, 1957.[497] This code would be renewed and reiterated several times in the coming years with the newest restatement in 2009.[498]

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[493] Woo-Cumings, 71.
[494] Woo-Cumings, 72.
[495] Woo-Cumings, 71. The early dampening in hyperinflation also was assisted by bumper crops in 1957 and 1958, which greatly reduced grain prices.
[496] Woo-Cumings, 72.
[497] Cho Maenggi, *Han'guk ŏllonsa ŭi ihae [Understanding Korean Press History]*, Kaejŏng chŭngbo 4-P'an (Seoul: Sŏgang Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2005), 272–73.
[498] "Sinmun yuri silch'ŏn yogang [Main points of the Press Ethics Code]," Han'guk Shinmun Yun-ri Wiwŏnhoe [Korean Press Ethics Commission], accessed May 11, 2019, http://www.ikpec.or.kr/sub/sub_0102.asp. The code would be revised on July 30, 1961 by the Korean Editors Association. This version would be readopted on August 3, 1961 by the Korea Daily News Publishers Association and Korea Telecom Association. It would then be adopted by the Korea Newspaper Association on March 5, 1963. In response to the Press Ethics Committee Act in 1964, the Korea Press Association, the Korea Newspaper Association, the Korea Newspaper Broadcasting Editors Association, and the Korea Press Association would approve the revised newspaper code of ethics on August 17,

The two main precepts included in the Code of Ethics" were: (1) to guarantee freedom of speech and to incorporate projects that can help promote democracy; (2) to study common problems and exchange information about one's mutual transferable fields so as to improve the dignity of newspapers and strengthen their position.[499] These ethics codes promoted matters concerning the freedom of the press as well as their professional interests and collective continuity, which was landmark event because it placed the collective interests of the press as a democratic institution above narrow concerns of newspaper partisanship. It also marked the beginning of a long struggle with the government over the concept of "press ethics" and who defined the terms and policing of "ethics," which would continue into the Park era and extend to include cartoons.

Even with these codes in place, the Liberal Party continued to blame the press for party partisanship and false reporting, especially "opposition papers" like the *Tonga ilbo* and *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, which they saw as the reason for their loss of all but one seat in Seoul during the National Assembly election in May 1958.[500] Despite winning an overall majority of seats, it was perceived as an indication of loss of support for the Liberal Party, which stoked fears for the upcoming 1960 election.[501] Utilizing the premise of communist threat with the idea that there should be "no party that is not anti-communist," the Liberal Party introduced the third revision to the National Security Law (*kukka poanbŏp*) on November 18, 1958 with specific provisions related to punishment for defamation, false facts, and timely dissemination of facts (Article 40).[502] The pretext of communist threat—sometimes based on real incidents and

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1964. It would then be revised and adopted in April 8, 1996 and again in March 4, 2009 by the Korea Newspaper Association, the Korea Newspaper Broadcast Editors Association, and Korea Press Association.

[499] Cho Maenggi, *Han'guk ŏllonsa ŭi ihae*, 273.

[500] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 188.

[501] The Liberal Party (*chayudang*) won 126 seats; the Democratic Party (*minjudang*) won 79 seats; the Independents (*musosok*) won 27 seats; the Unification Party (*t'ongiltang*) won 1 seat.

[502] Ch'ae Sŏngchun, "Yŏksachŏk chechu ŭi kwanjŏm esŏ ŭi kukka ponanbŏp kyŏngno pyŏnhwa yŏn'gu [A Study on the Policy Path Change in the National Security Law According to the Historical Institutionalism]," *Han'guk*

sometimes as means for tightening control over internal dissent—would be the primary reason for altering the National Security Law under the Rhee and Park regimes.[503] Vigorous protests erupted from the press and opposition parties.

By 1958, the majority of political parties had consolidated into a two-party system of the Liberal Party versus the Democratic Party, which Jang-jip Choi describes as operating under similar characteristics but in "a relationship of competition, through political division of labor."[504] Both operated under the framework of anti-communism and could be classified as "conservative" if compared with some of the leftist activism that emerged in the beginnings of the post-liberation period (1945-1950) and would re-emerge in small pockets, like in the April Revolution Period (1960-1961), and in greater force starting in the late 1970s.[505] Though the Progressive Party would gain a surprising number of votes in the 1956 presidential election considering the political atmosphere described in chapter three, the forced suppression of those with "progressive tendency" and the charges of espionage and receiving funds from North Korea that led to the execution of Cho Pongam, the Progressive Party leader, on July 31, 1959, essentially restricted the opposition to the Democratic Party, which the Rhee regime still vehemently tried to suppress.[506] By creating two parties, it fostered an atmosphere of political polarization. The decision to vote—when not coerced or suppressed as will be described later—

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chŏngch'aek hakhoe ch'unkye haksul palp'yo nonmunjip, April 2017, 13; Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 189.

[503] Pak Yongsang, "Kukka anbo wa p'yohyŏn ŭi chayu— Kukka poanbŏp ŭl chungsim ŭro {National Security and the Freedom of Expression— Especially in enforcing Korean National Security Act]," *Chŏsŭt'isŭ* 128, no. 2 (February 2012): 87–131.

[504] Choi, *Democracy after Democratization*, 36. Jang-jip Choi describes the two-party system as developing the following characteristics: 1) both the ruling and opposition parties compete within the same ideological framework; 2) neither party has a grassroots base in interests or demands, but each has a "boss," a highly visible political leader; 3) there is no ability for class, vocational, and professional interests of society to organize themselves for political representation; 4) despite these conditions, both parties claim to represent the entirety of society, nation, and people in a just and righteous cause; 5) they tend to be catch-all parties.

[505] Choi, 38.

[506] Kim, *Failure of Socialism in South Korea*, 74–75.

turned into *the* measure for people to express their support for the newly acquired democratic values proclaimed in the liberal-democratic ideology of the state and fought for during the Korean War. In this atmosphere, the decision to support democracy came to be seen as whether to vote *against* the candidate and party performing undemocratically and *for* those opposing the government.[507] This would also be the case for the press, especially the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, which, along with the *Tonga ilbo*, formed a base of journalistic support for the Democratic Party and would include the works of Kim Sŏnghwan.[508]

The National Security Law, as agreed upon by both historians and contemporary reporters, represented the "most powerful weapon of the government in suppressing freedom of the press."[509] In particular, Article 11, 12, 17, and 22 restricted reporters' ability to gather, possess, or publish information about the government, political parties, organizations, or individuals under the guise of national security.[510] The law defined national security as "political, economic, social, cultural, military, etc. documents, drawings, and other materials, facts, or

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[507] Han, *Failure of Democracy in South Korea*, 27.
[508] Other newspapers also would publish articles and cartoons supporting the Democratic Party, including the *Chosŏn ilbo*, but the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* and *Tonga ilbo* showed the most consistent support for the opposition party as seen in the selection of newspapers surveyed for this dissertation.
[509] Youm, *Press Law in South Korea*, 48.
[510] While Articles 11, 12, 17, and 22 did not specifically reference the press, the clauses described activities generally pursued by journalists or publishers. Article 11 provided that "anyone who detected or collected national secrets or aided and abetted such acts for the purpose of benefitting the enemy shall be subject to the death penalty or penal servitude for life" Youm, 47. Article 12 stated that those who "gathered information on national politics, economy, society, culture, military forces, for the purpose of benefitting the enemy shall be punished by penal servitude for not less than 10 years" Youm, 47. This also included those who collected "information on public office, political parties, organizations, or individuals for the purpose of benefitting the enemy" Youm, 47. It criminalized "disseminating propaganda" and Article 17 proclaimed that "any person who benefitted the enemy by disturbing the people's minds by openly pointing out or spreading false facts with knowledge of their falsity or opening pointing out or spreading facts in an intentionally distorted way shall be punished by penal servitude for up to five years" Youm, 48. Finally, Article 22 stated: "(1) Anyone who had openly undermined the prestige of a constitutional organ by holding a meeting or by publishing documents, tape recorded materials, drawings, or other materials of expression for the benefit of or under the instruction from associations, groups, or organizations [proscribed by the Act] shall be punished by penal servitude for not more than 10 years. (2) The constitutional organ under the preceding paragraph shall be the President, the Speaker of the National Assembly, and the Chief Justice" Youm, 48.

information, which are required to be kept secret for the protection of the State."[511] Violations carried threats of penal servitude and even execution.

Known as the "Crisis of the 24th," (*24 p'atong*) the Liberal Party unilaterally passed a revision to the National Security Law during a plenary session on December 24, 1958 when the opposition party, who were on strike over the amendment, were forcibly evicted by municipal police officers from the National Assembly chamber and confined to a cellar.[512] The Vice Chairman of the National Assembly also invited over three hundred police officers specializing in martial arts to confine the opposition party demonstrating in the streets to the cafeteria and rest rooms, a moment that Kim Sŏnghwan jokingly referred to as being taken "out to lunch."[513] Defiant, the press and editorial cartoonists brought the incident to light, which they saw as a violation against parliamentary democracy. The front page of evening edition of the *Tonga ilbo* displayed two photos depicting a large group of police swarming into the National Assembly building and forcibly dragging out opposition party members.[514] The last picture in the group shows an overhead shot of the half-empty building with only the Liberal Party remaining, indicating the true reasoning for their removal. The morning editions of the *Tonga ilbo*, *Kyŏnghyang sinmun,* and *Chosŏn ilbo* mixed images and articles celebrating Christmas with photos of the violent attacks in the street and hospitalized members of the opposition parties. The juxtaposition of a holiday celebrating the birth of the Christian savior, who was martyred by the state for rumors that he would liberate an oppressed people while preaching messages emphasizing love of mankind and the poor, against the brutal state oppression of those who

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[511] Youm, *Press Law in South Korea*, 47.
[512] Han Wŏnyŏng, *Han'guk sinmun chŏnsa [The History of Korean Newspapers]* (Seoul: P'urŭn Sasangsa, 2008), 613.
[513] Han Wŏnyŏng, 613; Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 189.
[514] *Tonga ilbo* December 24, 1958.

objected to repressive laws, only further emphasized the sense of "heroic sacrifice" in this cause. This sense of mourning and sacrifice rang strongly in many editorials and cartoons as shown in a *Chosŏn ilbo* column published on December 25, where an anonymous editorialist mourned the "end of democracy":

> Upon reading the newspaper and seeing the pictures in the second edition, the citizen's expression instantly hardened… While screaming, "the Republic of Korea will not perish!", the opposition lawmakers were dragged away like dogs. The citizens shed tears, wiping them off quietly with clenched fists, and enduring the seething rage. It became a world of violence, lawlessness, and darkness. The National Assembly and democracy too were all lost…It's doubtful making laws in a world of darkness has much use…The Korean people stick another mourning ribbon for democracy deep in their chest.[515]

Kim Sŏnghwan would also use the imagery of Christmas—though in a more secular form—in his cartoons following the event. He draws an officer with a gun yelling at a violator of the curfew, dressed as Santa Claus, who turns out to be Mr. Kobau in disguise. (Figure 4.1) The officer asks to see his sack to find hidden protest signs against the National Security Law while proclaiming, "I knew it was this kind of stuff!"[516] While the cartoon does not show what punishment Mr. Kobau would receive for his subterfuge, the gun is suggestive. Kim Sŏnghwan's one-panel cartoon on the previous page shows a Christmas tree covered with ornaments of a gun, police batons, a grenade, and a cutout of a missile labeled "(National) Security Law." (Figure 4.2) The phrase "nasty night, fearful night, ghastly night" replaces the lyrics of the Christmas song, "Silent Night," further emphasizing the violence of the day.[517]

An Ŭisŏp published two particularly foreboding cartoons regarding the "24 Crisis." In "Tukkŏbi," he showed a weeping Santa Clause delivering a coffin to his house. (Figure 4.3)

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[515] *Chosŏn ilbo* December 25, 1958.
[516] *Tonga ilbo* December 25, 1958.
[517] *Tonga ilbo* December 24, 1958.

Inside is the banner of "democracy." However, rather than give up, Tukkŏbi cries and pounds on the floor, exclaiming: "What am I going to do about this…How could he pass away like this…"[518] An Ŭisŏp further amplifies this with a one-panel illustration of the potential results of the press fight against the National Security Law and the consequences for readers titled, "The Newspaper after the National Security Law."[519] (Figure 4.4) A startled subscriber picks up the newly delivered paper and exclaims: "There is only a title and advertisements!" In parenthesis, it reads, "For articles, we trust the reader's imagination." The blank space shows the effect of censorship, which was generally depicted as white space visually in the newspapers. An Uisŏp was loudly proclaiming that the law will remove all sense of real news within the paper, leaving only what was bought and paid for. These cartoons show a clear objection and forecast of the law's potential consequences to freedom of expression and democracy, but it also illustrates the importance of advertising in press publications. The usage of advertising as a means to control stories would become an effective tool of government censorship, especially during the latter part of Park Chung-hee's regime, as I will discuss in chapter seven.

An Ŭisŏp and Kim Sŏnghwan would continue to publish cartoons depicting suppression of speech and assembly as well as symbols of violence over the next several weeks as protests were held throughout the country despite police attempts to stop them. While photos did not always appear in the newspaper regarding the law and protests, Kim Sŏnghwan and An Ŭisŏp would reinforce the brutality of the suppression of the opposition party, the press, and like-minded citizens, in their illustrations—keeping the images and cause visually fresh within the public.

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[518] *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* December 26, 1958.
[519] *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* December 26, 1958.

Even though the revised National Security Law went into effect on January 15, 1959, Kim Sŏnghwan and An Ŭisŏp would continue to scatter references to the undemocratic nature of the National Security Law in their cartoons. Press criticism of the law and Rhee's government did not cease. On February 4, 1959, the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* published an anonymous editorial in their regular "Excursus" (*Yŏjŏk*) column commenting on Ferdinand A. Hermens' recent article, "Tyranny of the Majority."[520] In the discussion, the editorialist quoted and summarized several passages that questioned the legitimacy of elections and ability of the majority to retain that legitimacy when they "think there is cheating," a perpetual complaint echoed in the opposition party, press, and people's demonstrations. The column questioned "whether such voters can freely exercise their will if the voter is in an environment where under some (government) power they cannot voluntarily exercise their will." It concluded with the statement:

> Of course, "true majority" is not just indicated by election. When an election is incompetent in the decisions of the true majority, the conclusion also is that there cannot be a true decision of a majority made by violence. This points toward revolution. If so, it will be the principle of history that a changeover of a false majority into a true majority will occur in the near future. I wonder if this is the starting point on which grasp the wide view of the essence of Korea's crisis today.[521]

Reflecting the growing dissatisfaction with the government, the author suggested a revolution. This was further emphasized when the author used an earlier quote from Hermens, where the author gave power to the hands of the voters by saying that "yesterday's voters, who supported and gave him power, today could discard him and turn him into the minority."[522] It was the suggestion of the revolution that sparked a visit to the offices of the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* from

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[520] *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* February 4, 1959. Ferdinand A. Hermens, "The 'Tyranny of the Majority,'" *Social Research* 25, no. 1 (Spring 1958): 37–52.
[521] *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* February 4, 1959.
[522] *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* February 4, 1959.

the police the next day (February 5) where they conducted an eight hour investigation, demanding the name of the writer, and took the editor-in-chief, Kang Yŏngsu, into custody after he refused to reveal the author's name.[523] It was a common practice among newspapers to conceal the name of the writers in more controversial columns to avoid punishment, which gave them a layer of protection and allowed for more critical discussions. On February 17, the authorities arrested the author, Chu Yohan, who turned out to be a member of the Democratic (*Minju*) Party, and President Han Ch'angu of the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* on grounds of encouraging revolution.[524] This became the spark that would tie the newspaper to the National Security Law and lead to the shutdown of the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*.

On the day following the raid on the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, Kim Sŏnghwan published a dark, one-panel cartoon of a demonic looking child labeled as the "National Security Law." (Figure 4.5) A weary-looking mother presents the child to a passive doctor, asking, "Will the child grow-up well?"[525] The doctor replies, "It is not natural product. It looks like a child that came out of an abdominal operation (c-section)." Though the cartoon does not directly reference the "Excursus Incident," the connection is clear in the reference to the National Security Law, the reasoning for raid. The reference to the law's unnatural existence, forcibly cut from the womb, and demonic appearance surrounded by darkness represents the bleak future for those interacting with the law. A pair of feet sticking out from a gurney is foreboding since it is unknown whether the patient is alive or dead.

An Ŭisŏp, having witnessed first-hand the raid and its effects, drew Tukkŏbi reading the comics in the newspaper when his teenage son snatches it away, mocking his taste.[526] (Figure

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[523] *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* December 14, 2014.
[524] *Tonga ilbo* February 18, 1959. Chu Yohan was also from North Korea, a Pyongyang native and poet.
[525] *Tonga ilbo* February 6, 1959.
[526] *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* February 6, 1959.

4.6) His son spreads the newspaper on the floor, searching for the "Excursus" and editorial column, while his father looks on in terror. In the series, the teenage son often took on political causes and participated in protests, a reflection of the role of students as resistance instigators. Students would play vital roles in the protests over the National Security Law and the eventual overthrow of the Rhee regime in 1960. Since participation in protests could entail penalties of arrest and violence, the fear of the parent further highlights the brutality and oppression associated with the state.

The *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* continued to produce articles that irritated the Rhee regime. On April 3, they reported the activities of a "spy lawyer" that violated Article 21, Section 4 and Article 24 of the revised National Security Law.[527] Furthermore, on April 18, a political journalist, Yun Kŭmja published an article on President Rhee's news conference called "Resisting the Revision of the National Security Law."[528] Despite efforts to try to negotiate and resolve these situations with the government, the Liberal Party regime under using USAMGIK Ordinance No. 88 shut down the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* on April 30, 1959.[529] According to Kim Sŏnghwan, the reasons for closure were as follows: (1) "false facts" reporting in the January 11, 1959 article; (2) declaring the illegality of the election and inciting riots in the "Excursus" column; (3) reporting "false facts" in the Hongch'ŏng oil spill; (4) interfering with the spy incident; (5) "false reporting" in the "Resisting Revision to the National Security Law" article.[530] Despite these accusations, it was well known that the reasoning behind the closure was to silence media criticism. Even the U.S. recognized the true intent of the actions. U.S. Ambassador, Walter C. Dowling harshly rebuked Rhee's government's action in saying that "suppression of

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[527] Han Wŏnyŏng, *Han'guk sinmun chŏnsa*, 620.
[528] *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* April 18, 1959.
[529] Han Wŏnyŏng, *Han'guk sinmun chŏnsa*, 621.
[530] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 193–94.

the media is not a means of correcting the mistakes of the media."[531] Despite condemnation from politicians, intellectuals, and the press, the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* remained closed until the overthrow of the Rhee regime in April 1960.

On May 1, 1959, Kim Sŏnghwan illustrated Mr. Kobau trying to get rid of his "broken" fountain pen by letting it "slip" from his pocket.[532] (Figure 4.7) An innocent youth returns the pen, which prompts Mr. Kobau to climb to the top of a mountain and leave it upon the top, fleeing quickly before someone sees him, and showing a fear of reprisal for his writings. On May 2, Kim Sŏnghwan depicts a glaring "government official" caricature holding a large name stamp of an U.S. soldier labeled as "Military Government Law" pressing its seal upon the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*. (Figure 4.8) The caption reads, "one's habitually used antique; let's just press it on anything!" telling of the continuous revival of Ordinance 88, which was created under U.S. occupation in 1946, prior to the start of the first Republic of Korea.[533] The glare from the official is penetrating, menacing, and accusing, which is both reflective of the feeling of vindictiveness seen in the behavior of the Liberal Party regime as well as the anger in the press toward their mistreatment.

On May 3, Kim Sŏnghwan shows Mr. Kobau visiting Tukkŏbi after the closure of the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, with booze and snacks to commiserate. (Figure 4.9) Instead, he finds Tukkŏbi lying on his bed, deadly pale. Fearful, he rushes to his side and tenderly touches his friend with concern and Tukkŏbi weakly exclaims, "I will rise again." Mr. Kobau replies with,

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[531] Han Wŏnyŏng, *Han'guk sinmun chŏnsa*, 621.

[532] *Tonga ilbo* May 1, 1959. While *p'irhwa* is translated as "slip-of-the-pen" in English, few readers in those days would have known the translation "slip-of-the-pen." It unknown whether this imagery of a pen slipping from his pocket would have directly translated to the phrase *p'irhwa* in the general public, but it is possible that Kim Sŏnghwan may have been aware of the phrases' imagery.

[533] *Tonga ilbo* May 2, 1959. On May 2, Kim Sŏnghwan also depicted a cartoon of Mr. Kobau and his wife visiting Busan and running into a man commenting on the rotting of the smuggled goods by corrupt officials. Since Kim Sŏnghwan's "slip of a pen" incident also was over a cartoon dealing with the "stench" of government corruption, it is possible that this May 2nd cartoon also illustrates the idea of censorship in referencing his own experience.

"There is a hope."[534] In this, he shows his solidarity with a fellow cartoon journalist, a co-founder of the Contemporary Cartoonist Association, as well as the determination that he will continue on despite restrictions. The "Mr. Kobau" cartoons clearly link the fate of the closure of the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* with his own existence and, consequently, the *Tonga ilbo*, which was also known for its opposition journalism.

This connection to "Tukkŏbi" and the dangers of resistance writing is even stronger when considering that in December 1958, around the time that the Liberal Party pushed through the National Security Law, both the *Tonga ilbo* and *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* started replacing their morning edition cartoons that usually either featured the one-panel political cartoons by Kim Sŏnghwan and An Ŭisŏp or reprints of "Mr. Kobau" and "Tukkŏbi"—sometimes both—with non-political cartoons. The *Tonga ilbo* featured a travel log series called, "Maktongi's Vacation," of a young Korean boy exploring the U.S. by the popular artists and sometimes rival, Kim Yonghwan.[535] While "Maktongi's Vacation" would occasionally make commentaries on U.S. life-style and history, it was relatively absent of domestic political references or criticism. The *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* published a light-hearted humor comic of a young boy called "Tudŏji" (Mole), which poked fun of family and social situations.[536] Until the closure of the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, Mr. Kobau and Tukkŏbi would only appear in the evening editions.[537]

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[534] *Tonga ilbo* May 3, 1959.
[535] *Tonga ilbo* December 23, 1959.
[536] *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* December 15, 1958. This cartoon was drawn by An Ŭisŏp, but he used the pen name, "Chŏngsŏk." Though he had used this cartoon in other magazines, the fact that he did not attach his name to it might have been an insurance policy in case he ever got into trouble over his political commentary in "Tukkŏbi."
[537] When each newspaper published only one edition, which occurred randomly, but on the same day, Kim Sŏnghwan and An Ŭisŏp's one and four-panel editorial cartoons would be the only ones featured. There is no recognizable pattern to why the *Tonga ilbo* and *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* published single editions of their newspapers because this would not occur on consistent days, and I was unable to locate sources discussing this tendency. Thus, more research is needed.

While the reasoning for replacement of these cartoons in the morning editions at this time may not be directly related to the National Security Law, since newspapers did sometimes introduce new cartoons to supplement their regulars, it still presented a clear message and linkage between the two cartoonists. It also shows the potential for replacement, a threat continuously lingering since Kim Yonghwan was also known for drawing many comic forms, including editorial cartoons, and "Tudŏji" could make up for potential loss in advertising if "Tukkŏbi" became too political. Therefore, Kim Sŏnghwan was not completely immune to political and editorial pressure, and his cartoons illustrate this reality. The fate of the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* would hang like a dark cloud over journalism and Kim Sŏnghwan's caricatures, and it would be described as "[the] most flagrant case of press suppression imposed by [Rhee's] Liberal [Party] regime and one of the most disgraceful scars left upon the Korean press."[538] However, this abuse of power would also serve as a point of ignition in lighting the fire for what would become the April 19th Revolution and overthrow of the Rhee regime.

4.3 *The April 19th Revolution*

After over a decade of perceived failures in economic progress, accompanied by increasingly draconian public enforcement laws and censorship in the name of national security, the political clout of the former revolutionary Rhee lost much of its luster. As support for the opposition party rose, Rhee feared that his chosen successor would fail to obtain the votes necessary for securing the Vice Presidency. Therefore, the means for guaranteeing his successor and a continuation of his presidency became more nefarious, since Rhee lost much of the support in the cities and even the countryside, where he relied on a variety of highhanded techniques to

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[538] Youm, *Press Law in South Korea*, 48.

secure votes.[539] This support seemed less guaranteed as broken promises and harsh realities of subsistence living due to the arbitrary government control of rice prices started to erode country resident's previous gratitude for 1949 land reforms. Domination of the political and economic sectors by a few wealthy business tycoons operating in collusion with the authoritarian regime increasingly caused serious unrest in Korean society. As pressure against opposition became more violent, the intellectual community lashed back, revealing the physical, political, and financial abuses within the system. More and more corruption scandals and violent altercations arose, eventually coming to a boil with the Taegu and Masan Student demonstrations of early 1960.

Kim Sŏnghwan and fellow editorial cartoonists found themselves caught within this revolutionary milieu, illustrating the frustrations many felt toward the malfeasance of the Rhee regime. Bribery and political corruption were a frequent source of political commentary and marked the impetus for the April 19th Revolution. First, Rhee weakened his opposition by accusing the former Progressive Party (*chinbodang*) presidential candidate, Cho Pongam, of Communist activities. He then imprisoned and swiftly executed him on July 31, 1959. In addition, Rhee suppressed "anti-mainstream" and "soft-line" Liberal Party members, and those who remained, he side-lined with the party while he placed hard-liners in controlling positions.[540] Police intimidation also became a matter of course for those who espoused oppositional politics, and the loyalty of the police was maintained by punishing the police chiefs whose districts received proportionally fewer Liberal Party votes than other districts by firing or

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[539] Han, *Failure of Democracy in South Korea*, 27.
[540] Han, 24. Some of the most influential hard-liners placed within these controlling positions in the late 1950s, included: Chang Kyŏnggun, Han Hisŏk, Yi Ikhŭng, Im Ch'ŏlho, and Kim Ŭijun in the National Assembly and Ch'oi Ingyu and Hong Chingi in the Cabinet.

transferring them to undesirable positions.[541] In addition to threats and violence, Rhee also tried to co-opt his political adversaries with bribery. This included Kim Sŏnghwan.

A few months prior to the March 15, 1960 election, an executive within the *Tonga ilbo* arranged a meeting with a top Kyŏngmudae executive, an obligation Kim Sŏnghwan was unable to refuse. Over a round of drinks at the restaurant, the representative asked Kim Sŏnghwan if he would be willing to draw a political pamphlet supporting the Liberal Party's Vice President hopeful, Ri Kibung. He attempted to bribe him with a million won, an enormous sum since Kim Sŏnghwan claimed he could purchase a house for about 200,000 won at the time and his cartoon commissions were barely enough to sustain a living. Despite the temptation of the funds and the representative's call for patriotism, claiming that only Syngman Rhee and Ri Kibung could properly guard against the threat from North Korea, Kim Sŏnghwan refused the offer.[542]

The act of bribing or attempting to bribe members of the media was a common occurrence during the Rhee regime. This would be compounded by acts of intimidation, threat, and violence that would serve as potential consequences for refusing offers or printing critical columns. Newspaper reporters and editors were also not immune to acts of corruption. Members of the press would sometimes threaten or blackmail people. The extorted money would supplement their salary and be paid to superiors.[543] The commonality of these occurrences and the economic or political pressure received from superiors made it easy for many reporters to succumb with less consequence than resisting. While Kim Sŏnghwan had some avenues of extra income outside of newspapers that may have provided him greater assurance in refusing bribes, his creation of the Contemporary Cartoonist Association and refusal to join the Rhee-supported

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[541] Han, 25.
[542] Chang Sangyong, *Na nŭn p'en igo p'en i kot nada*, 261.
[543] Han Wŏnyŏng, *Han'guk sinmun chŏnsa*, 628.

Federation of Korean Cultural Societies could have made finding children's cartooning jobs more difficult if he was found to be too politically volatile. Though Kim Sŏnghwan admits to being mildly tempted by the offer, he felt proud of his ability to resist temptation and threat in contrast to other reporters. He ultimately considered this a key moment within his career for "if he had drawn such drawings for the temptation of money, he would have, perhaps, had also been perceived as within the corruption of the Syngman Rhee's group and disappeared into that part of history."[544]

On 1960 February 15, the presidential candidate for the Democratic Party, Cho Pyŏngok, passed away in the United States after suffering a heart attack following a stomach operation conducted a few weeks prior. The feeling of loss expressed by the general population was massive as described by Kim Sŏnghwan with "thousands of citizens wetting the sidewalk with their tears as his remains passed from Kimp'o to Tonam."[545] He spoke how the funeral procession paused solemnly at the National Assembly hall for a moment before turning back to Cho Pyŏngok's home, as both a moment of silent respect and accusation. President Rhee declared soon after the death that it was too late for the Democratic Party to name a substitute candidate, which was upheld by the Supreme Court.[546] While no direct evidence connected Rhee to the death of Cho Pyŏngok, the fact that these events occurred so close to the election and allowed the unpopular Rhee to run unopposed caused great suspicion amongst the population. Kim Sŏnghwan illustrated this suspicion by following the news of his death with several cartoons depicting the willful desire to ignore or block the opposition party by government authorities. A one-panel cartoon showed a government employee peeking through the cracks in

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[544] Chang Sangyong, *Na nŭn p'en igo p'en i kot nada*, 261.
[545] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 234.
[546] Yung Bin Min, *The April Heroes: A Report on Korea's Freedom Revolution* (Seoul: Il Shin Sa, 1960), 22.

imposed "self-regulation" on witnessing opposition party rallies.[547] (Figure 4.10) Mr. Kobau expressed this sense of electoral obstruction as a blackout done just as he was about to win a game of go.[548] (Figure 4.11)

With Rhee's main opposition no longer viable, cementing his fourth reelection, the octogenarian pushed for the election of his right-hand man, Ri Kibung, for Vice President. Rhee's age and declining health made the Vice-Presidential election particularly vital. Chang Myŏn (1899-1966), the Democratic Party nominee, former Ambassador to the United States, and current Vice President, presented strong opposition, but was greatly handicapped by prohibitions from rallying. As the Liberal Party gathered groups of people together to "practice for the elections," there was an ominous feeling of intimidation and corruption that blanketed the country, which Kim Sŏnghwan captured in his cartoons.[549] He repeatedly, and sometimes explicitly mentioned Mr. Kobau's support for the opposition party in contrast to others who tried to persuade or intimidate Mr. Kobau, or other characters, with words, informants, and occasionally violence. On the day following the election, Kim Sŏnghwan showed Mr. Kobau arriving at the polling place, where he casts his vote while waving his fist at the ballot box accusingly to "please uphold your conscience!"[550] (Figure 4.12) On March 15th, the mostly bed-ridden Ri Kibung, won the Vice-Presidential election by a wide margin of 8,225,000 to 1,850,000 votes. The vast disparity in the votes and the strong-armed techniques to keep the opposition from campaigning and voting quickly came to light.

The government corruption and election irregularities were two of the primary topics that Kim Sŏnghwan tackled in the period between the election and the April 19th Revolution. Starting

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[547] *Tonga ilbo* February 16, 1960.
[548] *Tonga ilbo* February 18, 1960.
[549] Min, *The April Heroes*, 43.
[550] *Tonga ilbo* March 16, 1960.

on March 17, he published a series of cartoons as part of his attempt to bring to light these illegal techniques through satire. The Liberal Party employed several techniques in rallying and prohibiting votes within the election and that they deployed in various combinations throughout the country. This included:

> 1) voters showing up in groups of three to a single public booth
> 2) ballots folded outwards so they could be easily checked (which destroyed the anonymity and typically ensured votes for the Liberal Party candidate)[551]
> 3) agents assisting voters in marking ballot-sheets
> 4) previously marked ballot sheets were distributed to voters upon entrance[552]
> 5) ballots sometimes only contained the names of Syngman Rhee and Ri Kibung and a red circle marked the candidate
> 6) policemen with carbines guarded many of the 8,108 voting stations (a visible sign of intimidation and pressure)[553]
> 7) Democratic Party observers were often kept from polling locations or forced to sit in areas that obscured their ability to observe the ballots.[554]
> 8) Those who signed as part of the Democratic Party were told their names were "not on the register," bribed to stay away from the booths, or faced beatings by green-shirted "Anti-Communist Youth Corps" or by officials.[555]

Kim Sŏnghwan showed many of these strong-arm and confusion techniques within his cartoons. Through exaggerated humor, he illustrated the throwing away of observers, the casting of ballots in groups of three, and the usage of intimidation and violence. In one, he ended the scene with a robber, a stand-in for government corruption and violence, who went to church with a kitchen knife in his back pocket under the assumption he was acting on behalf of the government.[556] (Figure 4.13)

On the evening of the March 15 election, the police fired into a crowd of angry students and citizens in Masan protesting the corrupt election, wounding and killing several youths. The

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[551] Min, *The April Heroes*, 42.
[552] Min, 16.
[553] In 1960, a red circle indicated a "yes" vote, the equivalent of an "X" in the United States. Min, 18.
[554] Min, 92.
[555] Min, 18.
[556] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 248. *Tonga ilbo* March 18, 1960.

crowd fought back and destroyed several police stations and government offices, leading to a series of indiscriminate arrests and torture. When confronted by reporters, the sketchily elected Vice President Ri Kibung said, "The rifles were given to shoot, not for hanging on shoulders."[557] The seemingly callous attitude of Ri Kibung shown in the statement further stoked the flames of protest and inspired fact-finding committees to investigate the incident, including reporters from the *Tonga ilbo*.[558] Kim Sŏnghwan joined like-minded journalists in feeling it was his duty to bring these issues to light through his illustrations even if it might result in another slip-of-a-pen trial.[559] The reports revealed torture, a refusal to release the identity of those in custody, the fabrication of evidence, and the dumping of bodies into the sea, including the weighted-down body of Kim Chuyŏl, a student who disappeared during the March 15th protest and discovered dead in the Masan harbor on April 11. These revelations inspired Kim Sŏnghwan to focus increasingly upon student activities with metaphors depicting escalating violence.

In response to the release of the death toll from the Masan incident, he showed a baton-carrying man returning from an unnamed assignment, who spies a colleague sporting a medal upon his enormous baton. (Figure 4.14) Feeling he deserves a medal too for his efforts, he runs to an inspector, who examines the baton with a magnifying glass. Disappointed, the inspector proclaims, "The blood stain looks rather small, so it seems that you took a less active role," which implied that the government not only sanctioned violent actions against protesters, but

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[557] Kim Sŏnghwan, 249. This is a translation of the quote given by Kim Sŏnghwan in his description of the event. In the *Tonga ilbo*, the quote by Ri Kibung in response to reporter's questions was phrased slightly different, "the guns are given for shooting, not to be held idly," but with an identical connotation. (*Tonga ilbo* March 20 and 23, 1960). In the later National Assembly investigating committee and criminal trial of the Chief of Public Security, Pak Chongp'yo, who ordered the firing upon the protesters, it was revealed that the intent was not to disperse the crowds, but to kill protesters.

[558] Quee-Young Kim, "From Protest to Change of Regime: The 4-19 Revolt and the Fall of the Rhee Regime in South Korea," *Social Forces* 74, no. 4 (June 1996): 1188. The groups included in these "fact-finding committees" were: political parties, major daily newspapers, public interest groups, the National Assembly, and the National Association of Lawyers.

[559] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 250.

actively encouraged excessive brutality.[560] When the government tried to pin the Masan incident upon Communist agitators, Kim Sŏnghwan negated this by having Mr. Kobau walk into a "Liberty School," which had a teacher continuously trying to misrepresent facts. (Figure 4.15) This included data like claiming a desk is a chair and "if ten people died and five people died, you have altogether four people who died. (10+5=4)."[561] Thus, he implied within the cartoon that the government report of Communist influence in the protests was misinformation and a twisting of reality.

In a specific reference to the earlier "gun" quote by Ri Kibung, Kim Sŏnghwan showed a government official reading the newspaper while exclaiming, "I got it. A gun is given to be shot."[562] (Figure 4.16) He then loads a pile of rice into a truck, "Rice is loaded in order to be eaten." Another official drives away from the bank, proclaiming, "Money must be printed in order to use." Both of these references the practice of siphoning funds and U.S. aid by government officials, especially members of the Liberal Party. The final scene brings up an intimidating, robber-like character and stand-in for government corruption, who threateningly demands for Mr. Kobau to purchase all his items because "products are made in order to be sold. You buy it!" When Park Maria, the wife of Ri Kibung, saw the comic, she grew furious at its implication and insisted that "this author drew this, almost meaning to destroy our country, and he must be captured."[563] As he experienced earlier with the "Kyŏngmudae Satire," the threat was real. As Kim Sŏnghwan recollected the circumstances at the time, "If this comic was brought into question and the author was apprehended or the like, it was unknown whether it would cause grounds for discord. It was uncertain straightaway whether Rhee would endure it and to the

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[560] *Tonga ilbo* March 20, 1960.
[561] *Tonga ilbo* March 22, 1960.
[562] *Tonga ilbo* March 26, 1960.
[563] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 249.

extent he would call it into question."[564] Though the Rhee government backed off somewhat after the "Kyŏngmudae Satire" after discovering that the "slip-of-the-pen" charge actually had the opposite effect of making the "Mr. Kobau" cartoons more politically relevant and popular, the threat of arrest and beatings—as experienced by some of his journalist colleagues—lingered as Kim Sŏnghwan would illustrate in his cartoons. "When one looked at the situation of Cho Pongam, who was accused and sentenced to death for spying, it was not an issue for them to capture and sentence to death one more citizen."[565] He considered himself fortunate in narrowly escaping another "slip-of-the-pen" charge.

Kim Sŏnghwan would continue to publish both one-panel and Mr. Kobau cartoons alluding to or explicitly mentioning acts of government corruption and championing the student demonstrations. In these cartoons, he even highlighted the role of women in supporting or participating in demonstrations, which was distinct from the traditionally male-centered photographs and articles describing the protests.[566] He further mocked the government's misguided attempt to label the demonstrators as Communist, which he saw as paranoia or a deliberate distraction, seen in the visual metaphor of painting them "red."[567] This also alluded to the spilling of the blood of protesters, especially as the details surrounding the death and coverup of Kim Chuyŏl, who was killed in the Masan Incident, started to emerge. On April 18, about 3,000 Korea University students joined the demonstrations and were suddenly attacked by about

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[564] Kim Sŏnghwan, 250.
[565] Chang Sangyong, *Na nŭn p'en igo p'en i kot nada*, 261.
[566] *Tonga ilbo* March 30, April 9, April 15, and April 17, 1960. Women were not always portrayed as supportive of the demonstration. Most female characters tended to be background or indifferent foils to Mr. Kobau's activism. When he portrayed a strong female activist, it generally was to either support or shame the male into activism. At this time, most women and women's university students were actively discouraged from participating in protests, though some ignored the warnings. Women would play an increasingly active and visible role in democracy protests over the Park and Chun regimes. The appearance of these strong female activists in Kim Sŏnghwan's cartoons shows an unique awareness women's participation in the April Revolution.
[567] *Tonga ilbo* March 29, April 15, April 16, and April 18, 1960.

600 unnamed assailants, wielding hooks and hammers. This would spark 50,000 more high school and college students to join the protests on April 19, demanding Rhee's resignation. The bloody repression, which resulted in 183 deaths and 6,259 injuries, and publicizing of the event would turn the tide against the regime and lead to ever increasing protests known as the April 19th Revolution (4-1-9 *hŏngmyŏng*).[568]

In attempt to quell the protesters, Rhee declared martial law in the major cities throughout the country. The editorial sections of the *Tonga ilbo* and many of the headlines were erased in the April 20 evening edition, and about one third of the articles and photos were replaced with white-space, the typical means of indicating censorship, in the morning and evening editions of the April 21 newspapers, including the Mr. Kobau cartoon.[569] However, Kim Sŏnghwan's one-panel cartoon remained, which showed a bug-eyed looking man staring at his alarm clock that rings out "tick, tick, tick" indicating elimination, since "only the sound of the clock could be heard."[570] (Figure 4.17) Though it is unknown what phrase or image triggered the censoring of Mr. Kobau, the illustrated clock in his one-panel comic clearly rings the alarm of warning against this violation of free speech. He would follow up the next day with a Mr. Kobau that illustrated an official shouting at a door that the college demonstrations were instigated by the communists. (Figure 4.18) An unknown, though likely student voice inside says, "Isn't it became of drastic repression?"[571] The official then queries, "But, when the police are being shot, what else can they do except to shoot back?" Mr. Kobau stops the man to examine inside his

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[568] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 253; Kim, "From Protest to Change of Regime," 1189. Kim Sŏnghwan cites 183 deaths and 6259 injuries. Kim Quee-Young mentions 186 deaths and 1,600 injuries, but this number covers only the day and night of April 19. Kim Sŏnghwan's numbers reflect a broader look at the moment's aftermath, which is why I chose those numbers.
[569] *Tonga ilbo* April 20 and 21, 1960.
[570] *Tonga ilbo* April 21, 1960.
[571] *Tonga ilbo* April 22, 1960. The official may be a college administrator since the car in front of the building is labeled, "university."

mouth. However, the final panel has the words removed by the censor, leaving the punchline and final statement unknown, which then becomes main point of the cartoon. By leaving the words up to the readers, it allows them to create their own form of resistance by imagining and filling in a statement that might be—and often is—more radical than the statement removed. On April 23, Mr. Kobau returned uncensored with a cartoon depicting the strength of the movement as a group of linked students stand before the police, unable to be dispersed by the startled officer. (Figure 4.19) Seeing their example, ordinary citizens decide to "dress as students" in order to find the strength to stand against authority, a visual metaphor of the swelling of citizen support for the demonstrations in the major cities across the country.[572]

On April 25, a group of several hundred university professors in Seoul marched into the streets and demanded Rhee's resignation, which was a radical show of support for the student-led movement. About hundred-thousand others joined them, which turned to riots and led to a ransacking of the headquarters of the Liberal Party and the burning of the houses of notorious politicians. The U.S. government refused to support the repressive measures against the protests and stepped aside, leaving the Korean Army, which was still subject to the U.S. Military chain of command, without the necessary logistic support they felt was needed to overcome these levels of mass resistance.[573] It shifted the power away from the Liberal Party as "the top ranking martial law commanders feared that by successfully controlling the rebellion, they would end up serving the narrow, corrupt interests of the ruling party rather than national interests…and probably causing a civil war."[574] The devastation caused by the Korean War still lingered in their

[572] *Tonga ilbo* April 23, 1960.
[573] Kim, "From Protest to Change of Regime," 1190.
[574] Kim, 1189–90.

minds and the Martial Law Command refused to fire on the demonstrators, turning its back on the Rhee regime.

On April 26, no longer able to count on military backing, Rhee stepped down as President, “in order to fulfill the will of the people.”[575] The day following Rhee’s announcement, Kim Sŏnghwan illustrates Mr. Kobau gradually rematerializing from several days of erasures, “Due to elimination of censorship regulation, I’m now recovered.”[576] (Figure 4.20) Examining his visibly torn and bandaged form, he exclaims, “During that time, I really was messed up.” The cartoon reflects the aftermath of the Rhee regime and their acts of political erasure and brutality that formed the basis of their authoritarian rule and the reasoning behind why many joined the protests that led to his upheaval. Though Kobau emerges scarred from the ordeal, he shows a sense of optimistic possibility that the values surprised during the Rhee regime, like freedom of speech, can return despite the damage caused.

4.4 *Conclusion*

The causes of the April Revolution hinge upon many underlying factors, including economic crisis, political corruption, frustration with the suppression of free speech and assembly, and a rise in democratic consciousness amongst students. While the economic situation played an important role, ultimately, the decision to rise against the government emerged out of political pressure propelled by fierce social movements of students, trade unionists, and politically motivated activists. This included “minor” activists like Kim Sŏnghwan, who highlighted and protested the contradiction “between the façade of democracy

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[575] *Tonga ilbo* April 26, 1960.
[576] *Tonga ilbo* April 27, 1960.

on the one hand and the authoritarian practice on the other."[577] Defined within the framework of anti-communism, the struggle for democracy became limited to the terms of democracy versus dictatorship where Rhee's regime was challenged based on the set of democratic norms of parliamentary democracy and due process. The democratic concepts were not widespread in belief amongst the people at the beginning of the establishment of the ROK in 1948, but the idea of a "free and fair" election came to be demanded by larger numbers through the 1950s as the practices of the government became increasingly less democratic.[578] The extensive exposure by students in elementary and secondary schools as part of a serious curriculum of "education in democracy" that began in the early post-liberation period and the exposure by mass media extolling democracy, like Kim Sŏnghwan's cartoons, became instrumental in convincing many Koreans of democracy's virtues and necessity.[579]

Many of the youth who participated in the April Revolution grew up reading Kim Sŏnghwan's popular children's comics and "Mr. Kobau" possibly as part of their daily routine, which exposed them to a steady stream of opposition politics. Through the interaction between the father and the politicized son in "Tukkŏbi," An Ŭisŏp would also visually illustrate this awakening influence of the comic on the mind of the student as well as the student's ability to go beyond the humor in the subject and find the underlying political meaning and necessity to act. Kim Sŏnghwan, who was in his mid-twenties when he began drawing for the *Tonga ilbo,* still felt a strong connection with the youth who would lead the April 19th demonstrations five years later. He would keep the memories alive of their suffering and deaths for establishing democracy

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[577] Choi, "Political Cleavages in South Korea," 25. In this article, Jang-jip Choi refers to "cleavages," which in this case represent a similar meaning to my usage of "contradiction" in this dissertation. Kim, *The Politics of Democratization in Korea*, 33–34. In 1959, the Korea Trade Union Council (*Chŏn'guk nodong chohap hyŏbŭihoe*) was launched in August 1959 out of resistance to the existing FKTU
[578] Han, *Failure of Democracy in South Korea*, 26.
[579] Han, 26; Kim, *The Politics of Democratization in Korea*, 33.

within his comics—yearly memorializing the April 19th anniversary—and in his mind whenever he felt the desire to quit.[580] After the fall of the Rhee regime when the Second Republic (1960-1961) rescinded many of the press censorship laws, editorial cartoons would explode in popularity and propagate newspapers and magazines. Students also dabbled in this art form where it would become a launching point for political ideas and careers as will be discussed further in chapter five.

In addition to the circumstances surrounding the fall of the Rhee regime and rise of the April Revolution, this chapter touched upon how the choice to join or not join associations with government ties was a political act with potential dangers and consequences as well as rewards. Rhee feared that informal groups and associations could provide the necessary contacts to create networks of dissidence that form the backbone of authoritarian resistance movements. Since Rhee participated in several similar organizations during his time as an independence leader, he was aware of their revolutionary potential. This would be seen in the creation of the Korea Trade Union Council (*Chŏn'guk nodong chohap hyŏbŭihoe*, KTUC) in 1959, which formed out of resistance to the existing Federation of Korean Trade Unions (*Han'guk nodong chohap ch'ong yŏnmaeng*, FKTU) that was rife with corruption and lacking autonomy from the state.[581] The activist KTUC proclaimed they would lead a "genuinely free and democratic labor movement," therefore contributing to the democratization of Korea.[582] Though the Rhee regime did not officially recognize the KTUC as a legal entity, it put Rhee in a political quandary because many of the members of the KTUC who defected from the FKTU were known anti-communists that helped in destroying the leftist labor unions in 1945 so Rhee could not legitimately attack this

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[580] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau in'gan tongmurwŏn*, 226.
[581] Kim, *The Politics of Democratization in Korea*, 33–34.
[582] Hwasook Bergquist Nam, *Building Ships, Building a Nation: Korea's Democratic Unionism Under Park Chung Hee* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 70.

group or suppress them under the auspices of procommunism.[583] This allowed the KTUC to play key roles in criticizing government corruption and authoritarianism, the contradictions that inspired the April Revolution. In a way, the KTUC operated in a similar ambiguous space like the four-panel cartoons in newspapers that made it difficult for the Rhee regime to act against them, as long as they did not step too far out of line.

There is no evidence that the Contemporary Cartoonist Association (CCA), established by Kim Sŏnghwan, engaged in political activities other than lively debates or drew enough attention by the Rhee regime to make them a threat. Nevertheless, the network of support amongst producers of critical newspaper cartoons, who made up the bulk of the CCA membership, may have helped in the spreading of resistance to the Rhee regime through their production of cartoons as genre weapons. Since youth make up the primary target of cartoons—even those sometimes classified under "adult comics"—the influence of these comic artists in inspiring the student movement against Rhee's authoritarian rule by emphasizing the corruption and contradictions within the regime may be greater than generally realized or acknowledged. As commented by a contemporary American observer of the April Revolution, "The role of critical newspapers in providing the students with an awareness of…their common experience under the Liberal Party government…can hardly be over emphasized."[584] I argue this includes editorial cartoons, and it will apply to future regimes as I discuss in later chapters.

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[583] Kim, *The Politics of Democratization in Korea*, 34. Because of this inability to officially suppress the KTUC, labor disputes increased to ninety-five cases and 49,813 participants in 1959. This was a marked change from the average of thirty-nine cases during the previous three years. 64,335 workers participated in 227 labor disputes in 1960, of which 201 occurred after the overthrow of Rhee, which illustrates the drastic change that the April Revolution had in opening opportunities for labor. Nam, *Building Ships, Building a Nation*, 70.
[584] Kim, *Youth for Nation*, 110.

Appendix 2. CHAPTER FOUR EDITORIAL CARTOONS

Figure 4.1 (December 25, 1958)

Police: “Raise your hands!”

Police: “Don’t you know it is curfew time?”
[swaggeringly]

Police: “What is in that pack?”

Police: “I knew it was this kind of stuff!”
Signs: Protests/Resist the National Security Law

Figure 4.2 (December 25, 1958)

Missile Ornament: National Security Law

[Christmas Tree]

“Nasty night, fearful night, ghastly night…”

Figure 4.3 (December 26, 1958)

Santa: "Oh dear! Oh dear!"

Santa: "Here is this year's present."

Coffin: democracy
TKKB: "What am I going to do about this… How could he pass away like this…"?

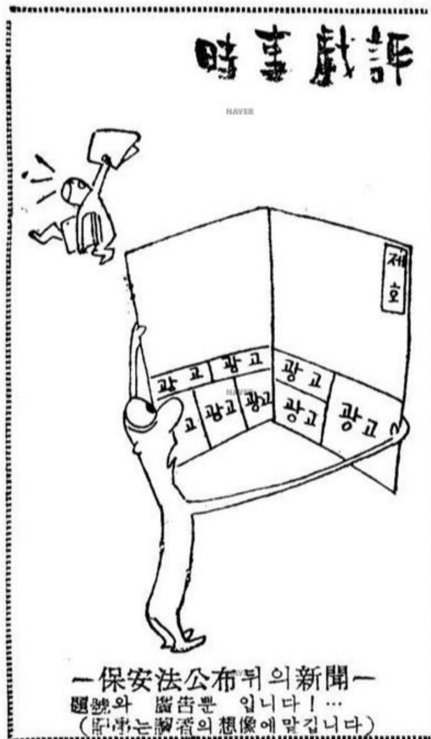

Figure 4.4 (December 26, 1958)

[The Newspaper after Promulgation of the National Security Law]

"There is only a title and advertisements!" (For articles we trust the reader's imagination.)

Figure 4.5 (February 6, 1959)

Written on child: National Security Law

[Unnecessary Worry]

Woman: "Will the child grow-up well?"
Doctor: "It is not a natural product. It looks like a child that came out of an abdominal operation (c-section)."

Figure 4.6 (February 6, 1959)

TKKB: "It's the newspaper."

TKKB: "The cartoons are quite funny."

TKKB son: "Why do you just look at the cartoons. Tisk tisk"

TKKB son: "Shall I read the 'Excursus' that is under scrutiny and the editorial article?"

Figure 4.7 (May 1, 1959)

K: "I'm getting rid of this broken fountain pen."

Boy: "Grandfather, did you drop this?"

K: "I have to go mountain climbing."

K: "I'll escape before somebody sees me."

Figure 4.8 (May 2, 1959)

Statue: Military Government Law

Sign: *Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*

[One's Habitually Used Antique]
(habitually = "love to use")

"Let's just press it on anything!"

Figure 4.9 (May 3, 1959)

Sign: *Kyŏnghyang Sinmun*

K: “It looks like the newspaper has been shut down.”

K: “I wonder how our Tukkŏbi is doing?”

K: “Oh no! He’s dead!”

TKKB: “I will rise again”
K: “There is a hope.”

Figure 4.10 (February 16, 1960)

[Government Official’s Slogan During the Election]

“Don’t listen; don’t see the opposition party speech” (Supplied by Inch’ŏn City)

Figure 4.11 (February 18, 1960)

K: "Collective terrorism cut down about 100,000 votes."

K: "Imposition by authorities, cut down about one-hundred votes."
Wife: "An application for joining the Youth League arrived." (Anti-Communist Youth Corps)

Friend: "Oh dear no…"
K: "If I place it here, I win."

Friend: "A blackout!"
K: "Damn light! Here, again two more votes disappeared."

Figure 4.12 (March 16, 1960)

Sign: Polling Place

K: "Please uphold your conscience!"

Officials: "Who are you talking to?!!"

K: "The ballot box, duh."

Figure 4.13 (March 18, 1960)

Man: “Votes are needless because there are no opposition party observers.”

Old Man: “Elections are needless because voting is done by a group of three people.”

Opposition Party Member: “Winning elections are useless because there will be an election invalidation suit.”
K: “It’s an opposition party member.”

K: “Thief!”
Thief: “Hee hee hee, it is just like it doesn’t matter whether I go to church or not.”

Figure 4.14 (March 20, 1960)

Thug: “Phew, it’s over.” “Ack! There’s my company.”

Thug: “Hey! You’ve got a medal (for military merit).”

Thug: “I also have to quickly meet my boss.”

Boss: “The blood stain looks rather small, so it seems that you took a less active role.”

Figure 4.15 (March 22, 1960)

Sign: Liberty School

K: “I don’t understand what is going on, so I need to go back to study again”

Teacher: “If ten people died and five people died, you have altogether four people who died. (10+5=4)”

Teacher: “What do you call this wooden thing?”
K: “It’s a desk, duh.”

Teacher: “No. It’s a chair!”
K: “This is getting even more difficult.”

Figure 4.16 (March 26, 1960)

Sign: Rice and cereal storage

Official 1: “I got it. A gun is given to be shot.”

Official 1: “Rice is loaded in order to be eaten.”

Official 2: “Money must be printed in order to use.”

Thief: “Products are made in order to be sold. You buy it!”

Figure 4.17 (April 21, 1960)

[tick tick tick]

"Only the sound of the clock could be heard."

Figure 4.18 (April 22, 1960)

Official: "This demonstration shows the Communist Party has instigated college students."
On the Car: Ambassador

Student: "Isn't it because of drastic repression?"

Official: "But, when the police are being shot, what else can they do except to shoot back?"
K: "Wait."

Figure 4.19 (April 23, 1960)

K: “They are unable to disband demonstrations.”

Police: “Hey! Look here!”

Police: “You have to go in this direction. Go this way.”

K: “Now let’s dress like students.”
Old Man: “Me too! Me too!”
Sign: Western tailor shop

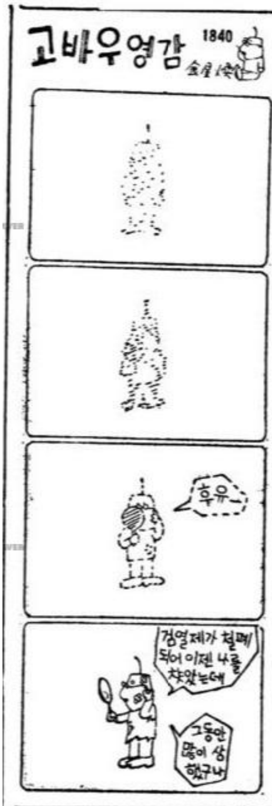

Figure 4.20 (April 27, 1960)

K: “Whew”

K: “Due to elimination of censorship regulation, I’m now recovered.”
K: “During that time, I really was messed up.”

Chapter 5. A BEACON OF HOPE: MEMORIES AND EFFECTS OF THE APRIL REVOLUTION UPON KIM SŎNGHWAN AND EDITORIAL CARTOONS (1960-1961)

> "These occurrences are happening around us all the time, from very small things to great things. The April 19th Revolution, which was a student and people revolt to try to punish the wickedness of the powerful, is significant for this, and it is very regrettable that the values of April 19th are, by a gradual process, dimming."[585]
>
> —Kim Sŏnghwan

The April Revolution plays upon the collective consciousness of Koreans as a contested event. It signifies either a moment of democratic utopian dreams between two periods of repression or a chaotic unstable time that opened the way for the Park regime to usher in a new era of political and economic stability. Differing points of view on this event signify one's position within the political spectrum. Kim Sŏnghwan, a political thorn in the side of the Rhee regime, ushered in this age with enthusiastic optimism, slowly turning into skepticism as he witnessed the political and economic stalemate that emerged from this revolutionary moment. As a place of possibility, the April Revolution first appeared like a triumph of democratic values against greed, corruption, and dictatorship. The crooked Rhee regime was thrown out and shamed into exile by students, seen as champions of democracy. This was brought about through persistent protest and dogged determination without the use of a military coup d'état. The old, repressive laws could now be tossed aside to bring in a new society free of the corruption, violence, and social injustice of the previous regime. Free speech and the free press would be respected, not silenced. This became the idealistic rallying cry and memory associated by many with this period. As this chapter discusses, "Mr. Kobau" and like-minded editorial cartoons would play a supportive role in re-building democratic institutions.

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[585] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau wa hamkke san pansaeng*, 143.

Two competing narratives of “freedom” and “chaos” would constitute the main images of the April Revolution period (1960-1961) as will be discussed in this chapter. The press enjoyed a year of seemingly unbridled liberation compared to the past. The loosening of registration laws would lead to an explosion in periodicals. Editorial cartoons would experience a renaissance. Kim Sŏnghwan and other cartoonists would use this space during the Second Republic to explore new and sometimes taboo subjects, like unification with North Korea. In addition, cartoonists would help in solidify the image of the April Revolution as instigated by university students and paid with the “blood sacrifice” of their protests. That image would mask the thousands of labor activists, high school students, grieving families of massacre victims during the Korean War, etc. that participated in this mass grass-roots movement. Throughout this period, Kim Sŏnghwan celebrated the critical eye by offering criticism of the inability—or unwillingness—of the Hŏ Interim (April-August 1960) and Change Government (August 1960-May 1961) to check Rhee’s legacies and reform. Nevertheless, Kim Sŏnghwan still maintained support for the democratic process and hope for its leadership. Through his works, he illustrated the potentiality of a democratic press

Nevertheless, with the increase in newsprint in the Second Republic, unverified rumors spread. These new papers were viewed as cheapening the words of qualified journalists and blackening the reputation of the press. This image of a dangerously unrestrained press and “fake news” would be propagated within mainstream newspapers and editorial cartoons. This made many see the period as unregulated chaos. When Park Chung Hee overthrew the Second Republic through a military coup d’état in May 1961, most of the public and even activists welcome the “return of order.” However, the repressive censorship laws that Park would implement goaded the journalists who survived Park’s subsequent purge and consolidation of the

press during the military junta (1961-1963). The freedom of the Second Republic made the disappearance of freedoms in the Third Republic all the more bitter. An idealistic memory of the April Revolution would appear that became the symbol of free speech and democracy. Kim Sŏnghwan would memorialize the revolution each year as a beacon of hope against repression and belief in the possible, even when the reality did not live up to the expectations.

5.1 *The Liberalization of Cartoon Journalism in the Second Republic*

Like a carnival of freedom, immediately following the resignation of President Rhee, Kim Sŏnghwan's cartoons took on a celebratory nature, reflecting a position of hope and promise for a new government free of corruption while still recognizing the sacrifices and difficulties ahead. Characters in Kim Sŏnghwan's "Mr. Kobau," and An Ŭisŏp's "Tukkŏbi," and "Tudŏji," which reemerged in the newly reopened *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, thanked students and random injured strangers for their efforts in the revolution, even when those injuries proved to be from less "heroic" circumstances, like fixing a gate.[586] (Figure 5.1, 5.2, & 5.3) These injured characters depicted in "Mr. Kobau" and "Tudŏji" did not purposefully try to deceive, but these early images illustrated caution toward those who might attempt to take on the appearance of an April Revolutionary in order to gain some cultural or financial advantage.[587] The idea of the "false revolutionary" would appear as a regular figure within Kim Sŏnghwan's and An Ŭisŏp's cartoons during the Second Republic and extend into the Park Chung Hee era as the April Revolution, often in the image of a student, started to take on a mythological form. However, at

[586] *Tonga ilbo* May 3, 1960, *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* April 29 and May 1, 1960.
[587] In the wake of the April 19th protests, a division occurred between "justifiable" and "unjustifiable" violence, though this was not always self-evident. For contemporary observers, students took on the image of heroes while nonstudent protestors acted "almost as heroes" or were seen as distracting from the "actual demonstrations" and contributing to a sense of lawlessness. Kim, *Youth for Nation*, 172.

this time, Kim Sŏnghwan also extended the injuries past the students toward the population in general. University students would come to embody the mythos surrounding the April Revolution to the extent that "student" often accompanies the title for this movement. However, it was not just a "student revolution." Instead, the movement incorporated a range of activists of diverse backgrounds and various grievances, including labor unions, scholars, leftists, families of wartime massacre victims, etc. They would play key roles in trying to address societal problems and restructure the democratic landscape in the Second Republic.[588] In a one-panel cartoon, Kim Sŏnghwan depicted a cultural and class cross-section of people wandering around with ice bags on their heads, a nod to the diversity of those inflicted by violence and destructive policies by the previous regime as well as the need to heal.[589] (Figure 5.4)

Contrary to the hopes of the people depicted in the cartoons, the ousting of Rhee did not immediately equate to a democratic nation. The Hŏ Chŏng's (1896-1988) Interim Government (April-August 1960) initially laid down several antidemocratic measures that set a tone creating an atmosphere of further resistance. The Hŏ Interim Government arrested members of the student groups, such as the April Revolution Youth-Student-Alliance (*4.19 ch'ŏngnyŏn haksaeng tongmaeng*) and the Federation for the Promotion of National Reunification (*Minjok t'ongil ch'okchin yŏnmaeng*).[590] It then attempted to strengthen governmental labor committees by slowing down the de-corporatization process of the Federation of Korean Trade Unions (*Han'guk nodong chohap ch'ong yŏnmaeng*, FKTU), which was losing membership to the Korea

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[588] Kwŏn Podŭrae and Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, *1960-yŏn ŭl mutta: Pak Chŏnghŭi sidae ŭi munhwa chŏngch'i wa chisŏng [Questioning 1960s: the Cultural Politics and Intellect of the Park Chung Hee Era]* (Seoul: Ch'ŏnnyŏn ŭi Sangsang, 2012), 36–39.
[589] *Tonga ilbo* April 28, 1960.
[590] Following the dissolution of the National Citizens Reconstruction Movement (*Chaegŏn kungmin undong*) on May 10, students formed democratic student assemblies to replace these controversial groups. Impatient with the interim government's lack of reform and inattention to ideological issues, in May 1960, leaders from forty-two universities demanded expulsion of high-ranking administrators and trustees, suspected of corruption and who collaborated with the Rhee regime. Kim, *Youth for Nation*, 181.

Trade Union Council (*Chŏn'guk nodong chohap hyŏbŭihoe*, KTUC) who played a key role in the critique and resistance to Rhee's increasing authoritarianism leading up to the April Revolution. The Hŏ Interim Government accomplished this by intervening in labor disputes and repressing the new KTUC backed labor movement.[591] In addition, they delayed in punishing the corrupt police officers, politicians, bureaucrats, and military officers in the Rhee regime, including those directly responsible for some of the massacres, which will be examined later in this chapter. Angered and alarmed by this failure to act, student groups and other anti-authoritarian organizations, who been crucial in the overthrow of the Rhee regime, including members of the media like Kim Sŏnghwan, continued their pro-democracy struggle.[592]

Following the election of Chang Myŏn (1899-1966) and the advent of the Second Republic in July 1960, mainstream leaders of the FKTU felt they needed to apologize to members and pledge to reform, which sent the FKTU headquarters into chaos and allowed a rise in the influence and membership in the KTUC.[593] Though the Chang Myŏn regime (August 1960-May 1961) would be overwhelmed by the "bursting political energies of various social groups" exhilarant by the new success in bringing democracy to South Korea, the Chang government found itself with neither the will nor means to suppress union activity, allowing reformist union activity to flourish during this period.[594]

The Chang regime would fail to completely break with the previous authoritarian regime and continued to impose undemocratic measures that would necessitate further activism. Still,

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[591] Kim, *The Politics of Democratization in Korea*, 37.
[592] Kim, 37.
[593] Nam, *Building Ships, Building a Nation*, 72. In May 1960, the KTUC absorbed 160,000 members. The KTUC and FKTU would attempt to merge in October 1960, but this effort would prove unsuccessful. A new independent organization, The Federation of Korean Trade Unions (Han'guk Nodong Chohap Ch'ong Yŏnmaeng) formed in November 1960, which would be acknowledge as the lawful successor to the FKTU and help in unifying the KTUC with the former FKTU.
[594] Nam, 72. For further reading on labor movements of the 1960s and labor's contribution to the democratization process, see, Nam, *Building Ships, Building a Nation*.

the Constitution of the Second Republic reversed some laws impinging on civil liberty that would help in establishing a new atmosphere of limited democratic freedom. One key reversal was the laws regarding freedom of speech. The revised 1960 Constitution stated: "citizens shall not be subjected to any restrictions on the freedom of speech, and of the press…licensing or censorship in regard to speech and press and permit of assembly and association shall not be recognized."[595] This differed from the founding Constitution of 1948 that imposed conditions upon press freedom. It also placed Korea on par with the type of constitutional freedoms generally found in Western democracies with a *laissez faire* type of political and editorial freedom. As noted by Professors' Tscholsu Kim and San Don Lee, in the strengthening of the civil liberties portions in the amendments to the Constitution of the Second Republic, "American constitutional theories and court decisions were frequently mentioned."[596] The Chang government also revised and lifted the punishments for seditious libel and crimes, generally directed toward the press, which pertained to collecting and disclosing information as stipulated in the National Security Law. Instead, the government enacted a new registration law that supplanted USAMGIK Ordinance 88, which was used on and off to suppress the press during the Rhee regime, as seen in chapter three and chapter four with the shutdown of the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*. Newspapers still needed to register with the government, but the new law simplified the procedure by requiring only essential information such as the name, location, and frequency of publication.[597] This created an explosion of new daily newspapers and freedom of expression.[598]

[595] Youm, *Press Law in South Korea*, 49.
[596] Youm, 49. Gregory Henderson, in his article on the "Constitutional Changes from the First to the Sixth Republic: 1948-1987," commented that the Constitution of the Second Republic noted that the "all 'except as provided by law' escape clauses [were] removed," which made the basic civil rights of Koreans "unconditional." This was done in reaction to the violations of rights during the Rhee regime.
[597] Youm, 49.
[598] The number of periodicals increased to more than two times the number by April 1961, from 600 to about 1,600, with around 160,000 reporters. Youm, 50.

Cartoon journalists also enjoyed unprecedented freedom during the Second Republic. The ability to produce unrestrained, biting satire that could potentially shame public figures into action or disgrace, gave them enormous power. Shielded by humor and the belief that editorial cartoons represented the values of free press, when done in the critical style of Western newspapers, cartoon journalists flourished and multiplied during this period, experimenting with various subjects and leaving few topics unexplored. While editorial cartoonists, like Kim Sŏnghwan, enjoyed this new freedom and the ability to explore previously forbidden subject-matter, the democratization of the field also created little quality control. Kim Sŏnghwan initially embraced new talent, championing training and the ability for enthusiastic amateurs to break into the industry. However, the poor quality of design and the profit-over-content motivations of those who tried to take advantage of the exploding cartoon industry started to frustrate him. This sparked attempts by Kim Sŏnghwan to separate and diversify his works from colleagues through exhibitions and critical essays. Diversification also opened additional streams of revenue, which would prove valuable when Park Chung Hee re-imposed censorship policies, providing Kim Sŏnghwan with choices other than newspaper cartooning that helped him hope with external pressures.

Cartoons showed a shift in a more direct, straight-forward style of criticism that started to emerge even before the implementation of the constitutional and National Security Law revisions. The lack of reprisal led to further experimentation with the form and a re-popularization of the politically oriented one-panel cartoon, which often lost press space in lieu of critical news items during the Rhee regime.[599] Prior to the April Revolution, direct attacks on political figures were generally forbidden or discouraged under libel laws, but the precarious

[599] Taehan Min'guk Yŏksa Pangmulgwan, *Kobau ka para pon uri hyŏndaesa*, 258.

political situation and calls for greater liberties in expression following Rhee's resignation allowed cartoonists to test these boundaries. Caricatures of political figures started to appear more frequently in both the one-panel and four-panel cartoons. Cartoons also started to accompany editorial columns more frequently, attracting readers and adding an additional critical punch to the expressed words. Kim Sŏnghwan lent his illustrations to several editorial column series that started to appear on a regular basis in the *Tonga ilbo*. Cartoonists would also mix photos into the comics, making the editorial or caricature connection even more apparent. For example, Kim Sŏnghwan, who generally utilized vague stand-ins for political figures, attached a photo of the former Minister of Interior, Ch'oe In'gyu, as a giant blocking the gate of Kyŏngmudae in an illustration of the corruption of Rhee's ruling party.[600] (Figure 5.5) During the Rhee regime, editorialists defending Kim Sŏnghwan's works would claim that the lack of realism in cartoons made them immune to traditional libel laws so the inclusion of a photograph shows a deliberate attempt to push the boundaries and visually illustrate a shift in the status of free expression in South Korea.

Additional experimentation with the form occurred in character as well as topic. Kim Kyut'aek, who had started publishing in the *Chosŏn ilbo* after returning from Japan in 1959, shows one of the ways that this period tried to stretch the limits of permissible critique. He introduced the first four-panel political cartoon with a non-human as the protagonist in July 1960. This cartoon continued Kim Kyut'aek's biting criticism displayed in his one panel cartoons that replicated realistic caricatures of party officials as a check to their political power. As a parody of the Western gaze on Korean society, a dog named "Johne" arrived from the U.S. to fill an appointed post in Dr. Park's laboratory. While the Rhee and Park regimes often censored the

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[600] *Tonga ilbo* May 13, 1960.

dog image due to its negative implications of corruption, Kim Kyut'aek used Johne as a foil against the corruption in Korean society that ran contrary to the liberal-democratic institutions and values promoted by the U.S. during his nine years of working as a cartoonist and illustrator for the United Nations Command in Japan.[601] As a serious, stoic character, Johne admonished Korean societal practices through mimicry. His genuine attempt to understand Korean society served to highlight a sense of backwardness by displaying habits in their raw form in the figure of a dog. These acts sometimes recreated the critiques of hygiene and eating practices such as handbasin washing, excessive smoking, spitting, and the eating of dog soup as described by Todd Henry in "Sanitizing Empire." Johne's stoicism reframed them as simply "unmodern" in a narrative that emphasized growth, rather than ridicule.[602] (Figure 5.6) His topics also included political characters and subjects such as the continuation of Confucian influence, authoritarianism, and economic corruption. Unfortunately, due to poor health, Kim Kyut'aek ceased publication in January 1961, so it is unknown whether that critical eye could or would have continued into the Park regime.

The Second Republic's ability to question previous assumptions about state power over society would become one of the defining characteristics of this period with a strong belief in "the possible." The freeing of speech and assembly by the lifting of the laws discouraging debate produced creative approaches to once unexplored or forbidden themes. Topics that emerged and dominated much of the discourse included: North-South Korean unification, democratic socialism, critiques on anti-communism, and the concept of revolution. Other topics shifted in their focus by insisting on greater government accountability, alternative modes of thought, or

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[601] Han'guk Manhwa 100-chunyŏn Sisa Manhwa Wiwŏnhoe, ed., *Han'guk sisa manhwa 100-yŏn: p'ungja wa haehak, hŭimang ŭi sisa manhwa [100 years of Korean Editorial Cartoons: Satire and Humor, the Hope for Editorial Cartoons]* (Seoul: Alda, 2009), 41.
[602] Henry, "Sanitizing Empire," 648–49.

types of solutions. Concepts such as civil rights, free press, and right of assembly rose in prominence as hallmarks of the new republic and democratic liberalism in intellectual discourse. These were not simply topics chosen by editors or cartoonists, but these ideals represented and reflected a mass grass-roots movement redressing grievance. The comic artists illustrated the great social upheaval behind these subjects. In this way, Kim Sŏnghwan and editorial cartoonists of this period both represented and helped in shaping these social movements by reproducing the activist discourse.

Cracks within these concepts also emerged as stories of “unscrupulous reporters” creating “fake news” and constant demonstrations. This was framed as threatening stability of the Republic. It produced seeds of doubt in the applicability of democracy in Korean society and the sense of disillusionment that overcame artists such as Yi Chŏngjun, Kim Sŭngok, and Pak Taesun.[603] Each of these topics played out in multiple forms of illustrative caricature during the Second Republic, but the prevailing themes that appear throughout Kim Sŏnghwan’s cartoons during this period were: inconsistency in punishment, fear of Japanese cultural or economic imperialism, economic relief, press ethics, and the student revolutionary. Though unification and critiques on anti-communism would emerge as topics within Kim Sŏnghwan’s cartoons, he did not pursue these subjects as forcefully as those listed above.

5.2 *The Imagery of Student Subjectivity*

The April Revolution reformed the image of university students. They were seen as embodying a sense of revolutionary and transformative spirit, which would continue as a driving

[603] Chang Yunsu, “Yi Ch’ŏngjun, ‘Kasu’ ŭi sosŏrhak [Philosophy of Fiction-writing of Cheongjoon Lee’s Short Fiction, ‘A Soft Sleep’],” *Hyŏndae sosŏl yŏn’gu*, no. 48 (December 2011): 459–83; Pae Kyŏngryŏl, “Sirhyangmin ŭi sik kwa hyŏnsil insik: Pak T’aesunron [The Consciousness of Displaced Person and the Perception of Reality: the Discussion of Pak T’aesun],” *Han’guk sasang kwa munhwa* 61 (2012): 99–125.

force in the democracy movements of the Park and Chang regimes. This metaphorical and mythological spirit would be championed and reinforced in the editorial cartoons of Kim Sŏnghwan until the achievement of democratization in 1987. High school students played a key role the April Revolution and the establishment of the Second Republic as well as non-student citizens who participated in the revolution in large numbers. Nevertheless, until recently, the majority of literature, cartoons, and popular memory attributed the success to university students. It created a mythos that became the foundation for a university-educated participatory spirit associated with the remaking of the state. This participatory spirit would carry into action over the remainder of the Second Republic, cultivating a new sense of social and cultural identity for college students, transforming passivity into a self-identified, politically conscious April 19th generation.

Prior to April 19th, the public in general viewed college students as isolated and lacking in spirit while high school students held positive associations within the general public. High school students, who immersed themselves in an intense study of pro-democratic literature and developed close, personal ties through daily interaction, created what has been argued and seen as the necessary bonds of solidarity social consciousness needed to instigate a political movement.[604] In contrast, during the 1950s, university students were often regimented into tightly controlled Student Defense Corps (*Hakto hoguktan*), which would be mobilized by the government on various occasions to show support for government policies.[605] When viewed outside of these government sponsored activities, college students were also blamed and

[604] Kwŏn Podŭrae and Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, *1960-yŏn ŭl mutta*, 38; Kim, *The Politics of Democratization in Korea*, 43. For a detailed study on high school students organizations and how they turned these networks into the structure necessary for the March and April 1960 student marches, see Kim, *Youth for Nation*, 142–53.
[605] Kim, *The Politics of Democratization in Korea*, 30.

criticized by the media as "lethargic, realistic, and opportunistic."[606] The public perceived university students as lacking in responsibility and unwilling to "self-sacrifice," which was a far cry from the revolutionary image of the visionary, though somewhat impractical, "noble lions" that would form during the course of the Second Republic and emerge as the predominant image of the college student movement.[607]

Instead of possessing a martial spirit—as might be expected with Student Defense Corps training—university students were viewed as military service dodgers, utilizing the college exception from conscription as an excuse for avoiding the army.[608] Until Koryŏ (Korea) University students joined the movement on April 18, the idea of the socially conscious student was largely viewed as a high school student. These ideas were reflected in Kim Sŏnghwan's cartoons. [609] On March 8, 1960, Kim Sŏnghwan drew a man on his deathbed warning his two sons to stop the illegal election. They falter with excuses. (Figure 5.7) In the background, (middle school or high school) students chant, "Strike down the illegal elections." [610] One of the sons suddenly realizes one of the students is his child. The grandfather throws out his two sons, "You bastards! You are not my sons." He then calls his grandson to his side, "I will die trusting

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[606] Kwŏn Podŭrae and Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, *1960-yŏn ŭl mutta*, 37.
[607] Kwŏn Podŭrae and Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, 36–37.
[608] Kwŏn Podŭrae and Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, 37. While public perception of university students was generally negative during the Rhee era, they were not devoid of school-based spirit that would help in creating the "vanguard spirit" for revolutionary action. The decision to join the demonstrations contained many potential consequences for their careers along with the danger of police reprisals, which made many hesitant on whether they should demonstrate. The conspicuousness of inaction in each successive high school demonstration and school pride following the reopening of the school term likely helped in creating the final push to participate in early April. Kim, *Youth for Nation*, 153–54.
[609] University student activism was not restricted to just the protests led by Koryŏ University and Seoul National University. However, the majority of texts tend to concentrate on these two groups in summarizing activism. The first account of university student protests in relation to the movement arose from Chŏnbok University students on April 4 with other groups starting to join middle school and high school students following the discovery on April 11 of the body of Kim Chuyŏl, who was killed in the March 15th protest. Kwŏn Podŭrae and Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, *1960-yŏn ŭl mutta*, 38. One of the potential reasons for late arrival of university students, as pointed out by Charles Kim, is the university academic calendar had winter recess from mid-February to early April, which could have made it difficult for them to organize, unlike high school students, who still attended school and maintained daily contact. Kim, *Youth for Nation*, 146.
[610] *Tonga ilbo* March 8, 1960.

this kid." Kim Sŏnghwan continuously reinforced the idea of youth as the motivators for political change in his cartoons. But following the April Revolution, these images displayed college students and the symbol of the university more prominently.

One of the main reasons for the high school and college student's shift in political consciousness was the growth in liberal education that instructed students in the doctrine and policies associated with Western democratic institutions.[611] The gap between the teachings and reality empowered a sense of indignation and desire to re-align Korean politics to the ideals they claimed to follow. Cartoons of this era also helped foster this sense of empowerment. Students of the April 19th generation—both high school and college—grew up within the emerging market of cartoons. As youth, they consumed this medium, familiarizing themselves with stories and characters that idealized Western values and institutions. Some, like Kim Sŭngok, winner of the Tongin Literary Award (1965) and Yi Sang Literary Award (1977), would go on to produce their own series. Following the April Revolution, the editorial cartoon, when not shuttered by censorship policies, would become a regular feature in many campus newspapers. As a four-panel editorial cartoon, "Mr. Kobau" bridged the gap between adult and children by disseminating political messages into easier relatable and understandable forms, allowing it to appeal to both audiences. The emergence of "Mr. Kobau" as a political art form coincided with the formative years of college and high school students of the April 19th Generation who joined the demonstrations. As a daily source of information, "Mr. Kobau" and like-minded editorial cartoons reinforced many of the beliefs in liberal-democratic institutions, especially freedom of

[611] Kim, *The Politics of Democratization in Korea*, 43. Charles Kim would describe this type of political consciousness as a "vanguard script" built out of a combination of democratic education that championed an authorized version of liberal nationalism and a martial spirit cultivated during and reflective upon the anti-Japanese struggles of the colonial period while still within the framework of anti-communism. Kim, *Youth for Nation*, 157–67.

speech, and a sense of resistance that helped build the political consciousness necessary to topple the Rhee regime and re-build the democratic institutions.

Kim Sŭngok, whose literary works as a college student would define many of the philosophical ideas and sense of disillusionment felt in the 1960s and within the April 19th Generation, first entered into the exploration of political and social consciousness through the medium of editorial cartoons. As a French Literature major at Seoul National University who also received a fine for participating in both the April 19th and 25th demonstrations, Kim Sŭngok published a four-panel editorial cartoon called "Mr. Pagoda" in the newly established *Seoul kyŏngje sinmun* [*Seoul Economy Newspaper*] from September 1, 1960 to February 19, 1961.[612] Created in the style of "Mr. Kobau," it explored subjects relative to the youth and their sense of revolution as well as the growing frustration with the re-emerging counterrevolutionary forces that followed the initial period of political and intellectual liberation, which developed from a conservative backlash and fear of a communist inspired radicalism.

Kim Sŭngok's early cartoons express a sense of optimism and the potential power of the student, as argued by Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan in his study on Kim Sŏngok's comics in *Revolution and Laughter,* which I summarize in this study in relation to Kim Sŏnghwan's cartoons. One example cartoon shows student's celebrating drunkenly and defying curfew hours. (Figure 5.8) Rather than face strict discipline by the authorities, the police simply mimicked the students.[613] In this image, the police, which were viewed as a violent, authoritarian force during the Rhee regime transformed into companions for the people. It showed a softening of authority and a shift in power from the police to the college students, who figured significantly in the turning point of

[612] Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, *Hyŏngmyŏng kwa usŭm: Kim Sŭngok ŭi sisa manhwa "P'agoda yŏnggam" ŭi t'onghae pon 4.19 hyŏngmyŏng ŭl kaŭl [Revolution and Laughter: Fall in the April 19th Revolution seen through Kim Sŭngok's Political Cartoon, "Mr. P'agoda"]* (Seoul: Aelp'i, 2005), 11.
[613] *Seoul Kyŏngje sinmun* September 5, 1960.

the movement and the restoration of order in the violent aftermath following Rhee's April 26th resignation statement. University students took over many of the functions of government and societal control by acting as a mediating force in coordination with the police.[614] In these actions, college students transformed their image from the passive, selfish image reflected in the media to active, self-sacrificing members of Korean society. This image of activism would continue throughout the Second Republic and remain as one of the enduring associations with the April Revolution.

Still, the earlier beliefs in the selfish, scholastically lazy student lingered and continue to resurface occasionally as part of critiques against student movements. Kwak Sanghun, head of the National Assembly, rebuked students by saying, "When you demonstrate, traffic is stopped and citizens frown on you, so instead of wasting their precious time, go back to school and study."[615] The police also declared that the "excessive student behavior was illegal."[616] In response to this rebuke, Kim Sŭngok depicted a student directing traffic while wearing a "New Life" banner, a reflection of the "New Life Movement" (*sin saenghwal undong*) that sought to utilize the revolutionary momentum of the demonstrations to reform the life and consciousness of the people.[617] (Figure 5.9) He showed members of society inconvenienced by the student

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[614] Kwŏn Podŭrae and Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, *1960-yŏn ŭl mutta*, 36.
[615] Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, *Hyŏngmyŏng kwa usŭm*, 101. September 23, 1960.
[616] *Tonga ilbo* September 23, 1960. For further discussion on the New Life Movement, see Kim, *Youth for Nation*, 180–84.
[617] Sin Hyŏnggi, "Hyŏksin tamnon kwa taejung ŭi wich'i [Reform Discourse and the Location of People]," *Hyŏndae munhak ŭi yŏn'gu* 47 (2012): 261–93. The New Life Movement (NLM) developed out of an aim to modernize lifestyle practices of the countryside like simplifying ritual ceremonies and eradicating superstitions. Along with goals of modernization came the desire to advance awareness for the upcoming July 29 elections. It would then expand to include an urban NLM, which emphasized the promotion of national products, reduction of black-market and "foreign luxury goods," and the private usage of government vehicles. All of these types of excesses were connected to scandals involving the misappropriation of U.S. aid prevalent in the 1950s. The NLM lifestyle issues would then be used as a gateway for further demands for a clean and effective government, legislation formalizing the NLM, and the forging of a South Korea-U.S. status of forces agreement. Kim, *Youth for Nation*, 181–82.

protestor called the student activist “selfish,” “impertinent,” and “hating his studies.”[618] Disheartened, the illustrated student recalls the people once clapping as students rushed toward gunfire, and he called together a group of children to tell them the fairy tale of the April Revolution. Kim Sŭngok laments the fleeting memory of society toward the student’s sacrifice. As student protests continued and created little inconveniences for the public, the tolerance and belief in the revolutionary spirit also decreased, especially when those protests produced little result in policy, which would become the secondary image associated with the April Revolution student movement.[619] Even though Kim Sŭngok would also later question the viability of the revolution, the image or potentiality of the active student endured in his works and his own actions, which were enhanced and developed through the critical imagery of the editorial.[620] Through his actions in the movement and as a cartoonist, Kim Sŭngok developed the sense of a literary freedom to question. This would become part of the core of the social agenda of the 1960s even when this criticism turned upon the roots of the movement and followed Park Chung Hee’s narrative of “responsible freedom,” which will be discussed in chapter six.[621]

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[618] Ch’ŏn Chŏnghwan, *Hyŏngmyŏng kwa usŭm*, 98. *Seoul Kyŏngje sinmun* September 24, 1960. The public response was mixed to the September 22 demonstration organized by Seoul National University when five hundred students commandeered fifty-nine government-use jeeps in front of City Hall as a symbol of government misuse.
[619] Kim, *Youth for Nation*, 182–83. Even though the inconveniences of blocking traffic or destroying cartons of cigarettes angered some of the public, there were few who disagreed with the nation-centered premise behind the NLM. Both Hŏ and Chang would express support for the movement even if they did not take concrete action in following through with the NLM. In a roundtable discussion conducted by the *Sasanggye*, while acknowledging the unassailability of the NLM, they came to a consensus that the students were right in promoting this “spiritual movement” (chŏngsin undong). The only regret being that the nation’s leaders had not taken up the task.
[620] Song Ŭnchŏng, “‘Musŏn t’aekchŏk chŏgŭng’ ŭl yoguhanŭn kujo e taehan haech’ejŏk chŏhang: Kim Sŭngok ŭi ‘Ch’a na hanjan,’ ‘Tŭllori,’ Yi Ch’ŏngjun ŭi ‘Kulle,’ ‘Ponŏsŭ’ rŭl chungsim ŭro [Deconstructist Resistance Against the System Demanding ‘Adaption to No-choice’: Focus on Kim Sŭngok’s ‘Cup of Tea’ and ‘Picnic,’ and Yi Ch’ŏngjun’s 'Bridle" and ’Bonus’],” *Hyŏndae sosŏl yŏn’gu [The Journal of Korean Fiction Research* 66 (June 2017): 201–33.
[621] Kwŏn Podŭrae and Ch’ŏn Chŏnghwan, *1960-yŏn ŭl mutta*, 74.

5.3 *Incomplete Punishment: Police Trials*

While a feeling of hope hovered over most of these early cartoons, skepticism and fear also lurked beneath the surface, especially the fears of a resurgence of the civil strife that appeared following the liberation from Japan, which divided the country. The topic of division, which will be discussed at great length during the Second Republic, was seen by many student protesters and some intellectuals as providing justification for the dictatorial situation they just uprooted.[622] Fear that a chaos might re-create a similar divisive situation loomed like an ominous threat, a legacy of the Rhee regime that would continue into the Park regime. On April 28, 1960, the day of the re-opening of the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, An Ŭisŏp illustrated a giant balloon marked as the "political situation" floating just above the heads of a group of a similar cross-section of people reaching desperately toward the string that may soon become unreachable.[623] (Figure 5.10) The caption says the "anxious people" were worried that the political situation may "pop," and devolve into a form of chaos and potential war.

Kim Sŏnghwan showed similar uncertainty that extended toward the rapid flight from the country and purges of Rhee's supporters, which he felt left room for possible exploitation and over-extension of power. Similar to what occurred following the Liberation from Japan, people sought revenge for the abuses suffered under Rhee and a return of sovereignty to the people. Kim Sŏnghwan agreed with this sentiment, but he held a disdain for violent reprisal and a skepticism toward the sweeping purges done in the heat of passion. Kim Sŏnghwan showed Mr. Kobau observing a group carrying two men from a Liberty Party building while shouting, "Purge! Purge!" over the claims of remorse by the individuals charged with corruption. [624] (Figure 5.11)

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[622] Kim, *The Politics of Democratization in Korea*, 39.
[623] *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* April 28, 1960.
[624] *Tonga ilbo* May 1, 1960.

Mr. Kobau comments to himself while entering the building. “One should not go too far; who’s going to be left?” Inside, he discovers a youth, perhaps a page, holding a broom and singing that he is alone atop a desk labeled as the “bureau chief” (*kukchang*). Though this cartoon could indicate youth as the inheritors of the future, the image lacks the usual marker of a student and Mr. Kobau appears startled, showing the behavior of sweeping purges as more an indication of childishness than a strategic or noble endeavor. Kim Sŏnghwan, who observed some of the purges following the liberation from Japan in Manchuria as well as the consequences of blanket ideas of “revenge” knew the dangers of this type of justice and expressed it within his interpretation of events.

The trials of the officers of those involved in the political and physical suppression during the March 15th elections and April 19th fire order incident became a rallying cry for justice and litmus test for the “revolution.” In September 1960, under the Seoul District Court, forty-eight high and low-level government and police officials stood trial for their involvement in these incidents, including former Minister of Internal Affairs Ch’oe In’gyu, Deputy Interior Minister Yi Sŏngu, Public Security Bureau Chief Yi Kanghak, Regional Bureau Chief Ch’oe Pyŏnghwan, and Presidential Security Chief (Kyŏngmudae Kyŏngmugwan) Kwak Yŏngju.[625] After months of delayed punishment for the corrupt bureaucrats, politicians, police officers, and military officers in the Rhee regime by the Interim Hŏ government, public enthusiasm and support for the trials ran high. However, the legal systems for trying government sanctioned actions was not established nor was the trial separated into a revolutionary court that could define punishment outside of precedent set by the Rhee regime. In addition, the lawyers for the defense provided sophisticated arguments based on the “spirit of the revolution” that argued that “the spirit of

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[625] Ch’ŏn Chŏnghwan, *Hyŏngmyŏng kwa usŭm*, 52.

April 19th is a law of conscience and that only trials based on law and evidence will bring about the spirit of April 19th."[626] By framing justice in terms of laws applicable at the time of the incidents, it benefitted offenders since the law contained provisions for government sanctioned violence. This resulted in the release of most of the Liberal Party bureaucrats and politicians involved in the rigged elections and suppression of the April Revolution.

Kim Sŭngok illustrated the manipulation of the court by silver-tongue lawyers who were able to successfully persuade authorities, even when holding a knife above the body of a dead person. They argued that the victim died because he "ran into the knife."[627] (Figure 5.12) Kim Sŏnghwan went a step further and accused the lawyers of only valuing money interests, questioning their high respect for the law, by illustrating a lawyer sprouting a fox tail, a symbol of deception and danger, which wags excitedly after Kobau presents him a check (bribe).[628] (Figure 5.13) While Kim Sŏnghwan's early cartoons warned of overly zealous punishment of political opponents in the aftermath of the April Revolution, he supported the trials of those responsible for the inflicting of violence. Like with most of the public, with each new trial and acquittal, Kim Sŏnghwan grew increasingly frustrated. He drew Mr. Kobau throwing a radio out of his house after hearing an acquittal announcement, which was joined by a rejection by both a beggar and a thief showing the extent of betrayal to Korean society.[629] (Figure 5.14) After successive trials failed to bring to justice the officials who directed or followed through with the orders to fire upon protestors, the trials appeared more of a continuation of the Rhee regime and lack of accountability.[630] The "so-called" purge of the military and police also produced

[626] Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, 55.
[627] Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, 50. *Seoul Kyŏngje sinmun* September 6, 1960.
[628] *Tonga ilbo* September 9, 1960.
[629] *Tonga ilbo* October 11, 1960.
[630] Nam Kihyŏn, "'Kyŏngmudae ap palp'osagŏn' ch'aegimja ch'ŏbŏl chaep'an e kwanhan koch'al [A Study of the Punishing Trial for a Person in Charge of a 'Shooting Incident in front of Gyeongmudae']," *Inmun kwahak yŏn'gu* 22 (n.d.): 109–44.

incomplete and perceived "inappropriate" punishments, though a large number of policemen were dismissed. Police involved in the election rigging and violent suppression received a simple dismissal without prosecution or punishment. In the military, the older, "more corrupt" generals retained their positions while the younger military officers were removed, which caused bitterness that helped contribute to the support of the May 16 military coup.[631] Park Chung Hee would respond to this sense of injustice by implementing a "revolutionary court" to try those responsible for injustices under the Rhee regime, something that would earn him substantial and much needed support during the initial stages of his regime. Though Park's revolutionary court led to the imprisonment and execution of major players, many who held power or profited from the Rhee regime still escaped punishment and rebuilt their economic or political authority under Park Chung Hee's policies. While some of these acts of justice provided temporary satisfaction, many intellectuals and participants in the April Revolution felt this failure to properly punish the instigators of violence and repression under both the "open" Chang administration and "closed" Park regime, in the sense of the military junta suppression and later authoritarian policies, only further cemented the idea of an "incomplete revolution" and feeling of disillusionment.

5.4 *Contentious and Taboo Subjects: Unification with North Korea and Normalization with Japan*

Two themes that would become contentious subjects connected with the movement and embody the sense of liberty—especially in the liberty to be critical—associated with the April Revolution era were the unification with North Korea and the normalization with Japan. This was especially true with the topic of reunification, which was previously restricted to the March North policy touted by Rhee until the Progressive Party (Chinbodang) emerged and made

[631] Kim, *The Politics of Democratization in Korea*, 37–38.

significant electoral success in the late 1950s and part of the reason for Cho Pongam's execution by Rhee. While the lifting of domestic restrictions created a space for discussion, the international situation also provided more conducive atmosphere for exploration of policy. With the launching of Sputnik in 1957 and the visit of Khrushchev to the United States in 1959 as part of negotiating a future East-West summit on peace and disarmament, the reduction in the global consequences of nuclear war lessened some of the fears of world-wide war.[632] The idea that South Korea would eventual participate in a world-wide war on the side of the U.S. was an assumption that lay at the core of the March North policy with South Korea playing a critical role in the "inevitable" conflict as members of an international retaliatory force. However, the success of North Korea's economic policies and a perception of openness in the new regime made Kim Ilsung more willing for direct negotiations between the two leaders or a national committee of representatives.[633] Though Chang Myŏn would reject Kim Ilsung's proposals, the openness to debate unification in the Second Republic allowed some politicians and intellectuals to disagree and insist on mutual exchange.[634]

The unification movement would become a heated topic amongst students and intellectuals and constitute one of the "shocks" in the realm of permissible discussion, since unification had become a taboo subject by the end of the 1950s.[635] The National Unification Federation (*Minjok t'ongil yŏnmaeng*, NUF), created by Seoul National University students on

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[632] Seuk-Ryule Hong, "Reunification Issues and Civil Society in South Korea: The Debates and Social Movement for Reunification during the April Revolution Period, 1960-1961," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 61, no. 4 (November 2002): 1239–40.
[633] Hong, 1240. On August 14, 1960, Kim Il Sung suggested a new reunification formula called the "provisionary federation proposal." Within the proposal, he reaffirmed North Korea's previous position of support of reunification through direct negotiation between the two Koreas. If the South Korea government could not accept the proposal promptly as a preliminary measure, Kim Il Sung proposed that a National Committee of representatives from the two governments could be established. Kim Il Sung believed this committee may establish mutual exchanges that would help create an atmosphere conducive toward reunification.
[634] Hong, 1241.
[635] Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, *Hyŏngmyŏng kwa usŭm*, 206.

November 1st as a continuation of unification discussions during the July 29th General Election, spread to universities across the country, and the NUF emerged as the de facto leader of the student movement.[636] Though students would help increase the debate on the unification issue, it did not completely translate to free discussion overall or a willingness in the larger society to follow an open exchange between the divided countries. This hesitation was reflected in the editorial cartoons, which often viewed the unification discussion in less favorable light. Kim Sŏnghwan chose to address other topics with only a few nods to the subject of unification. Even Kim Sŭngok, a student at SNU, devoted only a few cartoons to the subject of unification with a less-than-optimistic point of view, which reflects the long history of tensions regarding the issue. A couple of days following the creation of the NUF, Kim Sŭngok published a split cartoon depicting a debate in the National Assembly on unification and a parallel debate amongst mice over how to deal with meeting a cat, a nod to the potential danger and impractical nature of debates on unification lacking actionable plans.[637] (Figure 5.15) Though each proposed a means by which to neutralize some of the threat, no viable proposal for how to actually unify came forward with each side resigning to the status-quo.

Slightly before Kim Sŭngok published this cartoon, on October 20, 1960, the U.S. Democratic Senator Mike Mansfield, presented a report on China and Japan to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that suggested a permanent Austrian-style neutrality reunification plan on the Korean peninsula. This would create a big wave of support for the idea of unification rooted in the possibility of U.S. support and success in its implementation, since Mansfield would likely become Secretary of State if the U.S. Democratic Party emerged as the winners in

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[636] Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, 206.
[637] Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, 204. *Seoul Kyŏngje sinmun* November 3, 1960.

the November elections.[638] Though Dean Rusk received the Secretary of State position, Mansfield still held influence as Senate Majority Leader, keeping the possibility alive in the general public. In early 1961, when polled the question in the *Hanguk Ilbo* (Korea Daily) “If the two Koreas are unified, what do you think of Korea’s neutralization?”, 32.1% supported the idea, 39.6% opposed, and 26.5% were uncertain.[639] While a support of one-third of the population polled is remarkable considering the taboo nature of alternative proposals to Rhee’s March North policy for the last ten years, the lack of majority and that 26.5% expressed uncertainty showed a lingering distrust in the viability of unification and a lack of understanding in the neutralization policy proposal. Part of this rested upon the belief that with a slacking economy in South Korea, unification favored North Korea. South Korea feared becoming overwhelmed or losing sovereignty in a general election, and a similar fear echoed in the post-liberation period and part of the justification for separation and continued division under Rhee’s control. When faced with the unification issue, the South Korean government inserted into a November 1960 proposal, “according to the constitution of South Korea” as a clause to assure the “general election of the two Koreas [was held] under UN surveillance.”[640] This insertion guaranteed the ability to shut down the process if things sway favorably toward North Korea. The possibility that anti-communist forces in South Korea would win was uncertain so this measure was defensive.

Kim Sŏnghwan reflected the skeptical attitude and general lack of policy understanding in a discussion between a drunk Mr. Kobau and his wife.[641] (Figure 5.16) He asked her thoughts on both the Korean unification issue and the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty. Instead of joining in on the conversation, she admonishes him by trying to redirect the conversation to more

[638] Ch’ŏn Chŏnghwan, 210–11.
[639] Ch’ŏn Chŏnghwan, 211.
[640] Ch’ŏn Chŏnghwan, 213.
[641] *Tonga ilbo* November 5, 1960.

practical topics such as getting some more coal briquets and hot peppers for kimchi as preparations for winter. With the dog yapping in the background, they both accused each other of "irrelevant conversation." This figurative tension between political and practical debate remained a consistent theme in Kim Sŏnghwan's cartoons during the Second Republic and into the Park regime. In these images, he generally left the idea slightly ambiguous as to whether political or practical conversation held more weight with Mr. Kobau's drunken state lessening his status as a household authority figure. However, on the whole, Mr. Kobau, who reflected Kim Sŏnghwan's general beliefs, tended to take the political stance in debates, leaving the contradictions to minor characters. By positing the image of political responsibility in the body of the main character, he created a role-model as to what a democratic society should value while still acknowledging alternative points of view that allowed him to remain an enduring, relatable character. This round-about means of bringing up controversial subjects would also become a tactic used during the Park regime when broaching taboo or controversial topics often reflected Kim Sŏnghwan's frustrations over the lack of debate than an admonishment of the topic.

The unification drive would lose momentum in the 1960s during the Park Chung Hee era as Park's policies and discourse on anti-communism took hold on progressive and conservative intellectuals alike. However, the resistance to Japanese cultural and economic imperialism, a subject less targeted by censors, would resurface again periodically with the peak movement occurring during the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty negotiations of 1964 and 1965, which will be discussed in chapter seven. The topic of Japan, which was seen both as the corruptive source of authoritarianism and the transformative potential of modernity, played prominently in the cartoons of Kim Sŏnghwan and fellow intellectuals during this period. The negative aspects of Japanese influence tended to center upon a return to political or economic imperialism.

Students and intellectuals spoke of government institutions, such as the police force, as legacies of colonialism and "ghosts of old-fashioned Japanese traditions."[642] In *Tonga ilbo* editorial series published in May 8, 1960 and illustrated by Kim Sŏnghwan as part of a discussion of the issues needing to be addressed in the new government, the editorial blamed the Japanese legacy for the continuation of torture in catching "criminals" and usage of investigative techniques based on "hunches" in contrast to "modern," U.S. investigative procedures. Like in the colonial times, the police served as a means for assuring government rather than the people's safety and stability. Therefore, the article called for the creation of a Central Public Safety Commission where the police were "of the people" and not a "people's stick" like in disciplining a child, a reflection of the paternalistic heritage of the Japanese colonial state.[643]

Japan also saw a re-evaluation and positive refashioning of its public image during the Second Republic. With the removal of Rhee, who personally sabotaged diplomatic negotiations with Japan and infamously declared during the Korean War he "would rather concede defeat to the Communist North Koreans than enlist Japanese support in the war effort," the change in government allowed for the possibility of a reopening of trade and relations.[644] As mentioned by the *Tonga ilbo*, "through the April 26 Democratic Revolution…the relationship with Japan switched to 'pro-Japanese' at once."[645] In an immediate response to this openness in attitude, the Japanese government requested: "1) the establishment of a Japanese Representative Department stationed in Seoul; 2) full release of the [detained] fishermen; 3) permission for entry of representative Japanese reporters and businessmen."[646] Though Japan would not receive a

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[642] *Tonga ilbo* May 8, 1960.
[643] *Tonga ilbo* May 8, 1960.
[644] Victor D. Cha, *Alignment Despite Antagonism: The United States-Korea-Japan Security Triangle* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 10.
[645] *Tonga ilbo* May 5, 1960.
[646] *Tonga ilbo* May 5, 1960. The subject of the Peace Line, declared by President Rhee in 1952, and its fishing territory would remain one of the hottest subjects of debate with Korea-Japan Normalization talks. About 3,000

permanent diplomatic post in Korea until the signing of the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty in 1965 and fishing violations of territorial waters would periodically emerge as points of contention even after the signing of the treaty, the loosening of business and cultural restrictions saw immediate impact. Despite strict regulations and bans on cultural importations following liberation, Japanese products still circulated in the black market, and the removal of Rhee only accelerated the movement.

Similar to the fears of an imbalance of economic power with North Korea, many South Korean policy makers and business owners feared Japan's swallowing of South Korea's weaker economy, making South Korea subject to newer forms of Japanese economic imperialism. The often-superior quality of Japanese products and technology steadily grew with the help of U.S. capital. In Japan, the U.S. focused on economic state-building practices as part of the policy switch in 1947. This prioritizing economic development. The 1947 switch in U.S. policy in Japan, often labeled as the "Reverse Course," viewed economic accomplishments tantamount to fighting communism and a measure of democratic success. With both nations falling under U.S. Mutual Defense Agreements, the pressure to establish friendly relations between the nations continuously surfaced, and the U.S. and Japan both saw economic ties as key to cementing anti-communist bonds.

This was complicated by Japan's stance of returning Zainichi Koreans to North Korean territory, which South Korea disputed as a slight that indicated the North Korean regime as superior to South Korea.[647] Though unable to prevent the action, the issue still surfaced, even creating tensions within some of the student activists and members of the "Patriotic Youth," who

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Japanese fishermen were captured in Korea in the 1950s and early 1960s until the abolition of the Peace Line in accordance with the 1965 treaty. Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, *Hyŏngmyŏng kwa usŭm*, 218. The legacy of this tension still existed today in diplomatic talks and the controversy surrounding Dokdo.

[647] Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, 58.

protested in front of the hotel during the Japanese ambassador's visit shouting and holding signs that said, "Japan must apologize for 36 years of aggression" and "Don't make our Brother Communist Slaves."[648] Between 1960 and 1961, approximated 70,000 Zainichi repatriated.[649] This dropped significantly the following year. The repatriation program effectively ended in the early 1960s when the 1965 Normalization Treaty provided incentives for South Korean citizenship. Furthermore, a decrease in North Korean economic situation and the mistreatment of Zainichi returnees made the prospect of North Korean repatriation less appealing.[650]

While many felt trepidation toward diplomatic contact, Japanese cultural products saw a rise in popularity. The loosening of the restrictions along with the appeal of their "forbidden nature" likely contributed to the demand. Kim Sŏnghwan mocked this draw of the forbidden, even if the content might be "poison," by showing an illustrative comparison of a fishmonger peddling a blowfish, a potentially deadly fish if consumed improperly and a delicacy in Japan. (Figure 5.17) This only made Mr. Kobau wish to eat it more. He then meets a bookseller of Japanese novels, who claimed the books to be "enemy literature," which should not be read.[651] Like a crazed obsessed person, Mr. Kobau demands to purchase the entire supply. Kim Sŏnghwan parodied the rise in Japan's popularity as an "infestation" to the level of language with Mr. Kobau witnessing a man cursing in Japanese, a woman listening to a Japanese song on the radio and even a dog barking in a Japanese-style.[652] (Figure 5.18) In general, Kim

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[648] Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, 61.

[649] Rennie Moon, "Koreans in Japan," *SPICE Digest*, Fall 2010, https://spice.fsi.stanford.edu/docs/koreans_in_japan.

[650] Zainichi faced societal, political, and economic discrimination in both South and North Korea in the 1960s and 1970s. Though some South Koreans used Zainichi contacts to try to improve relations with Japanese businessmen, in general, Zainichi were treated with suspicion in Japan, North and South Korea. The North Korean class system also treated Zainichi as second-class citizens and as potential spies for South Korean or Japan.

[651] *Tonga ilbo* September 30, 1960.

[652] *Tonga ilbo* December 29, 1960. The onomatopoeia of the Japanese dog barking, "hwang, hwang," differs from "mŏng, mŏng" typically used to represent a dog bark in Korean. "Hwang" gives the implication of the term "king," and as an expression, it can mean "frequently" or "occasionally."

Sŏnghwan's cartoons take a negative though light-hearted view of Japanese influence. As a warning, his imagery reflects the danger perceived in unquestioningly accepting Japanese products, which he and other intellectuals debated as possible openings into cultural imperialism and was also brought up during the student New Life Movement. The *Sasanggye* published an article in November 1960 that attributed this trend of aping Japan to something "not normal but dangerous in combination with inferiority, superiority, and repulsion."[653] Agreeing with Kim Sŏnghwan, the author saw the attraction to Japan like "a youth group who is curious about the forbidden" and the "middle aged with nostalgia for Japanese culture." The nostalgia was presented as particularly "dangerous" "because national ethnic consciousness is incompatible with an ethnic inferiority complex."[654] Articles and cartoons like those above sparked debate and criticism in the media and amongst intellectuals concerning a resurgence of cultural imperialism, which would re-emerge as a key issue in the Korea-Japan Normalization talks and protests in 1964 and 1965, discussed in chapter seven.

During the colonial period, Japan tried to eradicate the usage of the Korean language, especially through the "national language movement" (*kokugo undō*), as part of its assimilation policy through publication, education, and practice.[655] Soft, cultural products served as effective gateways of acceptance, converting even former anti-colonialists into supporters of the Japanese empire. Though suspicious of uncritical reception of Japanese cultural products, Kim Sŏnghwan was not anti-Japanese. Like many of his generation, he read Japanese and paid attention to Japanese trends in literature and art. However, he felt that such influences should be measured according to their own merit and not accepted simply because of fashion or a mistaken concept

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[653] Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, *Hyŏngmyŏng kwa usŭm*, 62.
[654] Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, 63.
[655] Leo T. S. Ching, *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 92.

of superiority. As described in chapter two, Kobau, as a character, represented the resistance and strength of the Korean character against the idea of "inferiority," so Kim Sŏnghwan often used him as a critical eye against this humiliating attitude in relation to Japanese and, to a lesser extent, Western culture.

5.5 *Beggars and Despondency: Poverty and Suicide*

One of the most persistent issue reflected in Mr. Kobau and other editorial cartoons during the Second Republic was poverty. The unemployed, beggars and debt collectors continued to appear regularly. As analyzed in Ch'ŏn's work and my examinations of editorial cartoons, child beggars started to also show up in comics, seen as orphans, shoe shiners, and newspaper carriers. Beggars surged in the early 1960s, with numbers reaching 2,400 in Seoul and over 25,000 nationwide by the end of 1960, almost three times higher than in 1955.[656] Private and public assistance was also slim. Out of the 25,000 homeless, only about 7,000 people found assistance and accommodations through the one national and 37 private facilities available. Corruption also abounded as foreign and domestic funds frequently disappeared. The *Chosŏn ilbo* reported in December 1960 that the 37 million hwan raised during the 1958 campaign for protecting child beggars remained unaccounted for, which was only one of several scandals that appeared involving misdirection of relief funds during First and Second Republic.[657] Private donations to beggars also started to decrease with the new government failing to address the problem.

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[656] Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, *Hyŏngmyŏng kwa usŭm*, 158. *Chosŏn ilbo* October 30, 1960 and *Tonga ilbo* December 22, 1960.
[657] Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, 160. *Chosŏn ilbo* December 17, 1960.

As Ch'ŏn shows, Kim Sŭngok highlighted this by showing Pagoda approaching a minister to ask him about how he will address the orphan issue as the cold weather increased. (Figure 5.19) The minister does not respond to the question, but instead, he borrows Pagoda's cane to walk past a street beggar as though he is a blind person. After passing, he excuses these actions by saying that "I can't see those kinds of kids because my soul aches when I see them."[658] Thus, the minister figuratively turns a blind eye to the issue. Kim Sŏnghwan also tended to draw beggar characters sympathetically or as foils to emphasize a lack of societal consideration. While these editorial cartoons echoed some of the attitudes toward child beggars as a social problem in need of greater compassion, child beggars did not share a universal sympathy. Media often categorized them as "vagrants" and "hoodlums," forming or joining criminal organizations. Stories circulated that painted the practice of shining shoes or selling newspapers as covers for pickpocketing.[659] Even Kim Sŏnghwan occasionally drew pictures of children acting as or accompanying thieves. The association with criminality darkened the images of children and possibly undercut some of the attempts to elicit sympathy. With a decrease in private, public, and U.S. aid, children became easy victims to criminal organizations and policy often favored detaining children rather than providing relief.[660] The matter of youth beggars would continue into the 1960s and become intrinsically linked to the politics of hunger and appear as reoccurring image and issue during the Park Chung Hee era.

Suicide also became an increasing social problem during the Second Republic as uncertainty and poor economic conditions also plagued those who once held power and privilege. This brought about the same feelings of desperation experienced by the poor and

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[658] Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, 160. S*eoul Kyŏngjae sinmun* October 26, 1960.
[659] Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, 161–62.
[660] Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, 160.

marginalized, leading to both high profile and familial suicide cases. A slowing economic growth rate, a decrease in the per capital GNP, a rise in unemployment, and an increase grain prices, brought on by a reduction in U.S. agricultural aid and years of domestic corruption, contributed toward the general misery, hunger, and feeling of helplessness.[661] Newspapers flooded with stories of unemployed or poverty struck fathers taking their own lives and sometimes family members as well to varying degrees of success.[662] The expression "to eat rat poison" (*chwiyak mŏkta*) became a common euphemism for suicide along with quinine, a drug used for malaria.[663] Kim Sŏnghwan illustrated this link between suicide by quinine and the decline in economic conditions through showing a destitute man who was refused service at a pharmacy.[664] (Figure 5.20) At first, Mr. Kobau grew angry at the shopkeepers' lack of respect in associating poverty with thievery, so he forced the poor man to return to the shop. Upon

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[661] Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, 166. After the South Korean economic peak in 1957, the growth rate slowed with the most difficult period between 1960 and 1961. In 1960, the total GNP grew 2.1 percent, but the GNP fell 0.6 percent to 80 dollars. The interest tax burden rose to 16.5 percent, which was up from the ten percent rate in 1957. The official unemployment rate was at 8.2 percent, but the hidden unemployment was no less than 26 percent. The US sharply reduced agricultural aid by 54 percent, which resulted in a 4 percent year-on-year decline in rice production and 0.3 percent in barley production. The national wholesale price inflation rate was 13.3 percent.

[662] Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, 167–68. On August 24, 1960, Pak Sangbong, a poverty-stricken greengrocer, and his 18 and 16-year-old daughters after eating poison, leapt off a cliff in Seoul. In his suicide note, he wrote, "A man, born with the fate of a household, without any attachment to life will go together with his young children" (*Chosŏn ilbo* August 24, 1960). A 43-year-old man and his 33-year-old wife in Busan took poison due to harsh circumstance (*Chosŏn ilbo* September 15, 1960); a 33-year-old miner, despondent over life, committed suicide through setting off a bomb (*Chosŏn ilbo* September 21, 1960). On September 30, Kim Yongjun, a 32-year-old from Busan, attempted to commit suicide with his family. His family consisted of 11 people, which he arose one-by-one and called them to an area packed with dynamite. However, upon realizing his intensions, they quickly fled, but two people still received serious injury (*Chosŏn ilbo* October 1, 1960). During Ch'usŏk, when the spirit of the holiday can cause deeper feelings of alienation and frustration amongst the poor, Kim Kwanhyŏn (22-years), committed suicide with his mother (42-years); Kim Hasi, left a suicide note to his wife saying he was sorry he could not pay the tax to his landlord; an unemployed father committed suicide because he could not purchase the dressings for Ch'usŏk for his son and daughter (*Tonga ilbo* October 6, 1960). In November 1960, the parents of an elementary school student committed suicide together because they failed to pay the school fees. Kim Yunt'ae, a police investigator of fourteen years, shot himself in his head (*Chosŏn ilbo* November 4, 1960); he was followed by ten days later by another officer who committed suicide over poverty as well (*Chosŏn ilbo* November 11, 1960). According to the *Chosŏn ilbo*, 146 people committed suicide between July to September in Ch'ungch'ŏng namdo alone; among them, 81 were unemployed and 34 were tenant farmers (*Chosŏn ilbo* October 22, 1960). On the Yŏngdo Bridge in Busan, between April and December 1960, 78 people leapt into the sea. These suicide trends would continue through the early 1960s.

[663] Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, 168.

[664] *Tonga ilbo* October 9, 1960.

requesting a packet of quinine, the pharmacist appeared panicked and declared he has none available. Realizing the mistake, Mr. Kobau explains to the customer that the pharmacist did not see him as a thief. Instead, he feared he might use the quinine for suicide, which sent "chills" up the customer's spine. Therefore, the connection between suicide and poverty is made literally and visually clear. The reference to the thievery also gives a subtle nod to the usage of suicide by officials caught in corruption schemes to escape from societal or governmental punishment.

While not a new subject in Mr. Kobau cartoons, the increase in suicides since the late 1950s became a frequent dark image of warning and measure of the government's or societies lack of care and response toward unemployment and poverty. Suicide was seen as indicative of the failings of the capitalistic economy, and references to suicide often contained an implicit critique of government policy, which politicized an already sensitive subject. In addition to providing topical responses to newspaper reports on suicide, a function of the editorial cartoon genre, Kim Sŏnghwan also used suicide to highlight political or social issues as unreasonable by showing attempted or "fake" suicide as an extreme reaction to a practice or policy. In one example, when Mr. Kobau was almost caught by the police during curfew hours, he stood upon a phone pole and pretended to hang himself to avoid being taken into custody.[665] (Figure 5.21) The issue of curfew repeatedly materializes in Mr. Kobau cartoons, with this somewhat insensitive play on "suicide" as a sign that the enforcement of curfew has gone too far. Kim Sŏnghwan would continue to use the visual image of suicide to emphasize societal issues throughout the span of Mr. Kobau publications.

Kim Sŏnghwan's ability to easily utilize suicide within the cartoon form shows the pervasiveness of the act as well as the various perspectives on the act of suicide. While cartoons

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[665] *Tonga ilbo* February 26, 1960.

highlighting a general rise in suicide would showcase the economic suffering and despair that might have led to this final solution, the act of suicide, as shown above, did not always imply despair. In the case of activists or "fake suicides," like shown above, suicide sometimes indicated an act of defiance or protest. This could produce a powerful effect and a means to motivate action by highlighting a core issue and equating the stakes to death. Park Taehyŏn described this "death drive" as a characteristic of those who acted within and experienced the April Revolution. In a Freudian inspired analysis, he described this as humanity's propensity toward repetitive self-destructive behaviors, which led to a sense of "life-or-death" struggle in students toward anti-dictatorship that later needed to be repressed and domesticated through government action.[666]

Throughout the 1960s, the suicide motif permeated literature of those labeled as the "April Revolution Generation," including authors such as Yi Ch'ŏngjun, Ch'oe Inhun, and Kim Sŭngok. In the literary scholar Song Chuhyŏn's study on the "Ethics of Suicide in Korean novels in the 1960s," she described the theme of suicide as part of a "collective ritual" to help cope with the "chaos and scars of the war in the 1950s" and as a symptom of modernity that produced an "ambivalent and contradictory feelings between growth and resistance."[667] The dilemma of modernity and the broken promises of increased happiness and quality of life that modernity failed to produce, which, instead, created feelings of alienation, became a dominating theme in 1960s novels with suicide as the ultimate and collective manifestation of this disillusionment.[668]

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[666] Pak Taehyŏn, "4-wŏl hyŏngmyŏng kwa chugŭm ch'ungdong: 1960-yŏndae ch'amyŏ chisigin ŭi chŏngsin sajŏk simch'ŭng e taehan siron [April Revolution and Death Impulse: An Essay on the Intellectual Deepness of Participant Intellectuals in the 1960s]," *Han'guk munhak iron kwa pip'yŏng* 63 (June 2014): 433–62.
[667] Song Chuhyŏn, "1960-yŏndae Han'guk hyŏndae sosŏl e nat'anan chasal ŭi yullihak [The Ethics in Suicide in Korean Novels in the 1960s]," *Minjok munhwa nonch'ong* 58 (December 2014): 584.
[668] For further discussion on the dilemma of modernity in 1960s novels, see: Kang Usŏk, "Uri modŏnijŭm sosŏl ŭi t'ongsijŏk ŭimi koch'al: 'ilsangsŏng, tongilsŏng, yongmang' ŭl chungsim ŭro [A Study on the Analysis of Modernism Novels by Diachronic Meaning: Centering on 'Everydayness, Identity, and Desire']," *Paedalmal* 32 (2003): 229–51; Cho Sŏnhŭi, "Kim Sŭngok ch'ogi sosŏl yŏn'gu [A Study on Kim Sŭngok's Early Novels]," *Ŏmun nonch'ong [The Journal of Korean Language and Literature]* 30 (February 2017): 165–93.

While Kim Sŭngok's later novels would explore more deeply the connections between poverty, suicidal despair, and modernity, some of these concepts also emerged in his editorial cartoons. In late October, Mr. Pagoda observes three gravesites.[669] (Figure 5.22) The first is a man bitter over the death of a famous politician; the second shows a woman crying over the grave of a popular musician; the third witnesses two friends lamenting the death of a friend. All three deaths implicitly bear the mark of suicide, evoking the deaths of politicians and artists in the news who saw a decline in fame and fortune. The third death showcases the suicide death caused by poverty in two panels. The friends lament the fact that the deceased "He didn't have a chance through a demonstration to be sent abroad." For many poor Koreans, the dream of relief from poverty rested solely on demonstration and immigration, with the latter as the idealized choice.[670] The dream of immigration and the lament of family members whose children never returned home after studying abroad became a regular topic in Mr. Kobau cartoons as well throughout the 1960s, which created a virtual "death" within the family, making immigration a bittersweet subject, especially when immigration failed to materialize into the wealth imagined. When demonstrations failed to produce relief as well, Kim Sŭngok and other intellectuals of this period would turn their frustrations inward to create narratives of "repeating structures of death."[671] The repetition of death in literary works and ability of authors to absorb this suicidal narrative allowed them to accept the feelings of survivor's guilt from the war and revolutionaries' sacrifice. The final words of Mr. Pagoda link the meaning of suicide to the hardships of life, and, ultimately, the grave.

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[669] Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, *Hyŏngmyŏng kwa usŭm*, 164. *Seoul Kyŏngjae sinmun* October 21, 1960.
[670] Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, 169.
[671] Cho Sŏnhŭi, "Kim Sŭngok ch'ogi sosŏl yŏn'gu," 193.

Poverty was the core hardship that made up political and social subjectivity of this era. For intellectuals, like Ham Seokheon, it formed the basis of the critique of capitalism and "liberal democracy," who saw the April Revolution's focus on representational democracy as limited and the free market as hindrance to the dignity of humanity and civil liberties.[672] The idea of a "free democracy" rested upon the interpretation that the lower-class members of society desired an "escape from poverty" above all else and to fulfill the true spirit of the April Revolution required the task of "liberating the population from the vicious cycle of poverty by establishing an independent economy and achieving industrial development."[673] Ham Sŏkhon and other intellectuals saw the solution in the dissolution of capitalism and establishment of democratic socialism based on industrialization, which shows differing points of views on the direction and character of democracy.[674] The core notion of "economy as top priority" prevailed throughout the discourse—capitalistic and socialist democrats alike—with an almost unwavering belief in the idea of "development at all cost."[675] Therefore, it became the primary notion discussed and pursued by the government of the Second Republic, who would try to revive a development plan originally drafted and neglected by the previous Rhee government. However, they failed to implement it in time. The idea "economy first" became so intrinsically linked to the Second Republic that the worsening of economy conditions only managed to create the belief in their inability to lead and, thus, justify Park's May 16th military government, who would expand and utilize the idea of "economy first" and "development at all cost" as part of his five-year development plans and reason for rule.

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[672] Yi Sangrok, "Kyŏngje cheilchuŭi ŭi sahoejŏk kusŏng kwa `saengsanjŏk chuch'e` mandŭlgi: 4.19~5.16sigi hyŏngmyŏng ŭi chŏnyu rŭl tullŏssan kyŏnghap kwa chŏllyak tŭl [The Rise of the social formation of the Notion of the 'Economy as Top Priority,' and the Creation of 'Productive Subjects': Strategies and Competitions to Appropriate the Meaning of Revolutions, from April 19th to May 16th]," *Yŏksa munje yŏn'gu* 25 (2011): 116–59.
[673] Yi Sangrok, 116.
[674] Yi Sangrok, "Kyŏngje cheilchuŭi ŭi sahoejŏk kusŏng."
[675] Yi Sangrok, 116.

5.6 *The Creation of the "Fake News" and "Chaotic Press" Narrative*

Though the press would become a future scapegoat for the perceived failures and "chaos" of the Second Republic, periodicals enjoyed an unprecedented moment of liberalization and freedom following the April Revolution. From this freedom and euphoric optimism, there would emerge two types of narratives found in most recollections and scholarly literature. The first narrative describes the actions of the press as "liberated" and emphasizes the freedom to criticize and report on taboo subjects, as I do in this chapter. The second narrative views it as a period of unbridled passion, sometimes bordering on recklessness. While most writers and scholars tend to show a mixture of both narratives, the second becomes the most prevalent during the Park Chung Hee era when he would use it to justify the reason for implementing censorship laws and press ethics committees, as will be discussed in later chapters. Though this narrative will grow in prominence over the next decade, almost overshadowing the first narrative of "freedom," it did not spontaneously develop out of Park Chung Hee, but it also had its roots in the Second Republic, including criticisms from contemporary reporters.

The myth of the "chaotic press" and concept of "fake news" evolved from what was seen as unhealthy practices of false reporting and blackmail among less scrupulous and conscientious journalists who had recently acquired positions when the government replaced USAMGIK Ordinance 88 with less restrictive registration laws, described earlier. As one Korean newspaper publisher reported the situation, "The press especially enjoyed an unprecedented degree of freedom, prestige, and authority—press powers in some cases being absolute."[676] It was this "absolute" power that would be seen as "dangerous" since, like authoritarian power of the

[676] Youm, *Press Law in South Korea*, 49.

government, it had the potential for abuse. The number of regular newspapers increased by 9.5 times to number 1,694 by 30 December 1960, with the employment of around 160,000 reporters, and the number of news agencies increased 19.5 times.[677] In addition, irregular publications also grew. In the mind of established journalists, this set a dangerous president as newly established periodicals could pass any employee off as journalists. They viewed this as increasing the numbers of pseudo-media and mudding the waters for professionally qualified journalists, which led to a wholesale criticism of all journalists.[678]

The almost unlimited press freedom produced some undesirable side effects that led to a perspective that it diminished the overall quality of journalism. As described by Kyo Ho Youm in *Press Law in South Korea*, "unqualified, sometimes disreputable, businessmen found that they could exploit the newly found freedom and make easy money as journalists. Some of these 'journalists' used their positions to extort sources."[679] Businesses put out fake signboards and approached people using falsified or easily obtained journalist's cards. Professor John Kie-Chiang Oh clarified the situation in *Democracy on Trial*:

> Few of the new 'publications' had printing facilities, and some had no fixed places of business. Many of them never printed a single edition; some distributed a few mimeographed sheets only. Their principal business, and in some instances their only business was blackmail. Furthermore, it was an open secret that money was flowing into some of these publications from the leftist elements among Korean residents in Japan, who took advantage of the some-what improved relations between Korea and Japan under the Chang government.[680]

The echo of false reporting would sometimes be launched by politicians and authorities facing criticism on topics. As mentioned above, claims circulated concerning these unscrupulous "journalists" as abusing the free press for profit and that they were simply "businessmen"

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[677] Han Wŏnyŏng, *Han'guk sinmun chŏnsa*, 648; Youm, *Press Law in South Korea*, 50.
[678] Han Wŏnyŏng, *Han'guk sinmun chŏnsa*, 648.
[679] Youm, *Press Law in South Korea*, 50.
[680] Youm, 50.

(blackmailers or profiteers) in disguise. The rumor of connections to Japan and leftist, possibly Communist, elements also did not improve the image of the press, since anticommunism still held strong with the majority of the public, even if it was questioned by some reformist members of the media. The mass production and the newness of the many periodicals made it difficult to establish legitimacy within what was increasingly viewed as a muddy pool. These rumors of falsified reporting would cause some people to lose faith in the industry and even fall into contempt.

The proliferation of "fake" people, including journalists, became a reoccurring theme in Kim Sŏnghwan's editorial cartoons during this period and reflected the many reports of false impersonations in the media as well as the diffused sense of authority felt as the multitude of voices seemed to drown out the legitimate ones. Disgusted by some of the practices of businessmen and groups exploiting the reputations of the April Revolution (or journalists), Kim Sŏnghwan illustrated the ghost of those killed during the uprising carrying the April Revolution memorial stone and smashing the head of a man posing as the Assistant Administrator (*kansa*) of an (April) Revolution organization, who was attempting to get the right to participate in a lucrative bidding. (Figure 5.23) The ghost shouts, "Bastard! You'd rather sell this gravestone!"[681] Kim Sŏnghwan further elaborates this idea of the proliferation of false people by showing a fake pharmacist caught by a fake detective who is caught by a fake reporter who is finally outed by the only real individual amongst them, a beggar.[682] (Figure 5.24) In this comic, Kim Sŏnghwan expresses not only the rampant spread and usage of falsified authority in the Second Republic, but he also attempts to redirect the conversation toward the main issue of poverty with the beggar proclaiming proudly that he is the real one. While scandals involving

[681] *Tonga ilbo* October 2, 1960.
[682] *Tonga ilbo* December 14, 1960.

fake journalists and authorities disturbed Kim Sŏnghwan, his ultimate focus during this period tended toward economic issues and the promotion of free speech rather than a critical look at its abuses.

Nonetheless, as the narrative of the abuse of free speech grew, so did the ire of the public. This resulted in petitions and demonstrations in front of the National Assembly that blamed the newspapers for contributing to "chaos" and "national decay."[683] Some of these protests broke out into violence, and even turned against the older, more reputable press agencies, like the *Busan ilbo*, *Taejŏn ilbo*, *Hanguk ilbo,* and *Tonga ilbo*, which received threats, demonstrations, and interruptions in publications from students and community organizations.[684] Since established news agencies received more attention for infractions or, at least, provided easier means to focus attention on abuses, many of these grievances were misdirected or magnified because of the prominence of the news organization. However, some were legitimate and reflected both the growth in power and freedom of the media and the voice of the people. Though well-established news agencies and reporters generally tried to follow the codes of ethics as a means of maintaining public trust and authority, some still fell into poor practices though most of these could be categorized as partisanship or sensationalism, a typical accusation even launched against reputable news agencies that upheld press ethics commitments.

Occasional scandals erupted involving bribery or the misuse of press criteria, which contributed to the general mistrust of media. For example, in a scandal arising in late February

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[683] Han Wŏnyŏng, *Han'guk sinmun chŏnsa*, 649.

[684] Han Wŏnyŏng, 649. Some of the protests included: University students attacked the *Busan ilbo* was attacked on June 1 and closed for 20 days; students of Ch'ŏngju University protested and interrupted production of the *Taejŏn ilbo*; Yonsei University students protested the "offensive" serialization of the short story, "Hyŏngmyŏng chŏngya" [The Eve of the Revolution] by Chŏng Pisŏk, in the *Hanguk ilbo*, which resulted in an apology and cessation of the series; a protest group of more than 100 women demonstrated and postponed production of the *Minju sinmun*; the *Tonga ilbo* received threats and demonstrations from students of Sungmun High School; in Kanggyŏng and Nonsan, demonstrators chanted "kick out the fake reporters."

1961, a director in the *Tonga ilbo* was turned over to police after taking a reporter's salary from an unidentified weekly attached to the news organization. Kim Sŏnghwan parodied this internal scandal by showing a bureau chief inundated by reporters from a "firefighting newspaper," the "unemployed news," and "tin can [substandard] news." (Figure 5.25) When the bureau chief escapes home, a thief presents himself as a reporter from a "Minor Thieves' Newspaper."[685] In an almost ominous commentary on the status of journalism, Kim Sŏnghwan drew a false reporter attempting to enter a party for newspaper week. (Figure 5.26) The false reporter was promptly kicked out, and in retaliation, he decided to organize his own "fake reporter's party." At the front desk of the entrance to his party, the false reporter sits with a baton and promises that "if a real [reporter] comes, I'll not treat you well."[686] The cartoon reflects the escalating feelings of hostility and violence felt toward the press as well as the failed attempts of the established media to act as gatekeepers for news integrity. Even when the news exposed the "fake reporters," these "false journalists" still found ways to launch their presence in public. In Kim Sŏnghwan's image, their presence was more akin to a gangster as illustrated in the possession of the baton. In his point of view, the way that the "fake reporters" conducted business through threat or falsified reporting damaged the reputation of "real" journalists. This went beyond simple reputation. Their presence created an atmosphere of violence and retaliation against established news agencies that was reminiscent of the violence inflicted during the Rhee regime. Fears arose that violence against journalists was becoming, once again, the norm. The inability to distinguish between "false" and "real" reporting amongst the general public would become the most damaging legacy of the Second Republic, marring the concept of freedom of the press.

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[685] *Tonga ilbo* February 24, 1961.
[686] *Tonga ilbo* April 7, 1961.

This perceived inability for the media to police their own would become the justification for Park Chung Hee's press ethics policies and insistence on government over private control of the industry. The fight between the media's ability to self-govern its content and the government's attempt to control the enterprise would continuously re-emerge as the Park regime whittled away at free speech policies, press freedoms, unionization, and autonomous regulatory committees. This fight would define the practices of resistance press, including Kim Sŏnghwan and editorial journalists, until the mid-1970s when Park Chung Hee effectively muzzled the last public protests against media control, as will be discussed in later chapters. Part of the reason that these protests only occasionally succeeded and ultimately failed was because of the skewed pubic memories of falsified reporting and poor practices within a deregulated press seen in the Second Republic. The idea that the press lacked the ability to self-regulate was the most damaging effect of the Second Republic on freedom of the press, and it became so ingrained in the public memory that control of the media would become one of the first acts instigated under Park's military coup and reason for his continuous control. Within his writings and throughout his administration, Park Chung Hee would remind the public of the consequences of "chaos" and an unrestrained media. The more that he re-emphasized this narrative; the more the narrative became the reality. The media self-awareness of the press failures during the Second Republic and the constant battling of accusations of "fake news" by the administration made the fight for press autonomy a difficult sell except during times when public frustrations aligned with media interests as will be described in the following chapters.

5.7 *Conclusion*

Though the April Revolution would come to have a dark side to its narrative during the Park Chung Hee era, in the terms of the democracy movements in South Korea, the April Revolution exists as a moment of hope and possibility in the mythologization of the era. In scholarly terms, the movement and this era are generally characterized as one of the steps or junctures on the path to Korea's democratization, even if it often is seen as a "failed" process.[687] For Kim Sŏnghwan, he would hold the memory of this era and the student sacrifice leading up to it as sacred, reviving it periodically in his imagery throughout the Park Chung Hee period and until the democratization of South Korea in 1987. It became a beacon of hope and a reminder to authoritarian rulers, like Park Chung Hee, of the power of the people in their ability to destabilize a government when that government contradicts and fails to live up to the democratic values it claims or should claim.

As discussed in this chapter, that revolutionary image often manifested itself in the figure of a university student even though high school students, labor unions, and other major and minor activists played key roles in both the destabilization of Rhee's regime, discussed in chapter four, and the reform movements championed throughout this period. While the privileging of the university student within the narrative could genuinely be seen as erasing other voices, it would prove a powerful metaphorical image for editorial cartoons and future generations of activists. The idea of the "noble lion" and their "blood sacrifice" came out of the events of the April Revolution, but the perpetuation of these images in editorial cartoons and other forms of media would solidify this image. This concept of blood sacrifice and martyrdom are particularly potent images in drumming up sympathy and passion, especially in the case of

[687] Kim, *The Politics of Democratization in Korea*, 23–49.

the young. The deaths of youths—whether from political suicide like, Chŏn T'aeil, or government brutality, like with Kim Chuyul, Park Chonchol, Lee Hanyŏl—would enflame protestors and ignite key moments in the democratization process of South Korea.[688] Kim Sŏnghwan would use the idea of blood sacrifice and the image of the student as part of his cartoon repertoire of genre weapons against authoritarianism.

Three other topics emerge during this period that would come to characterize various contestations and junctures during the anti-authoritarian resistance movements and democratization process: unification; Japanese cultural and economic imperialism; and poverty. The struggle for reunification with North Korea as coinciding with the idea of democratization would develop within the campaigns of student groups and progressive parties, like the Socialist Mass Party and the Unification Socialist Party (*T'ongil sahoedang*), during the April Revolution period (1960-1961). The idea that the Rhee regime used the idea of the "communist" threat posed by North Korea to suppress opposition and the belief that "genuine democracy in Korea would be impossible to achieve without reconciliation between the two Koreas" became a key point in public gatherings and the promotion of diplomatic policies.[689] The framing of anti-communism as suppressing the ability for North and South Korea to unify would continue, though with great difficulty under the Park and Chun regimes, and unification would return as a key issue and powerful symbol in protesting authoritarian suppression and promoting "true" national independence during the democratic movements of the 1970s and 1980s.[690] Kim

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[688] As mentioned in chapter four, the death and cover-up of Kim Chuyul launched the Masan protests and provide the momentum leading up to the overthrow of Rhee. Chŏn T'aeil would serve as a symbol for the labor movement and the idea that contradictions between promise and practice within the government and law should be revealed and protested, which would become a key component of the democracy movement. The torture and coverup of the death of SNU student, Pak Chongchŏl, who was investigating the 1980 Kwangju Massacre, and the death due to a tear gas grenade of Yonsei University student, Lee Hanyŏl, helped ignite the flame of the June Democracy Movement of 1987.
[689] Kim, *The Politics of Democratization in Korea*, 39.
[690] Kim, 75 & 102.

Sŏnghwan would also incorporate the idea that anti-communism posed a threat to the ideology and practices of democracy into his cartoons and writings. Like many of his contemporaries, when he framed the idea of unification, it generally was within the context of democracy and the promotion of democracy. However, as a free topic for critique, the unification issue was difficult to explore and generally did not pass censors so the April Revolution period would constitute a unique moment when this issue could be expressed openly, as shown in the conversation between Kobau and his wife, without resulting in cleverly disguised metaphors.

Unlike the sensitive and often taboo issue of unification, critiques on Japanese economic imperialism and issues related to poverty would continue to show in future "Mr. Kobau" cartoons, which were generally "safe" topics for exploration. The concept of Japanese imperialism would return in force during the Korea-Japan Normalization talks of 1964 and 1965, discussed in chapter seven, which would be another key moment in South Korea's search for democracy and the birth of the *chaeya*, a nonparty opposition group and movement of activist intellectuals that Kim Sŏnghwan aligned closely in ideological and political focus.[691] Kim Sŏnghwan would repeat and reinforce these fears of Japanese economic and cultural domination that would underly the treaty protests and he cautioned during the Second Republic. He warned toward succumbing to the pressure to normalize relations without Japan first acknowledging and apologizing for wrongdoings of the colonial period, which was seen as an act of "humiliating diplomacy" done for material gain. While Kim Sŏnghwan would not aggressively pursue images promoting anti-Japanese nationalism during the Second Republic, the seeds of these ideas existed and were planted within his warnings of viewing Japanese cultural products as superior and succumbing to a belief in Korean cultural "inferiority." For Kim Sŏnghwan, these ideas

[691] Park, "Chaeya," 386–88.

should be resisted, and in planting this seed of resistance in the April Revolution period, he allowed it to germinate in the minds of readers and students drawn to cartoons before sprouting and growing like a weed within the diplomatic negotiations with Japan.

During the Second Republic, the image of prevailing poverty would start to form into a criticism toward a failure in the ability of the Chang government to successfully manage the economy. This idea would feed into the reasoning for "economy first" policies, which were first promoted by the Chang government and then enforced under Park Chung Hee. Nonetheless, these criticism of the policies and failures of Chang and the Democratic Party were not an attempt to promote the idea of revolution, as Park would brand his military coup and justification for overthrow of Chang regime. Instead, the critique of the Chang regime illustrated in Kim Sŏnghwan's cartoons indicate a higher level of permissible criticism that is indicative of free and democratic press. This ability to critique would form part of the positive memories associated with the April Revolution period that Kim Sŏnghwan would champion within his symbolic imagery of the movement.

As discussed in chapters three and four, the April Revolution cannot be fully understood without grasping Syngman Rhee's political control and the frustrations of the late 1950s. In similar terms, one cannot easily discuss the April Revolution without evoking its consequence: Park Chung Hee's May 16th military coup, which will be further analyzed in the following chapter. Like two bookends, the April Revolution period appeared like an anomaly of new and exciting literature to be explored between two periods of repressive control. The stark contrast between the late portion of the 1950s, the Military Junta period (1961-1963), and the Second Republic in the levels of repression of free speech would further elevated the image of the April

Revolution as an exception that allowed it to be mythologized and utilized for both inspiration and suppression.

In his literary justification for his coup d'état, *Our Nation's Path*, Park rebranded the April Revolution as an idealistic movement of a "new generation, which although sometimes rough, radical and even off-track, still represented the thoughts of the people."[692] In his words, the student's naivety left them vulnerable to the machinations of the elder generations, especially the Democratic Party. Instead of addressing the grievances toward the elder generations and hope for unification outlined by students, Park rephrased these wishes as dissatisfaction in party politics itself, therefore legitimizing the reason for suspending democratic procedure. He presented a conspiracy narrative based on logical reasoning that the "failure" of the Second Republic rested upon the desire for the Democratic Party to retain power and extract as much profit from businesses and criminal elements. Essentially, "factionalism in the Democratic Party and the corruption and incompetence of its government reduced the April Revolution, attained by lofty ideas and the precious blood of students, to the status of a miscarriage."[693] While some scholars starting in the 1990s started to question this interpretation, placing greater emphasis on the reform attempts, Park's basic narrative remains. For Park, his administration was the fulfillment of what the student's sought.

Despite the obvious propaganda purposes of *Our Nation's Path* and Park's narrative of corruption and "chaos" that would dominate the views on the Second Republic for most of the latter half of the 20th century, there are elements of truth and popular reflection that one cannot easily dismiss as pure political rhetoric and power justification. The ease to which many previous resistance leaders and intellectuals capitulated to Park's power and, in turn, generally replicated

[692] Chung Hee Park, *Our Nation's Path: Ideology of Social Reconstruction* (Seoul: Dong-a Pub. Co., 1962), 168.
[693] Park, 167.

this narrative shows a genuine feeling of dissatisfaction and disillusionment, which would frame most discussion.[694] The political and intellectual discourse as shown in the writings and editorial cartoons produced during the April Revolution helped open the way for the May 16th Coup to succeed and garner the initial support from leaders of the April Revolution—including student revolutionaries. This was established through the simultaneous promotion and transformation of the multitude of new voices expressing dissatisfaction on the various types of oppressions experienced in the 1950s under the Rhee regime into "disorder and "chaos" narratives built upon the desire to escape poverty. The promise to restore order and economic prosperity became the justification for the overthrow of the government seen as ineffective in delivery the promise of state development.

By re-articulating the discourse of "freedom" to "freedom from poverty" as the true discourse and representation needed in the regime, Park produced an acceptable rhetoric, allowing for a "good faith in dictatorship" and legitimize violence and repression for the stake of a "nationalism of 'de-poverty.'" The April Revolution became an image of "potentiality" both in the minds of intellectuals and re-enforced by Park's rhetorical justifications for rule: the April Revolution was not a matter of "rights," but it was a "potential" for rights to be achieved in some unknown future. Rights were viewed not as a liberation, but as a restraint that denied the given life of one's social conditions. True freedom was freedom from poverty first and the April Revolution partially denied this liberty, making it an "incompatible" revolution that only gave the "freedom to starve." Park promised to usher in a "responsible freedom" that silenced many dissenting voices, leading a sense of disillusionment that would further justify repressive policies.

[694] Park, "Chaeya," 386.

The April Revolution and the period of the Second Republic played a key factor in creating a system of "restrained freedom" that would come to characterize much of the 1960s and then devolve into systematic control in the 1970s. It emerged through a set of circumstances that provided a hope (carrot) and a perceived instability (stick) that could be used to justify and obtain support for Park's coup d'état as well as his key economic and social control policies. For many intellectuals and members of the press, the April Revolution Period represented a beacon of hope and possibility, an idealized image of what liberalism and democracy could be in terms of their own ability of expression. With less restraints, they could express and explore new ideas, including socialist policies of economic equity, without fear of censure or arrest.

The tearing down of barriers created opportunities for amateurs, which broadened fields. But, with liberty also comes a multiple of voices that sometimes do not hold the same quality standards developed over years of experience and professionalization. It threatened some of the old gatekeepers of knowledge and creativity, who became disgusted at the lack of quality produced within some of the new works and newspapers that started to flood the marketplace. Kim Sŏnghwan would often take the middle-road in this debate. While he welcomed and even mentored a few budding artists in the industry, he also despaired the lack of care by producers who created the poor-quality cartoons or newspaper reports. In general, he saw this as a consequence of an open market, which allows for both the proliferation of good-and-poor-quality works, so his frustrations lay mainly upon the inability for people to distinguish between the products, which often led to a whole-sale dismissal of the industries. This frustration continued to manifest as additional campaigns against cartoonists and journalists emerged, which will be discussed in the following chapters, prompting Kim Sŏnghwan to produce cartoons and essays defending the works of journalists and cartoonists alike.

Still, the proliferation of “fake news” produced a desire to create a set of standards within the industry that might prevent the spread of corrupt practices and restore a level of trust. This included the creation of an ethics committee. The fight for the control of the ethics committee and regulation of the press would become the defining feature of most of the press battles throughout the 1960s and early 1970s. Editorial cartoons played an important role within those battles as it did in the proliferation of both the idea of free speech and the need to regulate it during the Second Republic, discussed within this chapter. The Military Junta period and the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty protests, discussed in the next two chapters, would lead to a creation of laws, including the Press Ethics Law, that would stand as powerful sticks alongside the carrot-like promises of free speech declared within the constitution. Though the press would “win” some of these earlier battles, they also opened up the means for Park to declare just cause for suppression by evoking the perceived “chaos” of the Second Republic.

Appendix 3. CHAPTER FIVE EDITORIAL CARTOONS

Figure 5.1 (May 3, 1960)

Man 1: “I was injured during the protest.”
K: “Thank you for your service.”

K: “Good job for participating in the demonstration.”

Man 2: “Dear Bent Nail, thank you.”

Figure 5.2 (April 29, 1960)

Woman: “Students, thank you for your service this time.”
Student: “You’re very welcome.”

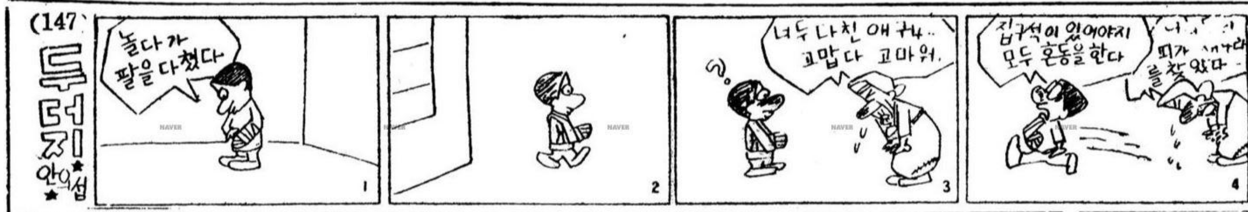
Old Man: “Thank you students for your service.”
Student: “No problem.”

T: “It’s a students’ world!”

Wife: “Are you crazy?”

Bandana: University

Figure 5.3 (May 1, 1960)



TTC: "I hurt my hand playing."

Woman: "You were also hurt, weren't you? Thank you. Thank you."

TTC: "I need to stay indoors because everyone is mistaking me."

Woman: "The blood of you guys has brought about a new country…"

Figure 5.4 (April 28, 1960)

Sign: Refrigerator

[They are excited because they're furious; they are excited because they're happy]

"Let's all use ice packs." (4.26)

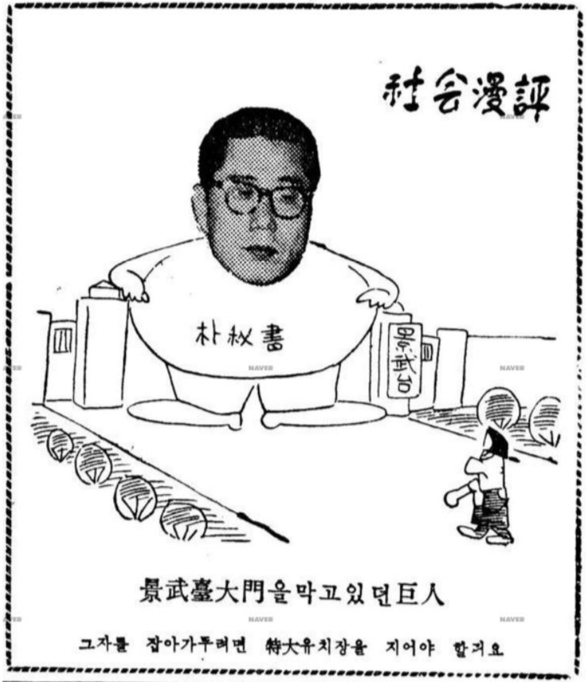


Figure 5.5 (May 13, 1960)

Sign: Kyŏngmudae

Figure: Secretary Park

[The gate of Kyŏngmudae is blocked by a giant]

"If we capture him, we'll have to make up an extra-large holding cell."

Figure 5.6 (July 9, 1960)

Johne: "Humans are strange animals anywhere!!"

Johne: "Could you give me a cigarette please?"

Johne: "Oh God! When people refer to people as 'crazy crazy' this is what they are talking about."

Figure 5.7 (March 8, 1960)

Grandfather: “Sonny! I need to believe that you will be able to prevent the corrupt elections.”
Son 1: “Eh! I’m sick of this.”

Son 1: “Sonny! I need to believe in you!”
Son 2: “Eh! I feel drained because I don’t have a job.”

Students: “Strike down the corrupt elections!”
Son 2: “Ack! That is my son!”

Grandfather: “You bastards! You are not my sons. I will die trusting this kid.”

Figure 5.8 (September 5, 1960)

Students: “Arirang Arirang la la la la…”

Police: “It’s curfew time so it’s time to go home.”

Police: “I’m jealous.”

Police: “Since curfew times has passed.”

Figure 5.9 (September 24, 1960)

Student: "'Ka' license number. Stop."
Banner: New Life Movement

Man 1: "Humph! You hate studying!"
Woman: "So selfish!"
Man 2: "Tisk! Impertinent!"

Student: "Once upon a time there was an April Revolution Movement."

Figure 5.10 (April 28, 1960)

Balloon: Political situation

[The anxious people]

"Instead of bursting, please come down intact"

Figure 5.11 (May 1, 1960)

Crowd: "Purge! Purge!"

Bureau Chief: "I said I would do some self-reflection."
Crowd: "Purge!"

K: "One should not go too far; who's going to be left?"

Page: "Only me; only me…"

Desk sign: Bureau Chief

Figure 5.12 (September 6, 1960)

Murderer: "I didn't kill him. I do not have any weapon."

Officer: "You are clearly holding a knife, aren't you?"

Murderer: "Even though I have knife, he ran into the knife."

PGD: "Good story."
Officer: "Pass!"

Sign: Lawyer Examination

Figure 5.13 (September 9, 1960)

K: Don’t you think of the dead students and defend [your client] as innocent?
Lawyer: But the law is the law.

K: This is because you really respect the law?
Lawyer: Yes.

K: What if I offered you this (bribe) to stop?
Lawyer (Yeah!)
[check (bribe)]

Lawyer: Is this a real check?
K: His tail is wagging!

Figure 5.14 (October 11, 1960)

Radio: “Today the main culprits got out of prison with confident attitude.”

K: “Damn you! Bastard radio!”

Beggar: “Damn you! A radio that is like a beggar!”
“Dirty world!”

Thief: “It’s a shameless thief!!!”
“I can’t stand it.”

Figure 5.15 (November 3, 1960)

Assemblymen: "We must unify."
"Of course!"
Sign: National Assembly
Mice: "How will we know the cat's comings and goings?"

Assemblymen: "We can go to Diamond Mountain and sufficiently use the electricity."
"Ah! I love it!"
Mice: "It will be good to hang a bell around the cat's neck."
"What a splendid idea."

Assemblyman: "But, how do we unify?"
Mice: "But, who will hang the bell?"

Assemblymen and Mice: "We can't help but just give up."

Figure 5.16 (November 5, 1960)

Wife: "I need to put more cotton stuffing for the comforter. Do you only drink?"

K: "What do you think of the unification of North and South Korea?"

Wife: "I also need to purchase some coal briquettes and some chili peppers for making kimchi for the winter."
K: "Do you think we should continue the normalization talks between Korea and Japan?"

Wife: "Stop talking about irrelevant things. It's pointless."
K: "Well, don't talk about irrelevant things then!"

Figure 5.17 (September 30, 1960)

Fish seller: "This is a poisonous blowfish so don't eat it."

K: "Now I just want to eat it more."

K: "Hey, a customer is here, and you are just lying around?"
Shop sign: Japanese novels

Book seller: "Why are you looking at novels written by the enemy Japanese? Don't read them."
K: "I'll buy them all!"

Figure 5.18 (December 29, 1960)

Man: "Idiot!" (in Japanese)
K: "He's using Japanese while drunk."

Radio: "I'm approaching Sinano." (in Japanese)
K: "It's a Japanese song!"

K: "Everyone seems to be attacked with a Japanese pandemic."

Dog: "Wang wang"
K: "Even this mangy beast is making Japanese sounds!"

Figure 5.19 (October 26, 1960)

PGD: “Minister! The weather is getting colder; what steps are you going to do for the orphans?”
Minister: “Stop! Let me quickly borrow your walking stick.”

PGD: “Suddenly you became blind person?”

Orphan Beggar: “Can you not spare a penny?”

Minister: “I cannot see those kinds of kids because my soul aches when I see them.”

Figure 5.20 (October 9, 1960)

Man: “I wore these shabby clothes. The shop will not let me buy items.”
K: “Jerk! How can they just assume you’re a thief?!!”

K: “Let’s go again! I’ll teach him a lesson.”

Man: “Please give me one packet of quinine.”
Shop sign: Pharmacy
Pharmacist: “We’re all out.”

K: “It’s not that they saw you as a thief here; you looked like candidate for suicide.”

Figure 5.21 (February 26, 1960)

K: "Ack! It's curfew time and the cops are coming."
[clatter clatter]

[clatter clatter]
K: "I have a rope just in time."

Police: "Yikes! It's a suicide!"

Police: "Let's inform the chief police station!"

Figure 5.22 (October 21, 1960)

Man 1: "It's regretful! After you left, they divided into two factions."
PGD: "It appears to be a tomb of a famous politician."

PGD: "This is a tomb of a famous musician!"
Woman: "You died before you could finish your song…"

Man 2: "So depressed! My unjustly wronged friend!"

Man 2: "He didn't even have a chance to protest through a demonstration to be sent abroad. Wah… Wah.."
PGD: "It's a tomb of a person who killed himself due to the hardship of life."

Figure 5.23 (October 2, 1960)

Tombstone: Tomb of 4.19 Patriotic Student Martyrs

Man: “I’m an administrator of the revolutionary organization. Let me bid for it.”

Ghost: “You bastard! You’d rather sell this gravestone!”

Figure 5.24 (December 14, 1960)

Inspector: “I’m an inspector. You made this fake medicine, right?”
Pharmacist: “Please forgive me this once.”

Reporter: “Hey! You’re the fake inspector, right? I’m a reporter.”
Inspector: “Let’s go have a drink.”

Beggar: “Rascal! Aren’t you the fake reporter?”
Reporter: “Oh no! I’ve been caught!”

Beggar: “Whatever you may take me for, I’m real! Real!”
Everyone: “A real beggar!”

Figure 5.25 (February 24, 1961)

Bureau chief: "These fake reporters keep bothering me."

Reporter 1: "I'm a firefighting newspaper reporter."
Reporter 2: "I'm a reporter of the unemployed news."
Reporter 3: "I'm a correspondent of tin can [substandard] news."

Bureau chief: "Phew. I feel relieved as I'm finally home."

Reporter 4: "I'm a reporter for the petty thief newspaper. How much is your wealth?"
Bureau chief: "Ack!"

Figure 5.26 (April 7, 1961)

Banner: Newspaper Week Party
Reporters: "Blah blah blah blah…"

Reporter: "You got to leave now, fake reporter!"

Fake Reporter: "Fake reporters are also reporters."
Fake Reporters: "That's right, that's right!"

Banner: Fake Reporters' Party
Fake Reporter: "If a real [reporter] comes, I'll not treat him well [I'll kick your ass]."

Chapter 6. PASSING THE DARK SHADES: NEGOTIATING CRITIQUE WITHIN PARK CHUNG HEE'S MILITARY JUNTA (1961-1963)

> "Because the military regime has not gone through normal methods since its birth, the regime has taken extreme methods to plug the mouths and ears of the people. This is media control; in particular, it was the influence of editorial cartoons that seemed to know how to powerfully cut through to understand it clearly."[695]
>
> –Kim Sŏnghwan

Park Chung Hee's May 16th military coup found little resistance and even some support from students, civic activists, and members of the intelligentsia frustrated with the perceived economic, social, and political "failures" and "chaos" brought about by the continuous need to pressure the government for reform that often took to the street, as described in the previous chapter. With the faith that Park espoused the beliefs of their movements, these groups kept silent in hopeful expectation or even rallied behind him, as seen in of some of the early issues of the *Sasanggye*, a magazine that served as public forum for leading intellectuals. It declared: "The Military Revolution of May 16, 1961 constitutes the last effort to save the nation from the dire predicament it faced. [Park has led] a nationalistic military revolution aiming to wipe out corruption and disorder, to preempt communist subversion, and to guide the future of the nation onto the right path."[696] However, this support often was contingent upon the belief that Park would and should relinquish military control and power to a new civilian government. Under this framework, criticisms would return. Though Park would eventually establish a civilian government in 1963, albeit under his presidential control, through a narrow though

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[695] Son Sangik, *Han'guk manhwa t`ongsa(ha)*, 142.

[696] Park, "Chaeya," 386. This would also manifest among college students. In a 1962 survey, eighty-six percent of college students responded that democracy was "unsuitable" in Korea. Out of those 86 percent, 40 percent saw Korea as "unprepared"; 30 percent believed it was due to socio-cultural differences; and 7 percent felt that the theory and actual realities were too different. Kwŏn Podŭrae and Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, *1960-yŏn ŭl mutta*, 42.

democratically elected victory, his tendency to hold onto power and use legal referendums to extend his rule would continue throughout his rule, beginning in 1963 under his military junta. The resistance to these measures also started during this period, as will be seen in Kim Sŏnghwan's cartoons, and it would form a basis of later anti-authoritarian, pro-democracy movements against Park Chung Hee.

Park Chung Hee would adopt some of the ideas and policies first developed during the Second Republic, like the outline for a five-year economic development plan, the National Construction Enterprise, and the economy-first approach of the Chang administration.[697] He also co-opted the energies of the grass-roots labor, student, and grievances movements by instituting moralistic, punitive, and practical plans and campaigns aimed at cleaning up corruption and building the economy by reasserting what was seen and reinforced in his propaganda as a much-needed return to anticommunist "order." In terms of cartoonists, these reforms came under the campaigns to "sweep away outmoded evils," which evolved into the creation of ethics committees and censorship practices as will be described in this chapter.

For the momentum of democracy and the promotion of freedom of assembly, speech, and the press, the Military Junta Period (1961-1963) was very much a backslide. To justify his control, Park reframed his coup as the latest in a line of mass popular breakthroughs by explaining, "The May 16 Military Revolution must be understood as the real starting point of our national task in our modern history—a democratic revolution for the achievement of an independent economy, which began with the liberation in 1945 and was reemphasized in the April 19 Student Uprising."[698] Thus, he co-opted the rhetoric of the April Revolution and downgraded the movement to an "uprising" in the hopes of utilizing its memory and support as a

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[697] Kim, *Youth for Nation*, 185.
[698] Kim, 188.

legitimization of the military government.[699] Kim Sŏnghwan would fight this appropriation by Park Chung Hee of the April Revolution through consistent revival of its revolutionary potential through genre weapons utilized against Park, as will be seen in future chapters. But, under the restraints of the military junta, contradicting official rhetoric would prove difficult.

The Military Junta Period was very much an era of tight control and restrictive censorship, including the introduction of pre-censorship practices, which made it more difficult for media outlets to critique government policy. This included cartoonists. However, while it limited the topics that Kim Sŏnghwan could illustrate, it did not restrict him completely. Unwilling to compromise his creative voice, despite harsh restrictions that often specifically targeted cartoons and created a double layer of censorship, Kim Sŏnghwan continued to try to produce critical works, which frequently fell under the axe of the state. His stubbornness also drew attention as shade wearing KCIA agents followed him closely and built up enough anxiety to cause health issues and prompt a six-month "self-imposed" exile in 1963. This chapter will explore the personal experiences of Kim Sŏnghwan and select cartoon journalists under the restraints imposed by Park's junta and martial law as well as some of the works produced during this period. I will show the effects of government press policies and economic incentives on the works, lifestyles, and memories of Kim Sŏnghwan and select cartoonists. Like the April Revolution period, the experience of military control would color the next ten years. Memories of the Second Republic provided hope for the possible; the military junta showed the power of the government, consequence of criticism, and the ability of Park to control the press through economics and the law.

[699]For an excellent discussion on Park Chung Hee's adoption and manipulation of the April Revolution movement, see Kim, 188–92.

6.1 *Park Chung Hee's Military Coup: Political and Creativity Backlash*

On May 16, 1961, Park Chung Hee and a group of military officers consolidated their power through a military coup d'état born from Park's long desire for control that was temporarily halted by the April 19th Revolution, yet which in turn created the conditions for Park's successful take-over.[700] Park contemplated the idea of a military coup as early as 1956, a period when scandals started to saturate the newspapers. Rhee's 1960 election, with its obvious corruption and rigging, provided a promising base by which to justify military intervention, but the student revolution prevented this path and caused Park to lose the initiative, a fact he would later lament.[701] Instead, Park steadily utilized his personal ties with former military classmates from the Korea Military Academy and the Manchurian military schools as a base from which to develop a coalition able to exploit the power vacuum and widespread frustration with the ineffectiveness of the new civilian government and the fears of instability, economic crisis, and leftist-communist subversion. Inspired by the student revolutionary spirit, young officers congregated in ad hoc meetings to exchange information and views, providing the means for the "wide dissemination of radical ideas and reformist views" with similar demands of accountability for the misappropriation of military supplies and the top leadership's responsibility in the vote rigging of the 1956 and 1960 elections.[702]

[700] Though Park Chung Hee would emerge as the leader in the military coup and controlled the initiative from the beginning, it was not solely due to his leadership that the coup succeeded. Kim Chongp'il played a vital role as general secretary with Kim Hyŏnguk and Chŏng Munsun coordinating intelligence. O Ch'isŏng served as the officer of personnel; Kim Tonghwan held economics affairs; Kil Chaeho assisted in legal matters; and Ok Changho, Sin Yunch'ang and U Hyŏngnyong were in charge of operations. Yong-Sup Han, "May Sixteenth Military Coup," in *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea*, ed. Byung-kook Kim and Ezra F. Vogel (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2011), 50. Several civilian businesses people also gave their financial backing for the coup, including Kim Chongrak, Kim Chongp'il's elder brother. Han, 54.
[701] Han, "May Sixteenth Military Coup," 45.
[702] Han, 47.

The coup was swift and well-planned with two potential deadlines in April and May 1961. After a somber anniversary of the April 19th Student Revolution failed to provide a chaotic atmosphere necessitating intervention, and a leak of the plans for a May 12th coup did not instigate a crackdown, Park settled on May 16th as the ideal moment. It was fortuitous since the military police were in the process of rounding up coup members as Park hurriedly rallied his troops at the Han River and gave a speech against a government that he claimed to be "mired in corruption, leading the country to the verge of collapse."[703] This sense of chaos and corruption was mirrored by many journalists in major newspapers and editorial cartoons published during the Second Republic, as discussed in the previous chapter. Nevertheless, the idea that Park Chung Hee's military presence presented an immediate liberating force was not initially apparent or universally embraced. In relating the atmosphere of the military coup, Kim Sŏnghwan described an equal if not greater sense of fear by "citizens, who were still deep within their gates, locked in, until the break of dawn, anxious and frightened at the sound of loud gunshots, troop movements, and roaring cars, while trembling with anxiety and fear, void of reason."[704] Though Kim Sŏnghwan also acknowledged in his recollections that the people "were tired of the chaos of the aftermath of the April 19th Revolution," he proclaimed "they were pushed into a situation of even worse unrest and fear."[705] Kim Sŏnghwan would conclude that since Park Chung Hee's military junta "ruled over the people for a lengthy two and a half years, the blooming flower of youth that resuscitated this country from the prior suffocating dictatorship could not bear fruit and was defeated and thrown away by a powerful military power."[706] While these words were

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[703] Han, 54.
[704] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1951-1961*, 301. This is a collection of some of his interpretations of events and cartoons compiled in 1987 so his recollection could be colored by experiences and negative associations with the Park Chung Hee regime.
[705] Kim Sŏnghwan, 301.
[706] Kim Sŏnghwan, 301.

written down in 1987, his anxiety and the feeling of betrayal he felt the military regime posed against the "blood sacrifice" of the April 19th generation emerged early in his criticisms and it would continue to be resurrected throughout the whole of the Park Chung Hee regime.

On the evening of the May 16th coup, Kim Sŏnghwan illustrated Mr. Kobau as suffering from insomnia due to a thief attempting to invade his home at night. (Figure 6.1) In order to protect his family, he purchased and built a doghouse. However, instead of receiving protection, the thief attempted to kidnap the dog, forcing Mr. Kobau to stand guard over his new doghouse while the dog slept.[707] Through this cartoon, Kim Sŏnghwan presented a metaphor and warning against the regime change. The thief represented the corruption experienced with the Rhee regime that caused the people to rise up and try to protect themselves through the implementation of a new republic. However, though the new republic was there to protect the people from internal corrupting influences, it did not quite fulfill its duties and, instead, allowed for the rise of an internal coup, possibly intent on stealing away these new freedoms. As an activist, Mr. Kobau found himself no longer able to protect the larger house, a symbol of the people as a whole. Instead, he found himself limited to trying to preserve the little space of freedoms—imperfect as these may be—recently carved out and symbolized in the frame of the doghouse. The following evening, May 17th, was absent of cartoons as the newspapers attempted to reconcile their position within the new regime and new censorship laws. As the government cracked down on newspaper reports, wild rumors easily circulated.[708] The unknown created space for speculation: some with hope and some with fear.

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[707] *Tonga ilbo* May 16, 1961.

[708] Cartoonist Yi Chaehwa described this moment: "I went to Changbon as usual in the morning. There was a barricade on the front door. No one was allowed access…. I continued to call every day. But the only person who picked up the phone was a Sargent. I kept on thinking that I should not be resting like this, and I became obsessed with doing something else for the morning. Kim Kyŏngŏn phoned me with a breathy voice…… 'Now the military regime has completely canceled the publications of cartoons.' I asked, "Does that mean newspapers, magazines, and periodicals?" Kim Kyŏngŏn said, 'This truth is what I heard from an accredited reporter.' …when I heard the story

In the May 18th evening paper, Kim Sŏnghwan displayed a caricature of himself hiding behind a blank square representing the one-panel political cartoons with the caption, "Military Revolution: Now everything's blank paper," a reference to the practice of displaying white space in order to showcase censorship.[709] (Figure 6.2) This was punctuated by surrounding blank space within the *Tonga ilbo*, which suffered two front-page deletions and half of a third page in the May 18th morning edition. While the one-panel cartoon showcased a sense of foreboding in the swift take-over of the military, erasure of news, and Kim's fear for the future of his craft, it also left an open space, a tabula rasa for the readers to project meaning—good or bad—upon the coup d'état. This was the feeling felt by many journalists at the time, which tended to take a cautious stance toward the regime change.

After several days of experiencing stress and the eyes of the numerous censors inspecting the contents of the newspapers, Kim Sŏnghwan slipped in a commentary illustrating the experience within the *Tonga ilbo* as one of arbitrary silencing through the visual metaphor of scissors.[710] (Figure 6.3) Mr. Kobau attempts to invite some friends to play Go, but they are too busy. Persistent and eager, he asks a passing taffy seller to join him. While removing his shoes to prepare for the game, Mr. Kobau notices that the taffy seller's scissors continue to snip uncontrollably in his hand. He complains about the noise, asking him to stop, but the taffy seller responds by saying that he cannot because it is second nature. Mr. Kobau's strand of hair stands straight up and zigzagged with frustration, and he covers his ears to block out the sound that he calls, "a big issue." Even though the cartoon contained no references to soldiers or the coup

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in detail, it was about the usage of screenplay comics…" Son Sangik, *Han'guk manhwa t`ongsa(ha)*, 257. This is one of the only comments by a cartoonists, beside Kim Sŏnghwan, on the events of the coup d'état. While it does illustrate some of the misinformation spread during this time, it is not colored with large exaggerations and more reflective of a general uneasiness and fear. More research is needed into the full range of rumors during this time to get a full perspective of the population at large and their fears, which is out of the scope of this dissertation.

[709] *Tonga ilbo* May 18, 1961.

[710] *Tonga ilbo* May 24, 1961.

d'état, it criticized the military takeover and media censorship in Declaration No. 11 through the usage of the taffy seller's scissors, a symbol for the clipping of newspaper articles. Though Kim Sŏnghwan was able to slip the comic into the initial printing of the paper, the censors banned him from the *Tonga ilbo* for nine days and required him to write a letter of explanation regarding the cartoon. Referred to as the "scissors at will" cartoon, it was the first "slip of the pen" instance of the Park Chung Hee era for cartoon journalists. Kim Sŏnghwan would continue this trend with over 200 additional cases of purged cartoons or suspensions over the next eighteen years of the Park regime.[711]

The May 16th coup brought about sudden and drastic reversals in publication freedoms as the Park regime tried to curb what it saw as dangerous, corrupt, or irresponsible practices. Park Chung Hee believed highly in the concept of press control, which he phrased and justified under the narrative of "responsible freedom." As expressed in Park's policy narrative, *Our Nation's Path*, he wrote:

> Freedom of thought and speech is not unlimited…. Licentious thought and speech out of the bounds of good sense, and those tending to disrupt national unity, cannot be condoned or tolerated either from moral or legal viewpoints, since they are bound to bring misfortune, instead of progress, to the society and in the end jeopardize the national existence and survival…. Freedom of thought and speech, however fully guaranteed and respected under normal circumstances, cannot be condoned when it threatens to harm the interest of the entire nation and to disrupt the very legal order and social institutions which guarantee it.[712]

Thus, in his first decree, Park ordered a system of pre-censorship of all newspapers and magazines featuring articles, comics, cartoons, editorials, photographs, and foreign news.[713] Decree No. 4 codified the system of censorship by stipulating the types of articles forbidden,

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[711] "Kobau Kim Sŏnghwan chakp'um chŏnsisil," 1.
[712] Park, *Our Nation's Path*, 39–40.
[713] Youm, *Press Law in South Korea*, 50.

which were so broad in their wording that it essentially stifled any criticism directed toward the military regime and their policies, causing great difficulty and distress for political cartoonists whose works centered upon the ability to mock and critique government officials and policy.[714] Decree No. 11 reinstated the licensing system by requiring newspapers to be suited with complete printing facilities, which led to the canceling of 834 newspapers by the Ministry of Public Information.[715] While Decree No. 11 halted many critical and legitimate newspaper publications, it also banned many news services that were either financially dubious or supported themselves with blackmail, a criticism highlighted in the caricatures of Kim Sŏnghwan and other political cartoonists during the Second Republic.

This resulted in the closing of 1,230 "pseudo" newspapers, news agencies and other publications as well as the arresting of 930 "corrupt journalists."[716] The Korean Revolutionary Court sentenced three executives of the *Minjok ilbo* to death in August 1961 "for advocating doctrines similar to those of North Korea."[717] Though the court mitigated two of the sentences to life imprisonment, they executed Cho Yongsu in an unprecedented act in Korean journalistic history. In response to these government constraints, the Korean Newspapers Editors' Association (KNEA) established the Korean Press Ethics Council in September 1961 for the purpose of self-regulation in light of harsh government restriction.[718]

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[714] Youm, 50–51. Decree #4 forbad publications that: 1) benefit the enemy; 2) go contrary to the cause of the Military Revolution; 3) provoke a counterrevolution; 4) be detrimental to public peace and order; 5) damage public opinion; 6) undermine military morale; 7) reveal military secrets; 8) be false and distorted; 9) violate other guidelines relating to the policy of the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction.
[715] Youm, 51.
[716] Yong Chang, "Development of Korean Journalism Education Based on American Practices" (Ph.D diss., University of Missouri, 1967), 84. Many of these "pseudo" newspapers and "corrupt journalists" were purged based on their ideological positions rather than the corrupt practices of bribery and extortion described in chapter five's discussion on the creation of the "fake" journalists narrative.
[717] Kyu Ho Youm, "Freedom of the Press in South Korea, 1945-1983: A Sociopolitical and Legal Perspective" (Ph.D diss., Southern Illinois University, 1985), 83.
[718] Chang, "Development of Korean Journalism Education," 85.

In 1962, the military government lessened its control of the press and Park ordered "the release of all journalists who were awaiting trial or serving prison sentences."[719] The government also composed the Standards of Implementation of Press Policy. This edict limited the publications to a single daily edition per day and separated the Sunday edition; it enlarged their size to eight pages; it also required papers to possess a minimum amount of printing equipment or else close voluntarily or merge with larger companies.[720] These measures created a standard amongst Korean newspapers, which bears a remarkable similarity to Japanese newspapers.[721] As a result of these changes, the types of stories became restricted and the usage of editorials severely limited or sometimes were even outright banned. During the First and Second Republic, reporters could sometimes slip articles into a morning or evening editions before the authorities read them, which could still elicit punishment, but provided a means for stories to leak to the public and circumnavigate censorship policies. With the implementation of pre-censorship and the restrictions in size and frequency, the ability to speak on forbidden subjects became increasingly more difficult, which, in turn, gave greater prominence to editorial cartoons, which could still find means by which to symbolically express forbidden subjects. This ability to illustrate the unspoken became an artform that would develop and shift depending on the severity of restrictions and willingness of the artist to defy those restrictions.

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[719] Chang, 87.

[720] Sunwoo Nam, "A Comparative Study of Freedom of the Press in Korea, Taiwan, and the Philipines in the 1960s" (Ph.D diss., University of Wisconsin, 1969), 16. The government also provided loans to subsidize the purchase of equipment. However, how these were distributed is unknown and needs further research. I suspect that the reasoning behind this is to try to control the spread of small revolutionary or opposition papers influential in student or labor movements.

[721] Nam, 26. As a result of these policies and restrictions to an eight-page publication, Korean newspapers followed a rigid format. The front page contained political and international news. The second page was for economics and editorials. The background analyses of national and international news were contained on page three. The fourth page was for foreign news; the fifth usually contained cultural affairs; the sixth was either science or women's features. The seventh page carries soft news (city desk coverage) and was second in importance. Finally, page eight applied to sports. This could vary in some districts, but it was the standard for all major publications.

6.2 *The Korean Children's Comics Autonomy Society*

The involvement of the military in politics affected Korean society in numerous ways, but this became especially apparent in various cultural fields, including comics, with the promotion of military culture. The basis of this rested in the six "Revolutionary Pledges" Park claimed as the foundation for his military takeover. The third statement in the pledge called for the "eradication of all corruption and old evils in our society so that the people who decayed can stir up a fresh spirit through a correct national identity."[722] The ambiguity within the statement allowed for the censoring and regulation of many artistic forms. Comics, which was perceived as a "low" form of art, and editorial cartoons, which held clear political implications, easily fell within this category of "corrupting influence." Under the guise of "purifying" the industry, the military regime instituted a system of pre-censorship.

The regime forcibly dismantled the two autonomous cartoonist's organizations, the Korean Cartoonist Association (*Taehan Manhwaga Hyŏph'oe*, KCA) and the Contemporary Cartoonist Association (*Hyŏndae Manhwaga Hyŏph'oe*, CCA), and it created the ironically named, Korean Children's Comics Autonomy Society (*Han'guk Adong Manhwa Chayurhoe*, KCCAS). The establishment of the KCCAS was the first real signal of the institutionalized incorporation of Korean cartoons. While the original non-government controlled cartoonist associations cultivated some changes in the modes of cartoon production and philosophical approaches and members of the KCA would occasionally promote ideas associated with the Rhee regime, as discussed in chapter four, both organizations did little to control the production

[722] Son Sangik, *Han'guk manhwa t`ongsa(ha)*, 236.

of cartoons and its content, leaving much of this up to the artists' desire and the willingness of the publisher.

With the creation of the KCCAS, strict manuscript review became a powerful weapon of control, which was done through a duel level of censorship. The KCCAS appointed a government approved president and secretariat, who acted as governor, minister, and judge. Consequently, the cartoonist selected as the preliminary judge held great power and influence over the publication of cartoons. This built upon and even went beyond the power and control of the publisher, who had to deal with additional pressures from both the market and government censors. For comics to be distributed within Korea, they needed the approval of the committee and an official stamp. Therefore, cartoonists lost much of their control over their artistic works during this period. However, the main problem was that the application of censorship was often very arbitrary and highly subject to the publisher's interest.[723] This can be seen in some of the language used in referencing the KCCAS by those within the cartoon industry, which tended to be negative in tone and displaying marked frustration.[724]

The KCCAS was the starting point of the preliminary screening of comics and a shift from the Rhee regime that usually ignored comics or occasionally punished infractions post-publication, like in the case of Kim Sŏnghwan's 1958 "Kyŏngmudae satire." According to Son Sangik, in the *History of Korean Cartoons*, the regime maintained its control of the industry through a "carrot and stick" system that tamed comics by granting the "privilege" to publish to certain artists that complied to the esthetic and content regulations stipulated by the KCCAS.

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[723] Ch'oe Yŏl, *Han'guk manhwa ŭi yŏksa*, 105.

[724] Yi Chaehwa, a former member of the Contemporary Cartoonists Association, punctuated the frustrations felt by those effected by its rule when he remarked on the necessity of writing on the subject. "From now on, I have to write a story about the 'Korean Children's Cartoons Autonomy Society,' but I don't want to think about the real autonomy society because I hate even thinking about it. This is because even now the 'so-called autonomy' causes great distress."

Entry and legal recognition were maintained through fees so that new organizations or those with insufficient funds could be denied. Bribery also permeated the industry and would sometimes be used as a pretext for an examination of a cartoon, which strengthened the power of established publishers and artists and, therefore, kept their interests invested in the system.[725] Since the industry was still relatively new and weak in funding in general, this became an effective means of control and occasional controversy. In addition, the authorities decided to use the organization as an official channel with the Ministry of Education to communicate with the cartoonists, and things related to cartoons began to be coordinated openly through the KCCAS.[726] In the end, the KCCAS provided the foundation for the consolidation of the industry in the mid-1960s under the joint publishing company and the Korean Comics Ethics Committee, which would replace the KCCAS in 1968 and intensify the content control until the end of the Park era.

Kim Sŏnghwan, who went to the initial meetings for the KCCAS, described some of the early concerns towards comics that he believed would be addressed:

> At that time, they had historical fiction, vulgar historical fiction. There were cartoon stories about toads, ghosts, phantoms. Hanbok wearing skulls dancing, things of this sort. Because the influences on children were bad, school parents would burn them, which turned into a big problem. Through the relationship to education… the school-age parents organization arose from this. Therefore, the government made an ethics organization. I was first asked to come and attended. When I went, there was nothing but elementary school teachers and such. Also, the representative parent asked, “Animals can’t speak, right?” therefore, “Animals shouldn’t speak.” This is what it was like. Therefore, Mickey Mouse was not allowed, and Snoopy doesn’t make sense? Ah! To talk to these people made my blood pressure rise. Therefore, I didn’t go the next time. I gave up then… Ah those people! I can’t have cartoon lectures. People can’t understand it quickly.[727]

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[725] Son Sangik, *Han’guk manhwa t`ongsa(ha)*, 240.
[726] Son Sangik, 241.
[727] Han Yŏngju, “Han’guk manhwasa kusul ch’aerok,” 67.

Though only in the initial stages, this sort of petty and arbitrary objections to the content of comics reflects quite accurately some of the deletions experienced during the censoring process, which regarded the artist's work as trivial. Symbolic names of characters would be altered to reflect real names, removing the creative signposting common in comic art characterization in a misguided belief that realism must be reflected in cartooning. For example, the name "squid" (*ojingŏ*) became O Chunho, and "mold" (*komp'aengi*) became Ko P'aengi.[728] To erase cruelty, arrows and blood were removed from the hunting scenes. North Korean officers had to be drawn scarily like werewolves or monsters to emphasize the frightening consequences of communism. Teenagers holding hands and skipping merrily at the beach were considered a corruption of public morals, and a scene of poor family members sleeping in one room together was censored for reasons of failing to distinguish between the sexes (i.e. sex).[729]

In the end, Kim Sŏnghwan did not join the KCCAS, in a political decision similar to his reasoning for forming the Contemporary Comics Association and rejecting the Rhee regime associated Korean Comics Association described in chapter four, even though this essentially—though not officially— banned him from publishing children's comic books.[730] Instead, he focused upon producing materials primarily for adults, including newspapers, magazines, and art exhibits. However, he did not remain silent in his protests and decision to shy away from the government controlled KCCAS. In his 1962 collection of essays titled *Smile of an Ad Balloons*, Kim Sŏnghwan criticized the "anti-corruption" campaigns against children's cartoons.

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[728] "Ppaeakkin ch'angjak ŭi chayu: Han'guk Manhwa Pangmulgwan kihoek chŏnshi manhwa kŏmyŏl ŭi yŏksajŏn [Liberty of the Lost Creativity: the Korean Manhwa Museum's Exhibition on the History of Cartoon Censorship]" (Museum label, May 17, 2017).

[729] "Ppaeakkin ch'angjak ŭi chayu."

[730] Kim Sŏnghwan's refusal to join the KCCAS produced a greater impact on his ability to publish children's comics than his previous refusal to join the KCA during the Rhee regime, as discussed in chapter four. After the final publication of *Pikt'ori chojŏlgu* in 1962, Kim Sŏnghwan would not produce another children's comic until 1979, though he would assist in the production of a film production of his famous student cartoon, *Kkŏkkurigun, changdarigun* in 1977, after a republication of these words revitalized their popularity.

> In the adult world, they have many objects of comfort such as cigarettes, alcohol, movies, *paduk* [Go], billiards, and such, but children only have the school playground and a few balls. This is a big contradiction. It is a good thing when many excellent children's novels and fairy-tale books come out, but the world of typography and attractive cartoons are different. We should not enact any laws and restrict comic books.
>
> There are many good comic books that come out (this is never a comic of Admiral Yi Sunsin or biographical comic) that can be confronted with bad comic books. By doing this, you can make good and bad things on your own. Why doesn't a good comic book come out? This is because the production and selling expenses are not balanced. Therefore, I think the authorities should give assistance such as in paper distribution for conscientious publishers.[731]

While Kim Sŏnghwan never specifically mentions the KCCAS, this essay implicitly criticizes the recent anti-corruption campaign instituted by the Park regime and the main motivation behind the formation of the society. The fact that many of the cartoons that received approval generally fell into the category of nationalistic endeavors highlighting safe historical figures, such as Admiral Yi Sunsin, disturbed him. In his eyes, these types of comics did not qualify as comics at all because they ignored the entertainment, escapism, and creative aspects necessary for children as well as adults. "Good" and "bad" comics are then viewed as arbitrary titles that seem to favor a narrow view of children as simply existing for the consumption of knowledge, an aspect not pushed upon adults with the same fervor that he sees as a "contradiction."

Kim Sŏnghwan's point of view was not a reflection of the military government's stance on comics nor was it a philosophy held by the public at large or even within the *Tonga ilbo*, which still ran occasional articles criticizing the quality of comics or the ineffectiveness of the administration in controlling the distribution of "corrupting" or "evil" comics. A newspaper editorial published in the *Tonga ilbo* on October 8, 1962 equated the effects of cartoons and "bad cartoons" in particular on a child's personality to the eating of corrupt or poisoned foods.

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[731] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Aedŭbŏllun ŭi miso*, 214.

According to the author, "children's comics hold the next most important position to food and shelter, and healthy comics are essential nutrients for children's mental life."[732] This article and most of the rhetoric of the Park regimes public and private campaigns against comics throughout the 1960s and 1970s utilized arguments similar to those posited by Dr. Fredric Wertham's *Seduction of the Innocent*, which spurred the mass campaign against comics in the mid-1950s within the U.S. by claiming its deleterious effects—both in content and visuals—on youth that could result in anti-moral and anti-social behavior.[733] It served as the backbone for the creation of the Comics Magazine Association of American and restrictive Comics Code Authority (1954) in the U.S. while serving as a trade symbol of approval that dominated the U.S. comics publishing companies into the 1980s.

The effect of the creation of a comics code in Korea had a similar, though perhaps arguably more profound impact on the composition of cartoons than the U.S. because of the lack of sound support—both financially and publicly—for the Korean cartoon industry. In the U.S., the comics code devastated the publishers of horror and crime comics, driving publishers, like EC Comics, completely or almost completely out of business.[734] In Korea, the crime and horror comics also disappeared from the mainstream publications, but generally circulated within the black market, a point of angst for advocates against comics and a symbolic criticism for the ineffectiveness of Park's cultural war against crime and moral degeneration.[735] In the U.S., the narrowing of subject matter through the regulations of the comics actually resulted in the rebirth

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[732] *Tonga ilbo* October 8, 1962.
[733] Carol L Tilley, "Seducing the Innocent: Fredric Wertham and the Falsifications That Helped Condemn Comics," *Information & Culture: A Journal of History* 47, no. 4 (2012): 385.
[734] EC Comics, which was primarily known for the production of *Tales from the Crypt*, *Crime Suspense Stories, Weird Science,* and *Mad*. Due to the comics code and backlash, EC Comics ceased production of all of comics in 1956, except *Mad*, which could be reclassified as a magazine and, therefore, not subject to the comics code. Occasional reprintings of these still emerge to this day due to popular demand.
[735] *Tonga ilbo* October 8, 1962.

of the comic super hero, creating what many scholars classify as the "silver age" of cartoons. This started the production of many "flawed and self-doubting" but popular superhero and socially conscious cartoons, such as *The Fantastic Four*, *Spider-man*, the *X-Men*, and *Hulk*. It also was the beginning of the underground comix movement that produced "forbidden" and adult-themed satirical content.

However, in Korea, the same era became known as the "dark ages of cartoons." Some scholars, like Chang Sangyong in *Chang Sangyoung's Cartoons and Era Consciousness, 1960-1979*, argue against the usage of the "dark ages" for the 1960s and 1970s, and it is true that many good comics emerged during this period.[736] However, the general quality and composition of the children's cartoons of the Park era tended to reflect the government and economic forces that controlled the industry and supported the production and reproduction of safe, proven topics. This resulted in many plagiarized or imitation comics. As expressed by Kim Sŏnghwan, "At that time, it is true that there were a lot of bad cartoons to a necessary degree, but if you make regulations for institutionalizing a system, it will deteriorate completely."[737] As noted in Kim Sŏnghwan's early writings, the proliferation of "good" and "bad" cartoons is a condition of all artforms if one took a broad enough perspective of the works instead of focusing on individual pieces as representative of the whole.[738] For this reason, it is difficult to categorize the entire era as a whole as a "dark age" since the majority of commentators and authorities who sought regulation of the industry tended to focus upon the poor quality cases, distorting the view of

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[736] Chang Sangyong, *Chang Sangyong ŭi manhwa wa sidae chŏngsin, 1960-1979 [Chang Sangyoung's Cartoons and Era Consciousness, 1960-1979]*, Manhwa Kyujanggak chisik ch'ongsŏ 019 (Kyŏnggi-do Puch'ŏn-si: Han'guk Manhwa Yŏngsang Chinhŭngwŏn, 2013), 12.
[737] Han Yŏngju, "Han'guk manhwasa kusul ch'aerok," 67.
[738] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Aedŭbŏllun ŭi miso*, 214.

comics in general. For Chang Sangyong, the broadness of the field is partly why poor-quality cartoons emerged because of the necessity of producing mass quantity for an eager public.

> The demand for comics exploded. For cartoonists, even a less-than-qualified person could work on a manuscript for a volume. War cartoons, science fiction, westerns, historical comics, and sports cartoons, regardless of genre, produced very diverse cartoons. Cartoons were a big business for the "businesspeople," where cash went back and forth in trucks. Even though it was poor and coarse, it was too active to be called a "dark age," and it was a time when there were all sorts of secluded points.[739]

As will be discussed in greater detail in chapter seven, businessmen and government regulation starting in the early 1960s would come to dominate the industry and alter the course of cartoon production to align more with profitability and government-mandated ethical compliance rather than art. However, some artists, like Pak Kijŏng, would find ways to insert points of contention into genre through works such as *Tojŏngja* [Contender], which followed a discriminated youth who channels his pent-up frustration and rebellion through boxing.[740] As expressed by Chang Sangyong, "in this dark age, the roots of mass production and distribution of comics sprung up. Just as the Middle Ages paved the way for the Renaissance, the 'dark ages' acted as a resource for the 'golden' age to emerge in the early 1980s" as well as inspire future artists.[741]

Though the comics code had a profound impact on the cartoon industry in general, it had less of an impact on newspaper comics, which some considered separate because their audience was not narrowed to children and often was directed toward adult readers. However, in the case of the four panel strips, which bridged both audiences, the parents and censors who pushed the regulation of the industry sometimes lumped these into the same category as magazine and

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[739] Chang Sangyong, *Chang Sangyong ŭi manhwa*, 12.
[740] Chang Sangyong, 13.
[741] Chang Sangyong, 12.

monograph cartoons, producing similar arbitrary positions for censorship that created extra pressure upon cartoonists beyond those imposed upon the press.

6.3 *Editorial Cartoon Censorship*

Kim Sŏnghwan marked the return from his nine-day punishment for the "scissors at will" cartoon in an illustration of Mr. Kobau walking down a long empty road before saluting his readers in a military fashion.[742] (Figure 6.4) After publishing this comic, Kim Sŏnghwan expressed his tribulation on how it might be interpreted:

> I felt extremely awkward in explaining to readers why I took a break, so I symbolized it through a journey down an unknown road. In returning, would the attachment of a military salute be a sign of salute to the overhaul of the Constitution? Would it be an indication of support of the military government?[743]

The multiple means by which an editorial cartoon could be interpreted became a point of strife for cartoon journalists when the government shifted to pre-screening means of controlling the press and political speech. Though Kim Sŏnghwan wished to show that the military government and their reworking and suspension of the press rights stipulated in the Second Republic Constitution was responsible for his disappearance in the newspaper, any symbol of the military or overt criticism of the regime would likely not pass government pre-censors. Therefore, he made the statement vaguely ambiguous. However, in its ambiguity, it also held the danger of misinterpretation, especially the misinterpretation that he supported the regime, which he largely felt represented a potentially dangerous turn for Korean society.

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[742] *Tonga ilbo* June 1, 1961.
[743] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau in'gan tongmurwŏn*, 252.

Ambiguity in meaning and symbols became the general practice amongst editorial cartoons, especially Kim Sŏnghwan, when trying to pass government pre-censorship. However, this worked both ways as the government censors also took images or phrases within the cartoons to symbolize government criticism even when not originally intended by the artists, which made the censorship seem arbitrary, a consistent point of contention and commentary amongst cartoonists of all genres. This led to internalized self-censorship as artists checked their own works or supported organizations, like the Korean Children's Comics Autonomy Society, in order to avoid deletions or suspension.

Tracking censorship is extremely difficult since it relies on the artist's or government's record keeping, and the fact that the images are purged is part of the reason and intent of censorship, so most instances remain lost. Therefore, historians must rely on secondary references, descriptions, or personal history descriptions, which contains the danger of faulty or contaminated memory, to paint the picture of what was censored. Where records do not exist, one must track the changes in subject with the assumption that topics no longer discussed were either externally or internally censored, which could be true or also be due to a societal change in interest. For my research, most of the censored cartoons and records remain lost or unavailable with the exception of a few famous examples that drew attention publicly or survived because of an artist's or organization's desire to show a history of deletion. Therefore, most of my discussion on censorship primarily is rooted in changes in subject. Fortunately, Kim Sŏnghwan secretly keep some of his purged cartoons and would even defiantly paste a few of them upon a folding screen in later years as symbols of the violation to his art. The undated examples come from the National Korean History Museum archives, registered as Cultural

Properties 538-1 on 21 February 2013. They were all "presumed to be drawn at the *Tonga ilbo*" so they are all done within the Park Chung Hee era (1961-1979). Since none of them are dated, I am relying on my knowledge of events to limit it to possible examples done during the military junta period, but those that may fall outside of this period still showcase the general ideas of censorship implemented at this time.

Criticism of the government did not completely disappear, and the first few months of the junta period, Kim Sŏnghwan heavily focused on political subjects including, but not limited to: banishing of luxury items;[744] crackdown of student nightlife and activity;[745] reduction and transfer of public officials and salaries;[746] reorganization of agriculture and horticulture;[747] revolutionary tribunals;[748] and international relations and nuclear fears.[749] Nonetheless, as the months continued and censorship policies that prevented talk on political subjects became more internally defined by the Park regime, political topics also became less frequent in the Mr. Kobau cartoons.

The main subject that disappeared during the military junta period was commentary on reunification, which now became a forbidden subject. In the latter half of the junta period, when government criticism appeared, it generally manifested in a more tone-down form with heavy usage of symbolism rather than direct attacks like those seen during the Second Republic. This was due largely to the refinement of Park regime's policies on the prohibition of political speech. For example, Kim Sŏnghwan illustrated Mr. Kobau trying to fix a nail sticking out conspicuously from a chair while exclaiming,

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[744] *Tonga ilbo* June 7, 1961.
[745] *Tonga ilbo* June 11, 1961.
[746] *Tonga ilbo* June 17, 1961; August 8, 1961; August 12, 1961; September 26, 1961.
[747] *Tonga ilbo* June 27, 1961.
[748] *Tonga ilbo* August 1, 1961 and August 31, 1961.
[749] *Tonga ilbo* June 29, 1961; July 2, 1961; August 17, 1961; August 28, 1961; October 1, 1961; October 20, 1961; November 5, 1961; November 15, 1961; November 23,1961.

"Politics that makes the nation's people concerned with politics is proof of a breakdown."[750] (Figure 6.5) When he hits the nail, instead of fixing the problem, the chair becomes further distorted. "Why doesn't it get fixed?" Mr. Kobau exclaims. "Humph! Why didn't I ask experts to fix it?" Though Mr. Kobau directly attacks the government for failing to address the people's need for civilian government, he does not use any overt military symbols, which allows the cartoon to be published. In calling for a need to rely on "experts" after his failed attempt to fix the chair, his act emphasizes the need for those specializing in law and the running of society to take charge. This did not include the military, former Liberal Party representatives, or even unqualified intellectuals like himself. In his visual rendering, to fail to do so will only worsen the situation.

Additional topics that still appeared throughout the junta period included: (1) a mutual distain felt between the U.S. and Park's military government. This included occasional scandals involving misconduct involving U.S. soldiers. Cartoonists tended to walk a fine line between critical admiration and frustration toward the U.S. with frustration often more directed at a lack of U.S. assistance or ability to hold the government or military accountable than interference. (2) Criticism of Japan's cultural or potential cultural imperialism remained a safe form of critique, like those described in chapter five. Comics depicting imported fashion and cultural trends from Japan and the U.S. saw some increase, which also attests to the level of censorship and its narrowing of subject matters to societal topics. (3) The main themes that persisted during the military junta period were Mr. Kobau's descriptions of the struggles with the failures in infrastructure, rising prices, and poverty. Poverty, in particular, which was also a key

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[750] *Tonga ilbo* February 5, 1963.

issue during the First and Second Republic, as discussed in chapter five, still prevailed amongst the general population. It was not just that poverty existed, but Kim Sŏnghwan and many others focused on it. Poverty became the key word of the day, leading to various theories and discourses on modernization and development, which would, in turn, determine people's stance on Korea's capacity to pursue full democracy. This discourse on poverty also contained critique of the administration because of the pervasive economic rhetoric in government policy. Though this rhetoric was still in its early experimental stages and had not fully developed into the "economy first" developmentalist state of the post-junta era, the government, nonetheless, still promised relief from these ailments so faced criticism when policies failed to obtain the desired results.[751] For Kim Sŏnghwan, the continuous struggle with poverty illustrated in Mr. Kobau built a sense of comradery with readers while also reminded them of how their struggles represented failures within the government.

Though the Park administration recruited some artists and intelligentsia for advice and assistance in national promotion, Park generally regarded cultural producers as dangerously radical and potential threats to control. In addition to censoring the artists, Park's government-imposed taxes to regulate the industry. One example was the manuscript tax on textbooks and writings. This created undue burden on most writers, who barely struggled to survive within their small, undeveloped market.[752] The Korean Literary Society (*Han'guk Munin Hyŏph'oe*), which was dissolved by the Park administration and then reintegrated in December 1961, made one of their core purposes

[751] Hyung-A. Kim, "State Building: The Military Junta's Path to Modernity through Administrative Reforms," in *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea*, ed. Byung-kook Kim and Ezra F. Vogel (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2011), 104–5.
[752] *Tonga ilbo* January 30, 1962.

to abolish the manuscript tax. Due to pressure, the manuscript tax was officially abolished by the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction (SCNR) in March 1962, though it was still implemented by the tax office several months following despite the cessation order.[753]

Instead of abandoning their taxation efforts, the regime simply revised the measure. Starting January 1, 1963, the Park administration imposed a tax levy of 7-15% on artistic works. This time excluding manuscripts. Though artists, including Kim Sŏnghwan, complained about these new taxes, it had little effect upon the government, which expressed little concern. A reporter for the *Seoul sinmun*, which was a government operated newspaper, labeled artists as "parasites." The artistic community issued a formal protest with the SCNR asking them to withdraw the statement and apologize.[754] Kim Sŏnghwan expressed his disdain by having an incensed Mr. Kobau knock on the door of the reporter's house dressed as a representative of the Mechanical Robot's Organization. (Figure 6.6) It illustrated the ultimate effect that removal of the arts would have on society—turning everyone into mindless robots.[755]

The concept of the mindless robot also reflects some of Kim Sŏnghwan's personal feelings toward the censorship policies of the regime that he often felt arbitrarily or "mindlessly" cut things from his cartoons or misappropriated and attached political meaning onto objects or people he drew that did not contain those perceived implications.

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[753] After extensive complaints through the organization, the Chairman of the Supreme Council instructed the tax office to abolish it in March 1962. However, the tax office continued to collect the taxes for several months. This prompted Kim Sŏnghwan to produce a cartoon, on 19 May 1962, showing a confused writer, who previously praised the regime as "the best" for dissolving the tax, being approached by a tax official who insisted on the tax. The writer, helpless, surrenders while declaring the tax office to be the true highest government. In his 1965 biography, Kim Sŏnghwan would describe this cartoon as an example of the government's inability to "work well," Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau in'gan tongmurwŏn*, 253.
[754] *Tonga ilbo* January 15, 1963.
[755] *Tonga ilbo* January 21, 1963.

In his descriptions of these types of policies, he expressed himself in phrases similar to those famously attributed to Sigmund Freud: "sometimes a cigar is just a cigar." While these deletions may have frustrated Kim Sŏnghwan and other cartoon artists experiencing similar modes of censorship, sometimes the reason for these deletions by the authorities had more to do with timing and the desire to intimidate cartoon artists into compliance than the actual content of the cartoon. For example, on June 29, 1962, the censorship board requested Kim Sŏnghwan to redraw a cartoon depicting the struggles of individuals trying to obtain a visa for overseas travel. (Figure 6.7, original) Instead of overhauling it completely, Kim Sŏnghwan only applied some minor typesetting adjustments. (Figure 6.8, censored) Therefore, the only major differences between the two cartoons were primarily cosmetic with a more overweight figure replacing the first character and a less-scholarly looking man substituted in for the final character.[756] The wording and content remained the same. However, the timing was key, since it was drawn the during the time that Kim Sŏnghwan was preparing his documents for his trip to Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Japan. By ordering Kim Sŏnghwan to redraw a cartoon depicting the difficulty of obtaining a visa, the censor board and Park government presented a message to Kim Sŏnghwan that his cartoons remained under the control of the ministry and that any infractions—both domestically and abroad—could make it even more difficult for him to obtain his paperwork and visa, jeopardizing his trip.

Though some censorship decisions made little sense, on the whole they generally reflected a political sensitivity, especially when criticizing policy that ran contrary to the political messages distributed by the government. One deleted cartoon shows Mr. Kobau

[756] *Tonga ilbo* June 29, 1962. The deleted cartoon is part of the collection of the National Korean History Museum.

trying to recreate the lack of gravity experienced in space by tying himself to a tree. (Figure 6.9) An approaching farmer looks at him and declares that he knows a clever way to achieve the emptiness and weightlessness of space. The real way to do that is to enter his rice sack, which floats weightlessly above his head.[757] Most likely produced on September, 12 1962 soon after the announcement of the speech by John F. Kennedy at Rice Stadium in Houston about the choice to go to the moon, the cartoon uses topicality of the moon race to highlight failures of Park's economic policies and his ability to tackle the difficult issue of poverty and starvation.[758] While Kim Sŏnghwan often showed poverty within his cartoons, the directness of this accusation and the timing might have made it more of a target than general images involving beggars, which were often used to highlight societal issues.

In another deleted cartoon related to the U.S. space program, Kim Sŏnghwan shows Mr. Kobau listening in on the Ministry of Finance's plans to raise taxes on liquor and the manuscript fee. (Figure 6.10) This was a possible reference to the meetings between representatives of the Ministry of Finance and Korean Literary Society in late February 1962.[759] Occurring around the same time as Colonel John Glenn's February 20th Friendship 7 space mission, where he became the first American to orbit the Earth, Kim Sŏnghwan used this reference to illustrate the height that the taxes will go if placed in the hands of the Ministry of Finance. Unlike the approved cartoon mentioned earlier that "thanked" the Ministry of Finance in a tongue-and-cheek manner, this criticism was more

[757] The cartoon is part of the collection of deleted comics in the National Korean History Museum. It is undated, but the style and topic suggest Kim Sŏnghwan drew it around September 1962.
[758] Though the location of the Rice Stadium speech was printed in the *Tonga ilbo*, the association with "rice" probably has more to do with poverty than the stadium.
[759] *Tonga ilbo* February 26, 1962. The cartoon is part of the collection of deleted comics in the National Korean History Museum. It is undated, but the style and topic suggest Kim Sŏnghwan drew it around late February or early March 1962.

directed toward a particular policy, which like the previous cartoon, might have seemed too politically sensitive at this moment and, thus, removed from publication.

Kim Sŏnghwan continued to address literary, cultural, and creative subjects, but his commentary on free speech, newspaper censorship, and most political subjects practically disappeared in 1962, a testament to the effectiveness of the pre-censorship measures and intimidation surrounding reporters during the period. With Park's promise to return control of the government to civilians in 1963, Kim Sŏnghwan expresses a reminder of the darkness left behind and a ray of hope for the future through a special Mr. Kobau 8-panel New Year's Comic.[760] (Figure 6.11) The first four-panels gradually reveals a tiger growling in the night and passing by a steadily climbing moon wearing a military helmet, symbolizing the various forms of intimidation and repression experienced the following year. While the military regime is represented wholly by darkness, Kim Sŏnghwan does show a bit of light in the form of the moon, presenting the sense of adjustment and lessening of the military restrictions compared to the beginning of the year. The second four-panels illustrate a rising sun, with a civilian hat upon its head. A joyous rabbit leaps out and greets the readers followed by Mr. Kobau, who bows and declares, "Many blessings to the return of civilian rule." The implication that a return to civilian rule would hail a more happy and prosperous society is clear.[761] In 1963, due possibly to the promise to return to a civilian regime, which will be discussed in more

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[760] *Tonga ilbo* January 1, 1963.

[761] In the cartoon, the ferocity of the tiger compared to the gentleness of the rabbit provided a symbolic contrast of fear vs. gentleness in relation to the old regime compared to the possibilities of the new. The rabbit is also a traditional symbol for the common people, and the tiger always signifies the yangban, which could mean the ruling authorities at this time. While the image of a tiger and rabbit could be seen as a favorable coincidence primarily due to their placement in the zodiac, Kim Sŏnghwan expertly capitalized on this contrasting imagery to present a political point of view in a form that could pass censors since it could be seen as simply representing the zodiac symbols of the year as well as an endorsement of Park's proclamation.

detail, Kim Sŏnghwan would start to integrate more politically themed cartoons into Mr. Kobau, and this will get him into more trouble.

6.4 *Press Intimidation*

After limiting the production of newspapers and magazines to approved copies, the Park Chung Hee regime chose to take a two-pronged approach to control the information and criticism from the press. Rather than simply openly oppressing publications like had been done with the Rhee regime, which caused harsh protests and anger from the people, the military government chose to pressure artists directly and indirectly through terror and intimidation in order to discourage creativity in criticism. Kim Sŏnghwan, who Park judged as uncooperative, soon became the subject of surveillance and oppression after taking power due to his reputation for criticizing the Rhee regime and early critical cartoon productions, though Park's ire would not fully materialize until 1963. This allowed Kim Sŏnghwan some free room for expression in 1962, including a trip abroad.[762]

In addition to his critical commentary on the military regime, his association with other progressive or radical thinkers placed him on the list of troublemakers and targets of the administration. When an associate with whom he often drank published a novel that was taken up and reproduced serially in North Korea, Kim Sŏnghwan was included as a target for the Public Information Division.[763] This was not position unique to Kim Sŏnghwan, but a general experience felt by artists:

[762] Han'guk Manhwa 100-chunyŏn Sisa Manhwa Wiwŏnhoe, *Han'guk sisa manhwa 100-yŏn*, 42. From 24 July 1962 until 7 September 1962, Kim Sŏnghwan published a series of Mr. Kobau cartoons depicting his travels to Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Japan. He would later include commentary on these travels and additional illustrations as part of his 1965 biography and travel log publication, Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau in'gan tongmurwŏn*.
[763] Chang Sangyong, *Na nŭn p'en igo p'en i kot nada*, 254. This source does not specify the name of the author published in North Korea. Kim Sŏnghwan generally refers to his associates using letters in place of names in order to save them from any sort of social or government backlash.

> At a coffee house, even though two writers were just having conversations about current events, seated close to the table would be an unidentifiable young thug[764] vigorously writing on scraps of paper. Even though they didn't do anything, there was no way to get away from it, so the poets left the café, and once again, the thug was behind them and one could feel they were watching one's speech and behavior.[765]

Since informal gatherings between intellectuals could be construed as an "indoor political assembly," punishable under the SCNR's Decree No. 6, depending on the nature of the conversation, the recording of conversation carried real threat.[766] This constant surveillance limited the conversation amongst intellectuals, and the discomfort also pushed some away from social interaction. Like Rhee's suppression of "friendship societies" in the 1950s, described in chapter four, the purpose of the SCNR's restriction of indoor political activities was to diminish the likelihood of coordinated resistance, breaking apart established friendship circles that often formed the backbone of creative, social, and political movements. The disruption of social groups also amplified the feelings of isolation amongst artists, which possibly contributed to the general sense of despair and disillusionment reflected in the artistic works of this period

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[764] The term, *koech'ŏngnyŏn*, loosely translated as "unidentifiable young thug," is a stand-in for a member or person associated with the KCIA.

[765] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau in'gan tongmurwŏn*, 222. Like with most of his writings, Kim Sŏnghwan replaced the names of the poets with roman letters. For my translation, I simply referred to them as "poets" rather than the representational letters since the letters are meant to conceal rather than reveal the individuals within the story.

[766] Kim, "State Building," 98. Decree No. 6 disbanded all political parties and social organizations as well as banning indoor and outdoor political assemblies. Broadly interpreted, people gathering in coffee shops and restaurants discussing the politics of the day could be considered a political assembly. Decree No. 6 abolished fifteen political parties and 238 social organizations, Hyung-A. Kim, *Korea's Development Under Park Chung Hee: Rapid Industrialization, 1961-79* (London ; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), 237. The numbers of "informal" gatherings broken up out of fear of retaliation under Decree No. 6 is unknown and possibly much larger than the official organizations.

. Suicide became a common theme amongst novelists as the surveillance state increased as well as other psychological disorders.[767] For Kim Sŏnghwan, the constant surveillance became a health issue over time, and the fear of being tailed led to insomnia.

The government amplified their focus on Kim Sŏnghwan after the publication of an article in the *Associated Press* on March 20, 1963 titled: "The Korean People Cannot Speak Carelessly" (*mal ŭl hamburo moth'age toen Han'gugin*).[768] Published four days after Park Chung Hee March 16th referendum for a four-year extension of military rule that included a suspension of editorials, the article focused on and praised a March 18th illustration of "Mr. Kobau." (Figure 6.12) In the cartoon, Mr. Kobau asked a politician, "what's going to happen in politics?"[769] The politician hushes him and holds up a sign reading, "Restriction of the Political Press." Mr. Kobau responds, "I see! You can't speak." The politician then takes out two railroad signal flags indicating "stop." He signals to "proceed with caution" as Mr. Kobau says, "You're going to try starting a conversation about the political situation (*chŏngguk*)." The article commented on this cartoon as an example of how comic characters were able to display profound meaning on forbidden subjects. In the imagery, Kim Sŏnghwan was able to express not only the inability of the press to discuss political subjects, but he visually illustrated how imagery could become the means by which such topics could be broached, something difficult to capture in an article or photograph alone. Instead, one must use signs and symbols to convey and signal one's meaning as shown in the politician's usage of the flags. As the *Associated Press* article mentioned, "Koreans do not write articles about politics or say anything, but in only comics through

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[767] Song Chuhyŏn, "1960-yŏndae Han'guk hyŏndae sosŏl e"; Cho Sŏnhŭi, "Kim Sŭngok ch'ogi sosŏl yŏn'gu"; Pak Taehyŏn, "4wŏl hyŏngmyŏng kwa chukŭm ch'ungdong."

[768] *Associated Press* (Seoul Branch) March 20, 1963. I was unable to locate the original article, but the *Tonga ilbo* (21 March 1963) cites the author as Mr. George, which could be the reporter, George McArthur, who was a well-known Korean War journalist and one of the most famous foreign-correspondent journalists for the *Associated Press* at this time.

[769] *Tonga ilbo* March 18, 1963.

metaphor can it come out. Koreans all understand this."[770] At the time of publication, three of the four major newspapers in Seoul did not publish any editorials, without a single word of explanation, and amongst those, only one ran a lengthy round-table discussion by reporters titled, "Where did it go?"[771] Kim Sŏnghwan was clearly aware of this restriction placed on his colleagues and the power of his imagery.

On the same day as the *Associated Press* article, Kim Sŏnghwan also drew a one-panel cartoon of Park Chung Hee, with a torn copy of the constitution in the background, engaged in a shouting match with two politicians. (Figure 6.13) Between them, they hold up a blank square, and U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk frantically shakes his head above the blank sheet. The caption reads, "Once again, the political situation returns to blank paper."[772] In a reference to his one-panel comic published on May 18, 1961, at the beginning of Park's reign, Kim criticizes the usage of censorship again by the military regime as well as highlighting the U.S. distain for this practice. Rather than a tabula rasa projecting possible hope, the image shows the contention and inner fighting reflected in the censored image as well as Park's attempt to purge his political rivals, a process in which he largely succeeds in finalizing by the end of March 1963.[773]

As mentioned, the highlighting of Kim Sŏnghwan's cartoon and his ability to engage in political speech also corresponds with Park's shift away from his public promise to return civilian rule after Park successfully consolidating his power. This process of consolidation began with the announcement of Park's candidacy on December 27, 1962, which corresponded with his promise to transfer power to elected officials. This provoked an intense power struggle between the "radical" colonels of the Kim Chongp'il and KCIA based mainstream faction and the

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[770] Han Yŏngju, "Han'guk manhwasa kusul ch'aerok," 48.
[771] *Tonga ilbo* March 21, 1963.
[772] *Tonga ilbo* March 20, 1963.
[773] Kim, "State Building," 104.

"moderate" senior generals of the nonmainstream faction within the SCNR.[774] Though Park's announcement instigated the internal struggle, Kim Chongp'il became the main point of criticism and fears, which was further complicated by his controversial negotiations within the Japanese normalization process.[775] Criticism of his handling of the negotiations, seen as "humiliating diplomacy," would explode further into public student-led demonstrations in 1964, which will be discussed in chapter seven. In January 1963, nonmainstream faction leaders publicly called for Park Chung Hee and Kim Chongp'il's resignations, declaring, "the core members of the military revolution should not participate in the future civilian-led government. If they do, there will be permanent [military] rule."[776] Over the next two months, Park Chung Hee would cleverly distance himself from the scandals surrounding Kim Chongp'il, making him take responsibility and serve as the scapegoat for the illicit actions of the junta.[777] It culminated in Park ordering Kim Chongp'il's first strategic exile abroad on February 25, 1963. The success of this political maneuver, which did not damage Park's power position, would inspire him to repeat it several times through the course of his rule.[778] From January to March 1963, Park carried out a total of eleven purges against the Northern Faction that dominated the leadership of the South Korean

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[774] Kim, 113.
[775] The main points of criticism against Kim Chongp'il were, first, the issue of illegally organizing the DRP through a KCIA-initiated "Operation Victory," which gave him control of the transition to electoral politics. Secondly, he was criticized for his negotiations with Ohira Masayoshi over normalization, which was seen as pursing "humiliating diplomacy" and selling out one's country for political gain and power. Third, he was implicated in a KCIA-initiated political fund-raising campaign for the DRP known as the "Four Scandals" that including the selling of foreign goods and manipulation of the markets. All of these scandals would become political hot topic points during the Korea-Japan Normalization protests of 1964. Kim, 113.
[776] Kim, 114.
[777] Kim, 115.
[778] Park would continue to use Kim Chongp'il as a scapegoat after he left the KCIA to join the DRP in 1963 as Park campaigned for his election. During Park's maneuverings to extend his rule in the Constitutional referendum of 1969, discussed in chapter eight, Park used the new leader of the KCIA, Kim Hyŏnguk to "bully" Kim Chongp'il's faction with threats of purges. This caused Kim Chongp'il to back down in his criticism and support the constitutional revision. He would use similar tactics with his declaration of the Yusin Constitution in 1972. Byung-kook Kim, "The Labyrinth of Solitude: Park and the Exercise of Presidential Power," in *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea*, ed. Ezra F. Vogel and Byung-kook Kim (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2011), 149.

armed forces since the post-liberation period (1945-1947).[779] The final blow came in the arrest for an "attempted counterrevolution" supposedly instigated by Kim Tongha, Colonel Park Imhang, and Yi Kyugwang.[780] Secure in his position, Park Chung Hee issued a March 16th referendum for a four-year extension of military rule, which would inspire Kim Sŏnghwan's resistance and decision to risk criticism against the regime, which appeared to be sliding back into authoritarianism.

As further critique, Kim Sŏnghwan metaphorically illustrates Park Chung Hee as a robber where "Mr. Kobau" costumes himself as a "thief" donned in Park Chung Hee's signature black glasses in order to protect his house from a break-in from another robber.[781] (Figure 6.14) While the cartoon possibly references Park Chung Hee's purges of "counterrevolutionaries" as efforts to "defend" his house and maintain "public stability," Kim Sŏnghwan primarily depicts Park as a thief, a criticism of the declaration to extend military rule in his March 16th referendum call, which "robbed" the country of its democratic right to choose its leadership.[782] Though martial law was lifted and political activity allowed beginning in December 1962 as a means of preparing transition to civilian rule, the ability for the populace to protest was still strictly curtailed. The suspension of editorials following Park's announcement as pointed out in the *Associated Press* made the resistance imagery within Kim Sŏnghwan's cartoons even more powerful. The international attention gained in the *Associated Press* article would inspire Kim Sŏnghwan to continue his critiques, perhaps under a similar thought-process as when he published the "Kyŏngmudae satire" under the Rhee regime: that it would create further scandal

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[779] Kim, "State Building," 115.
[780] Kim, 115.
[781] *Tonga ilbo* March 19, 1963.
[782] Kim, *Youth for Nation*, 201.

that would draw more attention to his cartoons with the ultimate goal of shaming Park Chung Hee into returning civilian control.

The article in the *Associated Press* was the first time Korean cartoons were mentioned by foreign media. While most writeups mentioning this article tend to laud the international exposure as a milestone in Korean cartoon and cultural history, at the time of publication, the fact that the article reflected negatively on the administration drew more focus to Kim Sŏnghwan instead of praise. Rather than fining or publicly punishing Kim Sŏnghwan, which could cause further public backlash or create a symbol inspiring resistance, instead, from that moment onward, the authorities committed a man or group of men to trail him. As described by Kim Sŏnghwan:

> In coffee shops or other places, the same man was always attached. Taking a bus, the man came…There was also a jeep near my house. When I went outside, the jeep chased me… A special prosecutor? A prosecutor, a military prosecutor? Pak Ch'angam[783] also had a jeep…It seemed like there were two people in one jeep, and one person standing outside or two standing in the ally and one in the jeep. There always seemed to be three people and one jeep. If you hear them, it's all the same. I also was caught.[784]"

In the interview, he explained that while people these days think of that experience as expected and typical, at the time, it was considered strange, and people tended to not believe him and think it was within his head. The anxiety of being trailed caused him to lose sleep.

After over a month of a half of lack of sleep, the situation grew serious to the point where Kim Sŏnghwan found it difficult to distinguish between family and friends. He tried taking

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[783] Pak Ch'angam was the head of the Revolutionary Prosecutor's Office under the SCNR. His success earned him a dispatch to Vietnam as a military advisor and specialist in guerrilla warfare where he earned a promotion to brigadier general in January 1963. In March 1963, he insisted that Park Chung Hee hand over civilian control in accordance to his revolutionary pledge and was arrested on false counter-revolutionary charges during Park's shake-up. Despite the falsification of charges, Pak Ch'angam was sentenced to 13 years in prison during a military trial.
[784] Han Yŏngju, "Han'guk manhwasa kusul ch'aerok," 48.

sleeping pills that he received at a pharmacy near his house to no effect, and he spent a day lying in a hospital. Part of the difficulty in the situation lay in the isolation and the lack of understanding amongst his colleagues and peers. When talking with a friend who worked as a reporter for the *Asahi Shimbun*, the reporter explained, "I'll tell you what, when one stands alone, even though those jokers are joking, they are fully lost in the crowd; from the outset, this joker cannot do that."[785] In other words, a professional comedian stands out amongst peers and cannot hide, and they are not allowed to live a normal or secure life. Furthermore, at the same time, the price for Kim Sŏnghwan's cartoon submissions also changed. "Because I was not a member of the staff and because the manuscript fees were too small, life was difficult."[786] As mentioned earlier, surveillance and the manipulation of market forces for the control of artists were common tactics utilized by the Park Chung Hee regime in lieu of direct punishment. While it was intensely applied as a sort of "shock therapy" upon uncooperative members of the media, as Kim Sŏnghwan noted, this sort of tactic was still in its early stages, and it would take the remainder of the 1960s to fully develop into an effective and persuasive strategy of manipulation. In the late 1960s and 1970s, the usage of indirect persuasion would be more heavily reliant on economic manipulation, but the threat of arrest and punishment always lingered, presenting itself in more force when Kim Sŏnghwan and resistant reporters acted out, as will be discussed in greater detail in chapter seven.

The foreign attention that Kim Sŏnghwan obtained at this time in the *Associated Press* was also reflective of the criticisms imposed by the U.S. in reaction to Park's referendum. The day before making his public announcement to extend military rule, Park privately informed U.S. Ambassador Samuel D. Berger (1911-1980) of his plans. Upon receiving Berger's report, U.S.

[785] Han Yŏngju, 49.
[786] Han Yŏngju, 48.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk (1909-1994) authorized Berger to inform Park Chung Hee that the U.S. government could "not possibly approve and might be compelled openly to oppose continuation of military government for four more years."[787] It was then reported to President Kennedy, who requested the Department of State and White House to draw up a letter of protest to Park.[788] On April 8, Park Chung Hee partially backed down and announced four urgent measures that included the holding of a referendum for allowing the resumption of political activities. Satisfied with this "compromise," the U.S. accepted this proposal, defusing a potential political crisis. In reflection, Berger believed that "the strong stand by the United States was an important factor in this conclusion," which would be reflected by future historians, like Kim Taehyun and Baik Chang Jae, who would declare this as "one of its most overt and active interventions in South Korean politics."[789]

In clear support of Park's consent for political engagement and the possibility of a restoration of democratic elections, Kim Sŏnghwan illustrated a one-panel cartoon that shows a civilian and soldier in an embrace with the title, "Improved Situation." (Figure 6.15) The caption reads, "If you stick together, you live; if you fall apart, you die."[790] Though this cartoon reflected a state of optimism in the direction of the regime as it re-embraced the idea of civilian rule, it also served as warning that to break apart that relationship would signal the end of the regime.

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[787] Dean Rusk, "Telegram from the Department of State to the Embassy in Korea" (Washington: FRUS, 1961-1963, Vol. XXII, Northeast Asia, March 16, 1963), https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v22/d294. Accessed May 13, 2019.

[788] Michael V. Forrestal, "Memorandum from Michael V. Forrestal of the National Security Council Staff to President Kennedy" (FRUS, 1961-1963, Vol. XXII, Northeast Asia, March 28, 1963), https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v22/d298; Michael V. Forrestal, "Memorandum for the Record" (FRUS, 1961-1963, Vol. XXII, Northeast Asia, March 29, 1963), https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v22/d299. Accessed May 13, 2019.

[789] Taehyun Kim and Chang Jae Baik, "Taming and Tamed by the United States," in *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea*, ed. Ezra F. Vogel and Byung-kook Kim (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2011), 75.

[790] *Tonga ilbo* April 8, 1963.

Here, Kim Sŏnghwan challenges Park to keep his promise, but he does not negate the military altogether, displaying the civilian and the soldier as equals in stature and appearance without a negative implication to either side. This illustrates the complex relationship between militarism and Korean society at this time, where some supported the belief that a strong military presence was not antithetical to a well-functioning government and social order. Kim Sŏnghwan's cartoons generally reflected a confidence in the power of civilian rule over military, but, at this time, he does not take a pacifist stance or deny the military its place in Korean society. Instead, he illustrates the military as an equal force that can be welcomed or at least "non-threatening" at times. The possible "threat" lies in the denial of civilian rule, which was played out in overthrow of Rhee's authoritarian regime by the people.

Though this cartoon shows positive nod to the Park regime in showing equal status between military rule and civilian rule, a possible form of self-censorship, it did not relax the government surveillance. Anxiety continued within Kim Sŏnghwan's personal life. The following day, Kim Sŏnghwan, somewhat lost in a state of insomnia, published his final cartoon in the *Tonga ilbo*. Reflecting his own state of confusion and need for peace upon the public, he illustrated Mr. Kobau wandering around the streets meditating on the past and future of the country. (Figure 6.16)

> "The East is rising, and we almost had a fight amongst our own nation."
> "The terrible smoldering struggle of the spirit is over, and peace is coming."
> "Let everyone recuperate spiritually and recall the past."[791]

He ends with Mr. Kobau gazing at a statue of MacArthur, "There is no change in Korea being a democratic state, and it is said that old soldiers never die, but just keep on

[791] *Tonga ilbo* April 9, 1963.

living."[792] The reference to MacArthur symbolizes intervention of the U.S. in the "rescue" of Korea during the Korean War. In this context, Kim Sŏnghwan alludes to President Kennedy's strongly worded letter to Park Chung Hee issued on April 2 that called for Park to transfer power to the civilian government by his promised date of August 1963.[793] Though referenced as "friendly warning," it contained the implicit threat of withholding of the $75,000,000 earmarked for the South Korean government, which the regime heavily depended upon.[794] With Park Chung Hee's capitulation to U.S. pressure, Kim Sŏnghwan acknowledges the role of the U.S. in returning civilian power as symbolically "saving" Korean once again, while still acknowledging that this type of U.S. power also exists in a military form.[795]

Unfortunately, the constant surveillance continued to plague Kim Sŏnghwan to the point that people started to regard him as a crazy person. In order to cope with the situation, Kim Sŏnghwan took a sabbatical from work, but the dark-shaded figures and fears of surveillance still tailed him despite a public declaration that Mr. Kobau would be recovering from an illness for a short period. An Ŭisŏp replaced "Mr. Kobau" with "Tukkŏbi" and took over production of the one-panel editorial cartoons.[796] (Figure 6.17) For the first cartoon, An Uisŏp drew tribute to his friend similar to the cartoon Kim Sŏnghwan published when Syngman Rhee closed down the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, described in chapter four. Tukkŏbi visits Mr. Kobau lying in bed. Though article published by the *Tonga ilbo* that day does not mention type of illness inflicted Kim Sŏnghwan, the gesture An Ŭisŏp drew of Kobau pulling on his hair implies a mental ailment.

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[792] The scene with MacArthur might also been inspired by a literary reference to MacArthur's statue in a section of Chŏng Pisŏk's short story, "Sanhoŭi Mun" [Coral Gate], which was published in the *Tonga ilbo* on April 4th.
[793] *Tonga ilbo* April 3, 1963 and *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* April 3, 1963.
[794] *New York Times* April 3, 1963.
[795] The cartoon also could be a direct reference to the longevity of the Korean military in Korean politics with the reference to MacArthur as a way to throw the censors off track.
[796] *Tonga ilbo* April 20, 1963.

During his sick leave, when no conventional means of coping worked, Kim Sŏnghwan found order through the collecting of stamps. Through an acquaintance, he encountered Korea's first issue of stamps (*munwi up'yo*). Printed by Japan's Finance Ministry in 1884, *munwi up'yo* consisted of five different varieties without a uniform printing. Each stamp differed in the stamp's holes near the edge and intervals of those holes. When people typically looked at them, they could barely distinguish a difference; it was the measurement of these millimeters for Kim Sŏnghwan that broke him of his insomnia.[797] He calculated the minute space, and after staying up all night without sleep, his interest in stamps became complete, and he conquered his sleeplessness through his focus and determination in sticking to his plan.[798]

While it is generally acknowledged that Park Chung Hee purged most of his political rivals by March 1963, one could argue that through surveillance and intimidation, he managed to almost neutralize one more rival from the political arena in the case of Kim Sŏnghwan, whose "self-imposed" exile muffled or redirected commentary during the months leading up to the presidential election in October 1963. Whether or not this lost voice could have assisted in swaying the elections is unknown, since An Ŭisŏp continued Kim Sŏnghwan's legacy while in exile. However, Kim Sŏnghwan did not completely withdraw from criticizing and publishing during this time and pieces of his works describing his travels in Korea and to Japan and Hong Kong as well as reprintings of his editorial cartoons periodically appeared in the *Tonga ilbo*. He also drew sketches of the South Ch'ungchŏng Province, Taegu, Kyŏngju, and Cheju Island areas where he rested, and he held a solo exhibition at the National Library Gallery.[799] The focus

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[797] Chang Sangyong, *Na nŭn p'en igo p'en i kot nada*, 254–55.

[798] Currently, Kim Sŏnghwan holds one of the most extensive collection of stamps in the world, and he has held several exhibits, produced articles, and wrote a book detailing his various collections.

[799] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: che-2-kwŏn: haebang 40-yŏn hyŏndae sisa manhwa 1962-yŏn-1970-yŏn [Kobau Modern History Volume 2: Modern Political Cartoons 40 Years of Liberation, 1962-1970]* (Seoul: Koryŏga, 1987), 61.

gained through his collecting of stamps and sense of perspective seen in his travels motivated him to continue his fight for democratic liberties and return to the *Tonga ilbo* with a renewed sense of purpose and resolve not to be conquered by fear.

6.5 *Conclusion*

Through pre-censorship regulation committees and "autonomy organizations," the Park regime maintained a fairly effective means of controlling political speech during the military junta period as political subjects became less frequent or muted as shown in the decrease in political cartooning in 1962. Those that were not outright purged generally self-censored. The arbitrariness of the censorship often made it difficult to guess which "safe topics" might pass the regulatory committees. The hassle in having to reproduce works and threat that by producing a controversial subject would cut one from further commissions or payment for their comics made the risk in creating political subject matter not worth the effort. For most of the military junta period, Kim Sŏnghwan fell into a similar dilemma, as a part time member of the *Tonga ilbo* staff who worked on commission. But, these restrictions did not fully silence Kim Sŏnghwan's voice as he continued to produce works that found ways to critique and question the policies and practices of the Park Chung Hee regime.

Throughout the military junta period, the regulator censors and Kim Sŏnghwan would play a sort of "cat and mouse" game, though this game held potential real-life consequences for Kim Sŏnghwan. It would come to a head in March 1963 when Park Chung Hee announced his intentions of continuing his military control. Incensed by this blow to the democratic promises issued at the beginning of the year for a return to civilian rule, which Kim Sŏnghwan celebrated with a New Years' cartoon of hope, though still shadowed in suspicion, Kim Sŏnghwan became

more forceful in his usage of his cartoon weapon, which drew the attention of the foreign press for the first time in Korean cartoon history. It also brought the ire of the Park regime upon him that manifested itself in the appearance of KCIA agents as agents of psychological "terror."

Park Chung Hee's tangible and psychological "passive" techniques of control that he utilized in trying to silence Kim Sŏnghwan would be employed again in the late sixties and more completely in the seventies. Similar techniques would be applied to resistance leaders and other minor activists deemed a threat to the state. It included the arrests and tailing of members of the press and artists as retribution against publications, their associations with people deemed "sympathetic to communism," or threatening to the stability of the military regime. Though Kim Sŏnghwan did not showcase clear-cut ties to non-communist sympathizing socialists, he remained in contact with those within the artistic community that held such inclinations. This guilt-by-association, his critical stance on authoritarianism, and his refusal to join in the government-sponsored regulatory agencies like the KCCAS provided the motive for the KCIA to keep watch of Kim Sŏnghwan's activities, which almost brought him to the point of insanity. However, instead of capitulating to pressure, he found the strength to press through, which helped in coping when such tactics re-emerged, though never in quite the extreme fashion as done during the military junta. Kim Sŏnghwan was not alone in experiencing these types of pressure techniques, for the usage of lists, arrests, and tailing would be applied as psychological force against the media as a whole. For much of the 1960s, the threat or "possibility" of a return to draconian state created an internal control through the psychological threat of punishment that was a necessary component in the overall effectiveness of Park's carrot and stick tactics.

Appendix 4. CHAPTER SIX EDITORIAL CARTOONS

Figure 6.1 (May 16, 1961)

K: “I can’t sleep because of the thieves.”

K: “I need to get a dog.”

K: “Oh my, this time he’s a dog thief.”

K: “Now I need to protect the doghouse.”
[snore]

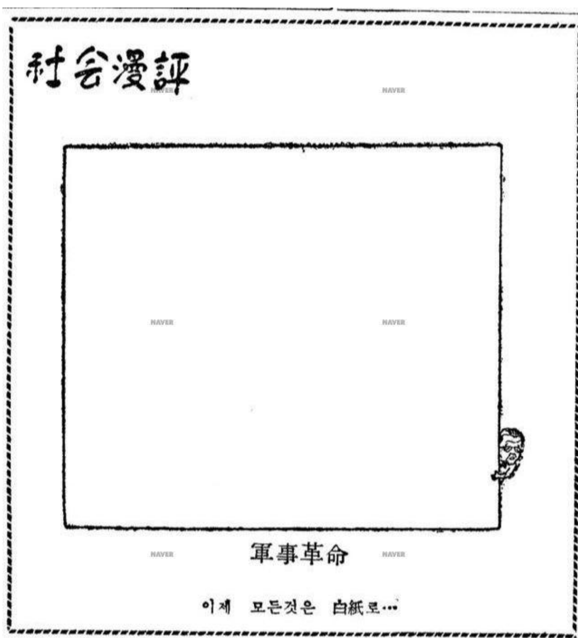


Figure 6.2 (May 18, 1961)

[Military Revolution]

“Now everything’s blank paper”

Figure 6.3 (May 24, 1961)

K: "Let's quietly play a game of Paduk (Go)."
Man: "I don't know how to play."

K: "Old chap, do you know how to play Paduk?"
Taffy Seller: "Let's play a game, ok?"
[snip, snip]

K: "That scissors' noise is very loud, you know."
[snip]

Taffy Seller: "Ahh… this is my habit; it can't be fixed."
[snip snip]
K: "That's a big issue."

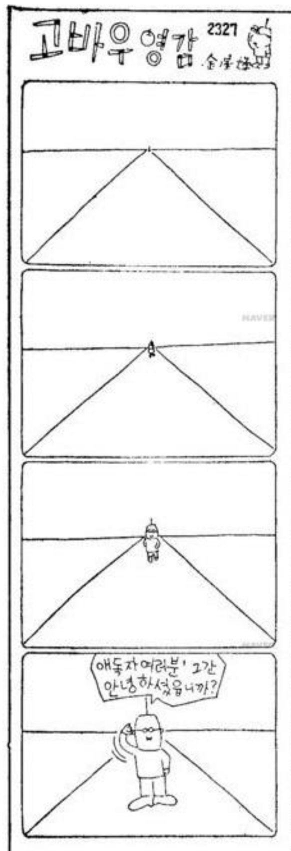


Figure 6.4 (June 1, 1961)

K: "Devoted readers, hello, it's been a while."

Figure 6.5 (February 5, 1963)

K: "Politics that makes the nation's people concerned with politics is proof of a breakdown."
"So true."

K: "Whatever. Why doesn't it get fixed?"

K: "Ack!"

K: "Humph! Why didn't I ask experts to fix it?"

Figure 6.6 (January 21, 1963)

K: "There is a newspaper saying that artists, musicians, and cultural producers are all parasites."

K: "Therefore, they are saying that the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Arts, and Music studies are nurturing parasites."

K: "Oi… scary… they are going to kill all the cultures and arts as parasites."

Sign: That newspaper publishing company
K: "From now on, is it going to be a society of barbarian violence or an artificial human machine society?"

Figure 6.7 (June 29, 1962)

K: "It is needless for blind guy to wear a watch."

K: "It is needless for women students to wear college uniforms."

K: "It is needless for a coal briquette carrier to wash his face."

K: "The procedure for overseas travel is complex before and after the revolution."
Signs: Ministry of Justice; Department of Foreign Affairs; Ministry of National Defense
Stack of Papers: Materials

Figure 6.8 (June 29, 1962) (censored)

K: "It is needless for blind guy to wear a watch."

K: "It is needless for women students to wear college uniforms."

K: "It is needless for a coal briquette carrier to wash his face."

K: "The procedure for overseas travel is complex before and after the revolution."
Signs: Minister of Home Affairs; Ministry of Justice; Department of Foreign Affairs; Ministry of National Defense
Stack of Papers: Materials

Figure 6.9 (censored)

Man: “What are you doing?”

K: “I’m trying to feel the weightless condition of space travel.”

Man: “Rather than doing that why don’t you try to get into this.”

K: “The rice bag for farmers who ran out of food…Pathetic.”
Man: “It’s the status of weightlessness.”

Figure 6.10 (censored)

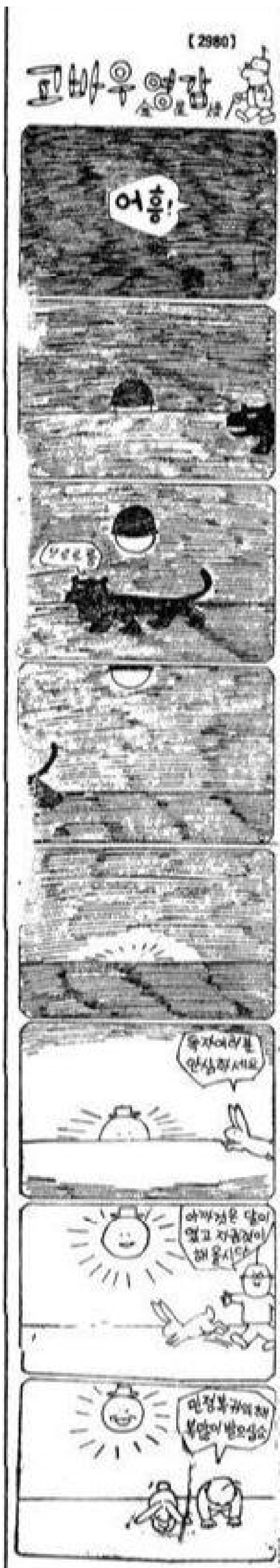
Sign: Ministry of Finance
Officials: “Raise! Raise!”
“Raise the liquor tax!”
K: “I can’t even drink alcohol in this harsh world.”

Officials: “Raise the writer’s fee tax twice as much as the civil servant’s income tax.”
K: “It’s like cutting out a flea’s liver for dinner.” [robbing someone who is in a hard/difficult situation]

K: “Gentleman who can lift things well, try raising this kite once.”

Man: “He he he! It is rising!”
K: “It has risen more than Colonel Glenn’s space shuttle.”

Figure 6.11 (January 1, 1963)



"Roar!"

Tiger: "Growl"

K: "Rest assured readers."

K: "It was the moon a bit ago, and now the sun rises."

K: "Many blessings to the return of civilian rule."

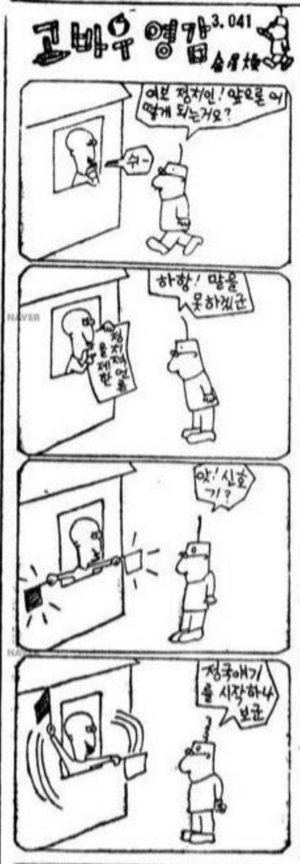


Figure 6.12 (March 18, 1963)

K: "Hey Politician! What's going to happen in politics?"
Politician: "Shh!"

Sign: Restriction of the Political Press
K: "I see! You can't speak."

Flag signals: [Stop]
K: "Ack! Train crossing flags?"

Flag signal: [Proceed with caution]
K: "You're going to try starting a conversation about the political situation."

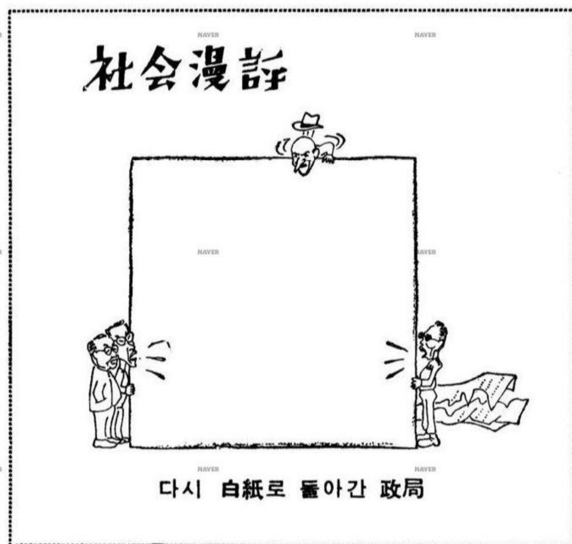


Figure 6.13 (May 20, 1963)

Once again, the political situation returns to blank paper

Figure 6.14 (March 19, 1963)

Wife: "Get up, honey. A thief has entered."

Wife: "Hurry hurry!"

Wife: "You're just dawdling."

K: "Hey guy! I'm the first to arrive. There's nothing more to steal."
Thief: "Woah! Forgive me!"

Figure 6.15 (April 8, 1963)

["Improved Situation"]
(it is a solution but not necessarily improved)

"If you stick together, you live; if you fall apart, you die."

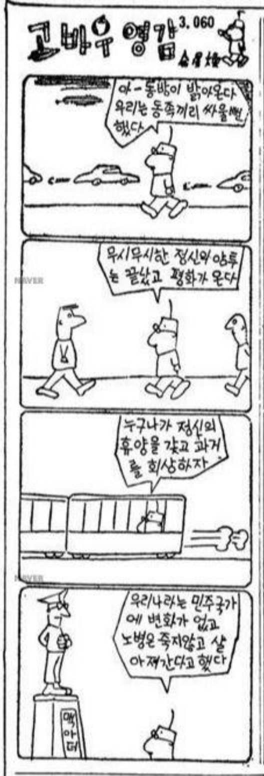


Figure 6.16 (April 9, 1963)

K: "The East is rising, and we almost had a fight amongst our own nation."

K: "The terrible smoldering struggle of the spirit is over, and peace is coming."

K: "Let everyone recuperate spiritually and recall the past."

K: "They say there is no change in Korea being a democratic state, and that old soldiers never die, but just keep on living."
Statue: MacArthur

Figure 6.17 (April 20, 1963)

Chapter 7. PRODUCTS OF PERSUASION: THE FIGHT FOR ETHICS AND THE THREAT OF CONTROL (1964-1969)

> "The military regime has long been wrestling with media repression, and in return has offered carrots, offering all kinds of business benefits to the press. In this way, the media have adopted the media control as a habit and have developed to the point where they can accept it without any hesitation when the authorities exercise "enforcement by consent." Such adherence to the right of conscience has been settled like the practice of our newspaper reports to today, and it is a great obstacle to the establishment of newspaper writers and cartoonists."[800]
>
> -Son Sangik

The return of the civilian government in 1963 and the lessening restrictions on press censorship would create a space for Kim Sŏnghwan and fellow activist minded cartoonists to critique the tactics and policies of the Park regime. However, the following year, this space became limited once again after protests concerning the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty heightened tensions and threatened the stability of the government. Park quickly lay the blame on the "irresponsibility of the press," calling for harsher restrictions and the establishment of a government-mandated Press Ethics Committee. As editorial cartoons fell under the categorization of corruption as a "toxic" art form and a platform for critical, anti-government journalism, Kim Sŏnghwan and fellow cartoonists became increasingly enfolded within this struggle against censorship. They faced ever greater restrictions in the late 1960s as cartoons increasingly became a focus of the regime's "purity" policies. Through a mingling of co-option and suppression, some of these voices would grow muted as avenues for free expression became limited when publishers consolidated—either freely or through government pressure—into larger corporate entities. This provided greater control of the market and publishing content. This also helped foster business ties between the publishers and government, which provided preferential loans to those supportive of Park's regime.

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[800] Son Sangik, *Han'guk manhwa t`ongsa(ha)*, 144.

While limiting the outlets of expression muzzled some artists and journalists, it was not complete control. Kim Sŏnghwan and like-minded editorial cartoonists still critiqued electoral procedures and government policies despite the increasing difficulty. Determined to expose the political and economic corruption prevalent to those in power, Kim Sŏnghwan remained a target for government surveillance and censorship: often having to re-draw his works four times or present an alternative in order to pass the preliminary censors. While this led to a level of self-censorship, it also, at times, caused him to find means to circumvent those censors through imagery. Over the course of the decade, this became increasingly more difficult as the government cracked down on reporters, spurned by Park's frustrations of his characterization within the media.

This chapter will examine the mid-to-late 1960s developments in the regulation of the press and cartoons and two early protests, the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty and Press Ethics Commission Act in 1964. These acts led to greater restriction of free speech through regulatory ethics committees under the pretext of "responsible freedom." I will also show how the process of the corporate takeover of key opposition newspapers, like the Kyŏnghyang sinmun, and the institutionalized incorporation of the cartoon industry helped in stifling outlets of critical or creative expression and made Park's system of regulation and control through ethics committees and pre-censorship ever more powerful. While these duel levels of censorship would restrict editorial cartoonists within two hostile systems of control, it would not completely hamper Kim Sŏnghwan, who would have additional outlets of popular and financial support that helped in protecting, but not guaranteeing, his critical voice. He used that voice in his cartoon weapon, "Mr. Kobau," against the corruptions and democratic contradictions, especially regarding free speech, in the Park regime.

7.1 *Media Coverage and Political Cartoons on the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty*

Armed with a new focus and determination, on January 1, 1964, Mr. Kobau returned to the *Tonga ilbo* with a New Year's greeting to his readers. (Figure 7.1) In a tribute to the Chinese calendar symbol of 1964, Kobau lassoed a dragon and twisted it into a gigantic question mark while declaring, "there still remain many questions marking this year too."[801] In this comeback statement, Kim Sŏnghwan quickly declared his intent to take on the problems of the administration. 1964 and 1965 would prove to be watershed years in Korean economic and political development. It also would bring several changes in state-media relations, opening and then closing outlets for freedom of expression while ushering in a new Press Ethics Commission Act that would further restrict journalistic reporting and inspire the creation of the independent Korean Reporters Association, which would serve as a platform for the struggle against censors—both the internal pressure of publishers and editors as well as the government.

The Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty also represents a key turning point in the Park regimes' foreign and domestic policies, providing a secure financial and diplomatic basis for the implementation of key development plans through the U.S.-Japan strategic alliance and economic support. Unpopular amongst the general public since it contained many symbolic reminders of past Japanese colonialism and a fear of neo-colonialist intent—both from Japan and to a lesser extent from the U.S.—the treaty became a fundamental test for Park's civilian government and its ability to negotiate and implement policies in the face of opposition.[802]

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[801] *Tonga ilbo* January 1, 1964.

[802] For further discussion on the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty, see Jung-Hoon Lee, "Normalization of Relations with Japan: Toward a New Partnership," in *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea*, ed. Ezra F. Vogel and Byung-kook Kim (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2011), 437–63.

The establishment of the Constitution of the Third Republic in December 1963 lifted many of the restrictions on publications and contained clauses proclaiming a commitment to the idea of a free press. Article 18 of the Constitution proclaimed: "All citizens shall enjoy freedom of speech and press, and freedom of assembly and association."[803] This resulted in a reawakening spirit in editorial journalism. However, the new Constitution also contained some provisos:

1. Licensing or censorship in regard to speech and press and permit of assembly and associations shall not be recognized. However, censorship in regard to motion pictures and dramatic plays may be authorized for the maintenance of public morality and social ethics;
2. The publication standard and facilities of newspaper and press may be prescribed by law;
3. Control of the time and place of outdoor assembly may be determined in accordance with the provisions of law;
4. Neither the press nor any other publication shall impugn the personal honor or rights of an individual, nor shall either infringe upon public morality.[804]

For political cartoonists, the provisions related to impugning on "personal honor" weighed particularly heavy upon their works since political cartoons by their nature generally relied upon direct attacks on individuals. In addition, since cartoons often were often targeted as vessels for promoting immoral behavior, as seen in chapter six, political cartoons sometimes found their works lumped within the same categorizations as violent detective comics or provocative sexualized illustrations. But on the whole, many of the provisions carried out by censors tended to be arbitrary, often bordering on the ridiculous in their pursuit of purification.

The start of 1964 witnessed a rise in opposition reporting, but the harsh measures of control and disciplinary policies of the military junta still lingered within the reporter's memories, which initially seemed justified under the rhetoric of "responsible freedom," a stance that would re-emerge again following the Korea-Japan Normalization protests of 1964, discussed

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[803] Youm, *Press Law in South Korea*, 52.
[804] Youm, 52.

later. Resistance to this rhetoric, which would be seen an excuse for suppression of press criticism in order maintain power, would become a rallying point decrying the Park regime as it alternately tightened or loosened control of the press throughout the period of the Third Republic (1963-1972). Two years under policies directed by Article Three of Decree Number One of the Military Revolutionary Committee, which censored in advance any "incitement, distortion, exaggeration or criticism related to the revolution through news commentary, cartoon editorial, photograph, etc." and created carrot and stick like suppression tactics, placed many journalists and political cartoonists, like Kim Sŏnghwan, in survival mode as they waited for a return to civilian government and lifting of censorship.[805] Therefore, for some, the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty acted as a moment to test the boundaries of the new press policies and the regime's commitment to its claim to democratic values and what that might entail.

After six months of a pressured, but self-proclaimed journalistic exile, Kim Sŏnghwan viewed the new press laws with skepticism. The psychological intimidation inflicted by the Park Regime on Kim Sŏnghwan in 1963, described in chapter six, for drawing international attention in critiquing Park's declaration in March to extend military rule, made Kim Sŏnghwan uncertain as to what extent the administration will allow editorial freedom. Nonetheless, Kim Sŏnghwan still maintained a fierce belief that a sound democratic government relies upon a free, critical press. Supported by a rising opposition critical of the idea of "humiliating diplomacy" in the normalization process, Kim Sŏnghwan would use this moment to join in critical discussion and lead the way in testing the limits of editorial cartooning and its expression of political satire. Like in the military junta period, criticism of Japan and Japanese relations was and remained a relatively safe topic of exploration. The support provided by the people for the press in critiquing

[805] Cho Maenggi, *Han'guk ŏllonsa ŭi ihae*, 294.

the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty and visually documenting protests created a space for criticism as Park attempted to balance his position as a legitimately democratically elected leader with wide-spread political and societal disapproval.

This resulted in a return of some directed political topics that virtually disappeared from editorial cartoons under the military junta. While at first, these subjects remained within the confines of the negotiation topics reflecting fears of economic and cultural imperialism associated with Japan, an issue still broached during the military junta period, they often contained hidden layers of critique directed toward Park's administration. Primarily, the topic of student protest and activism appeared regularly and grew more forceful, projecting images like those that triumphed during the April Revolution and early honeymoon period of the Second Republic. These would briefly reawaken the passion of the April Revolution within the student activists and a supportive press recapturing the "young lion" image. It also created similar fears within the Park administration of recreating the fate of the Rhee regime that ultimately led to a declaration of martial law in June and attempted reassertion of authority over the press through the Press Ethics Commission Act, something that would haunt journalists for the remainder of the Park regime.

In an attempt to sell the treaty to the Korean people, the early media covering the Normalization Treaty consisted primarily of staged imagery depicting smiling diplomats shaking hands and their boardroom meetings. These early photographs slant toward the party line policies promoting the idea of friendliness and conciliation, but newspaper articles, political cartoons, and the subsequent increase in reporting of oppositional activity reveal a lack of trust in the government's projected image of "friendly relations." Numerous editorials expressed doubts on

Japanese “sincerity” toward the U.S. security alliance in light of Japan’s recent negotiations with “Red China,” and their desire to take advantage of Korea’s weak economic position.[806]

As stated earlier and shown in the editorial cartoons through the April Revolution (1960-1961) and military junta periods (1961-1963), the topic of Japan was an “safe” subject both in periods of free expression and pre-censorship since the negative historical relationship with Japan allowed a sanctioned form of criticism and the positive pull toward a mutual security alliance created space for positive depictions. The relationship with Japan held multiple layers of complicated and sensitive subjects related to culture, economics, history, territory, and politics. It provided a means to open up discussion on these subjects, even when the topical subject at hand might appear unrelated on the surface.

One of the topics related to Japan and their historical and territorial relationship with Korea, which became a heated subject both in editorials and editorial cartoons, was the fishery issue (Peace Line). Kim Sŏnghwan utilized many cartoons broaching this subject, including one depicting “friendly Japanese fishing.”[807] (Figure 7.2) This four-panel cartoon shows a Japanese fisherman slowly creeping up upon Mr. Kobau, who is solitarily fishing upon the Korean shoreline. In the negotiations, the Peace Line was a prime focus with both parties refusing to compromise. Fears that the government’s desire to conclude the treaty early might lead to a disadvantageous solution to the Peace Line and millions of dollars in lost resources crept into the press commentaries and editorial cartoons. In addition, an increase in Japanese fishing boat incursions violating the Peace Line sparked passionate reactions within the Korean population,

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[806] *Tonga ilbo* February 29, 1964. The U.S. behind the scenes involvement in the treaty negotiations filtered into newspaper reports and editorial cartoons. Like the issue of aid, the cartoonist’s opinions vacillated between request for more involvement and non-interference. These varying opinions over the necessity for U.S. involvement within the talks continued throughout the negotiation and were only minimally affected by events. This expresses a divided and ambiguous impression of U.S. role in Korean affairs. Though the Korean press refers to the U.S. in its commentaries, these are rare and considerably less critical and frequent than statements about Japan.
[807] *Tonga ilbo* March 21, 1964

contributing to the rise in student protests. This cartoon also stimulated thoughts of Japanese colonialism—especially the attempt to win the hearts and minds of Koreans while slowly overtaking their territory. Prior to the annexation of Korea, the Japanese encouraged the infiltration of many reform minded ideas within the Korean peninsula that inspired many Korean nationalists instrumental in implementing measures such as the Kabo reforms in 1895. While these reforms may have proved helpful to the Korean people, they masked many of the underhanded attempts by the Japanese to obtain the Korean territory. The contemporary narrative shows that before Korean's could react, the Japanese completely overtook and annexed their homeland. This caused many Koreans to become wary of Japanese offers of assistance or friendship as expressed in the Japanese character addressing Mr. Kobau while dipping his fishing pole in the space Mr. Kobau occupied, "Let's please build a better friendship."

Furthermore, this cartoon conveys the feelings of technological inferiority to the Japanese by pointing out the antiquated nature of the fishing pole Mr. Kobau is using. Since Mr. Kobau failed to capture fish prior to the arrival of the Japanese angler, it shows the insufficiency of Korean competitive fishing capability due to their paucity of technological resources. One of the forms of loans demanded by Korea during the fishery negotiations were subsidies to supplement and rebuild Korea's dated fishing boats. As shown in the cartoon, with this lack of modern equipment, Korea cannot compete on equal terms with the Japanese and so are forced to settle for subsidiary fishing zones as expressed in the act of the Japanese graciously handing over the inferior head portion of the fish to Mr. Kobau. Finally, Japan is shown as economically greedy, keeping the best portions for themselves while allowing Korea the privilege of their leftovers even when the fish belonged to Korea. These ideas of Japanese economic imperialism and territorial concessions play throughout the cartoons and editorials discussing the Peace Line.

As the treaty negotiations dragged on, the opposition parties steadily grew more critical of the policies within the treaty, primarily the issue of the Peace Line, as well as the treaty as a whole. Students, the press, and other members of the population joined in their discerning judgment while articles and accounts critical of the treaty labeling it as "humiliating" and "traitorous" appear throughout the newspaper columns. A *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* editorial stated:

> We cannot help resenting the Japanese 'high-postured' attitude toward the Korea-Japan rapprochement talks in view of remarks made recently by ranking Japanese government officials in the Diet…that it would be an international good will obligation for Japan to cooperate with Korea, which suffers economic instability…. It is apparent that Korea cannot expect favorable results in the diplomatic normalization talks because the talks got under way on the wrong foot by Japan from the beginning.[808]

With the government propagating slogans of economic independence and national security while the opposition incited the fears of Japanese economic imperialism and national humiliation, many felt torn between the differing concepts of patriotism. The political cartoons during this period referring to the treaty usually addressed the length of the negotiation process, the numerous attempts to reach a compromise, and the difficulties in negotiation. Around mid-March, the concept of the perpetual bow and national humiliation tended to dominate the illustrations. In response to this belief that Korea always approached negotiations with Japan from a low position, Mr. Kobau presented a solution to this problem by suggesting the diplomat shove a ski down the back of his shirt so he might "change the humiliating diplomacy with a high posture."[809] (Figure 7.3) This also echoed earlier cartoons described in chapters five and six, where Kim Sŏnghwan decried the idea of "cultural inferiority" in relations to Japan, but instead of lamenting it, he viewed this type of "humiliating posture" as something fixable even if only through artificial means.

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[808] *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* March 24, 1964.
[809] *Tonga ilbo* March 5, 1964.

In mid-March 1964, a coalition of students, activist intellectuals, and opposition party politicians launched a nation-wide campaign against the normalization treaty, drawing crowds of tens of thousands in cities such as Mokp'o and Pusan. In several passionate speeches, the Democratic Party (*Minjudang*, DP) leader, Yun Posŏn (1897-1990), compared the movement to the "save-the-nation" struggles of the March 1st Movement and April 19th Revolution, drawing on their historical legacy as well as instigating fear within the government concerning possible revolutionary implications.[810] The arrival of Kim Chongp'il in Tokyo on March 24, 1964 to discuss rapprochement with Prime Minister Ikeda would instigate a series of student demonstrations in Seoul that would continue on an almost daily occurrence over the next few months while simultaneously spreading to other portions of the population and country.

The arrival of Kim Chongp'il inspired additional imagery related to Japanese imperialism, including the figure of Yi Wanyong. His involvement as one of the Chosŏn government leaders who signed of the annexation treaty of 1910 provided a clear parallel to the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty with Kim Chongp'il representing a "second traitorous" Yi Wanyong. In An Ŭisop's *Tukkŏbi* cartoon, the ghost of Yi Wanyong appears at the door of Korea—pounding his fits and shouting determinedly. (Figure 7.4) "I am Yi Wanyong. You come out here! You cursed me before as someone that should be knocked off, and now you're doing it again…"[811] On March 25, 1964, following a lecture on the Seoul National University campus, students attached a Japanese-style "war poster" to the law school library that proclaimed, "they will burn imperialists and traitors at the stake," indicating the effigies of the Japanese Prime Minister Ikeda, and DRP leader Kim Chongp'il, which were ignited in the March 24

[810] *Korea Times* March 15, 1964.
[811] *Tonga ilbo* March 25, 1964.

demonstration.[812] The above actions reflect the concept of Japanese imperialism circulating in intellectual discourse, especially the fear of neo-colonial economic imperialism. Many saw Japan as poised to regain Korea as an economic colony within the framework of another treaty. Kim Chongp'il, the signer of the Kim-Ohira Memorandum and instigator of the military junta that halted the student democracy movements, epitomized the student concept of Yi Wanyong as a betrayer of freedom and collaborator with Japan. Despite this negative characterization, Kim Chongp'il personally expressed no fear in being labeled as a "second Yi Wanyong" if his involvement in the Japanese negotiations was revealed, a fitting testament to his unpopularity.[813] The demand for removal of Kim Chongp'il from the negotiations figures prominently in the media discourse, treaty protests, and high-level talks.

Like with the April Revolution, students played a prominent role in the normalization treaty protests. The opposition party and press rallied behind the students, creating a triangular front against the normalization treaty. Editorial cartoons saw a reemergence of the "young lion" type of student depictions that featured during the April Revolution period and practically disappeared under the military junta, when the April Revolution was co-opted and downgraded to an "uprising" and superseded in rhetoric with Park's "May 16th military revolution." Talk on student-led protests held the threat of political destabilization, and discussion on the April Revolution always contained this implied danger. Park's new civilian government attempted to keep a facade of control in face of the lingering fear that protests might lead to another regime overthrow, but the attempt to control the public outcry against the treaty often manifested in

[812] *Seoul University Press* March 26, 1964. It is not clear what a Japanese style "war poster" indicates, since no further description is given or shown. It could mean it has the symbol of the rising sun upon it, which possibly refers to a propaganda poster calling for action against imperialists that was a common theme in Japan's Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere propaganda.
[813] Joungwon A. Kim, *Divided Korea: The Politics of Development, 1945-1972* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 259.

violence. This only made the connections between Rhee's violent suppression of the April Revolution protests and the Park's similar reactionary tactics even more clear. The military police greeted the students with harsh suppression, arrests and police brutality. Stories of injuries and detainments flooded the newspapers with images of blood-soaked students and baton carrying police, inspiring the sympathies of the public toward the treaty opposition and further fanning the fire of the movement.

On April 19, thousands of students marked the April Revolution through simultaneous protests and ceremonies. In a government-sponsored ceremony, Park Chung Hee proclaimed, "the April 19, 1960 uprising demonstrated the firm will of the Korean people to denounce all injustices and violence and to support their beliefs in democracy."[814] Park's position on the April 19 student movement was particularly ironic since he praised the 1960s student protests while simultaneously suppressing the current ones, which, notably, contain similar motivations for demonstrating. Like during the lead up to the overthrow of the Rhee regime, many editorials and political cartoons contained criticism of government corruption with some even going as far as to call for Park to withdraw himself from the head of the DRP in light of these scandals.[815] At the Seoul Citizens Hall, students from seventeen colleges and universities boycotted Park's ceremony with the intention of raising funds for a monument of the April Revolution along with pressuring the government to suspend the "humiliating Korea-Japan talks."[816] Following the ceremony, the students staged street demonstrations that continued into the next few days, increasing in size and violence. On April 20, over thousand-armed police with tear-gas and clubs battled with over six-hundred students—wounding over thirty and arresting fifty-seven—as the

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[814] *Korea Times* April 21, 1964.
[815] *Tonga ilbo* April 18, 1964.
[816] *Korea Times* April 21, 1964.

students demanded "academic freedom" and a "'moral apology by the Japanese' before diplomatic relations are normalized."[817]

Caught within the bedlam, a *Chosŏn ilbo* photographer received several wounds to his face before being roughed up and stripped of his photographic film. This caused an outrage amongst reporters as other photographers received similar treatment by the police—prompting a formal protest to the Police Director and a series of cartoons and editorials within the press. For example, on April 23, Kim Sŏnghwan depicts Mr. Kobau witnessing a group of men beating another man with clubs. (Figure 7.5) The leader asks, "Are you terribly hurt?" and then promptly sends him away. Mr. Kobau asks, "What kind of exercise is this?" The man informs him, "He is a demonstration reporter who is getting advance practice in being beaten."[818] In a similar theme, a *Tukkŏbi* cartoon shows a group of blackened police officers standing before their superior officer who inquires, "Who beat the 'reporter?'" (Figure 7.6) The superior escorts the guilty party to a liquor house where they celebrate the accomplishment.[819] This clearly showed the lack of responsibility and accountability by government officials regarding freedom and safety of the press in the face of adamant protests. However, rather than address the violence, the government issued statements calling for the control of "irresponsible news reports," under the pretext that they contributed to the "chaos" of the protests.[820] For the press, this carried the implication of the shutdowns and censorship during the military junta under the rhetoric of "responsible freedom," when Park Chung Hee claimed "irresponsible journalism" created the "chaos" of the Chang regime, discussed in chapter six.

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[817] *Korea Times* April 21, 1964.
[818] *Tonga ilbo* April 23, 1964.
[819] *Tonga ilbo* April 24, 1964.
[820] *Korea Times* April 24, 1964.

Aware of students' personal association with the April 19 Movement, President Johnson's Special Assistant for National Security Affairs, McGeorge Bundy (1919-1996), on April 21, sent a memorandum to Robert W. Komer (1922-2000) of the National Security Council Staff that proclaimed: "The students, obstreperous ever since they triggered overthrow of Rhee in 1960, are demonstrating again. If Park's police kill a few we may have a 'student revolt.'"[821] Since the 1960s demonstrations in both Korea and Japan had grown in intensity following the death of students, this threat loomed heavily in the distance, especially because a death would inspire sympathies within the citizenry as in the past. Growing tensions also existed on the subject of removal of Kim Chongp'il both within and outside of the Korean and U.S. governments. Demonstrators expressed virulent cries for his removal. Within the same memorandum, the U.S. officials commented on this growing tension:

> [Ambassador to Korea Sammuel] Berger, who's always detested Kim Chongp'il (and almost seems to carry on personal vendetta against him), is worried. He doubts Park will dump Kim but can't see how Park can cure internal split in DRP without doing so. All this clouds prospects for ROK/Jap settlement. Since Kim is great promoter of this (for graft involved, partly) opposition is opposing settlement largely as a means of getting at Kim. ROK in turn is thinking of imposing Martial Law.[822]

In light of U.S. attempts to reduce military and financial aid to Korea, the prospect of disorder and another cession of the talks concerned officials. Despite their desire for a quick settlement, the hostile atmosphere within Korea and Japan forced the Department of State to conclude in a telegram to the U.S. Embassy in Korea:

> Any sign of US 'interference' would be counterproductive. It remains of utmost importance that terms of settlement be arrived at by two parties on their own responsibility. Care must be taken to avoid any appearance that Japan settled at behest of US, and on Korean side we should carefully avoid appearance of

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[821] Robert W. Komer, "Memorandum From Robert W. Komer of the National Security Council to the President's Special Assistant for National Security Affaris (Bundy)," FRUS 1964-1968, Volume XXIX, Part 1, Korea (Washington, April 21, 1964), 20.
[822] Komer, 20.

inducing ROKG to 'knuckle under' to Japanese."[823]

This resulted in the U.S. distancing themselves from the negotiations, at least in appearance, so that the flood of anti-Japanese and anti-government protests would not turn into anti-American ones. Likewise, political cartoonists kept their distance illustrating overtly anti-American commentary, including Kim Sŏnghwan, who avoided the U.S. as a topic during the protests. Since articles critical of U.S. policies in relation to Korea could open journalists to punishment under the National Security Law, political cartoonists also tended to be generally mild in their commentaries on the U.S. and their leaders.

May 16, the third anniversary of the military coup by Park Chung Hee, passed in relative calm, without the protests or glorious speeches that marked the occasion the previous two years. The *Korea Times* saw this sobriety as a sign of personal reflection by Park and a response to the outcries over government corruption and lack of economic recovery promised in the May 16 "revolution."[824] Expanding upon this, the *Tonga ilbo* exclaimed:

> The government, in other words, has no reason to feel proud of the coup and therefore to celebrate. Instead of honoring their original promises, the revolutionaries… brought in Japanese capital under the cloak of properties of Japanese residents, drained our dollar resources…. The mistake committed by the revolutionaries is too serious to look over and forget. It is so serious in fact that no sensible plan can be made for the future.[825]

This public dissatisfaction with the Park government resounded throughout the editorials and political cartoons, which displayed numerous images of government bribery, Park's lack of resolve, and economic despair.

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[823] George W. Ball, "Telegram From the Department of State to the Embassy in Korea," FRUS 1964-1968, Volume XXIX, Part 1, Korea (Washington, May 12, 1964), https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v29p1/d341. Accessed May 13, 2019.
[824] *Korea Times* May 17, 1964.
[825] *Tonga ilbo* May 21, 1964.

On May 20, the day scheduled for the reopening of the Korea-Japan talks, more than 6,000 students held a "National Day of Mourning for Democracy" where many wore the traditional Korean scholar's caps while carrying caskets through the street. By wearing traditional Korean apparel, this distinguished their actions as distinctly rooted in the national heritage, separate from outside influence and conveying a sense of Confucian propriety. To emphasize the sense of national heritage further, the students conducted an Exorcism to Invoke Native Land Consciousness, a shamanistic ritual that marks the beginning of a cultural movement that would develop into the *Minjung* Culture Movement of the 1980s.[826] They branded the previous election as a "scam" while waving banners celebrating the "funeral service."

In a single-panel *Tonga ilbo* political cartoon following the protests, An Ŭsŏp depicted a student carving a gravestone into a memorial mourning the death of democracy. (Figure 7.7) From the motion of his carving, several chunks of rocks fly out and hit a couple of officers in the face. Surrounding an open grave and advancing toward him with batons raised are several police officers. The caption says, "If you dodge, you will not be hurt," an ambiguous statement that could be said from either the student or the police.[827] Like previous cartoons, this depicted the violence prevalent within the demonstrations by showing both the suppression by the police and student retaliation using rocks. However, the rocks are not malicious or an overtly violent attempt to attack the police, but they emanate from the action of carving the gravestone. Thus, the student retaliation stems from the anti-democratic actions of the government.

On May 24, Ambassador Samuel Berger of the U.S. Embassy in Korea reported that the "situation in Korea has again reached a peak of uncertainty, unrest and disarray" while

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[826] Kim, *Korea's Development Under Park Chung Hee*, 99.
[827] *Tonga ilbo* May 21, 1964.

describing the current situation as the "most grave and fraught with difficulty since the May 16, 1961 coup" with "the political opposition intended to bring about the collapse of the government."[828] This reflected the general concern with the Park administration as tensions heated over the paratrooper invasion controversy when thirteen armed airmen entered the house of a judge and demanded the prosecution of all students in custody. Many suspected this action stemmed from extremist supporters of Kim Chongp'il with tacit approval from President Park.[829] Never a popular figure, the protestor's demand for Kim Chongp'il's resignation only increased and grew more violent. This created a difficult dynamic within the Korea-Japan treaty negotiations since Japanese Ambassador Ohno Katsumi sent several letters to President Park threatening a cessation of the talks if he removed Kim Chongp'il. Though Park's relationship with Kim Chongp'il was strained, as he expressed in a secret conference with Berger, the threats from Ohno caused him to vacillate over Kim Chongp'il's dismissal.[830] On May 29, Yun Sukheun (Yun Sŏkhŏn), Minister of the Korean Embassy, "predicted that, unless immediate steps are taken to get rid of Kim Chongp'il and improve the Government's standing before the people, the populace led by the students would topple Park Chung Hee's Government within a matter of weeks."[831]

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[828] "Telegram 1532 from Seoul, Central Files 1964-66, POL KOR S in Editorial Note," FRUS 1964-1968, Volume XXIX, Part 1, Korea, May 24, 1964, https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v29p1/d11. Accessed May 14, 2019.
[829] "Telegram 1519 from Seoul, Central Files 1964-66, POL 23-8 KOR S in Editorial Note," FRUS 1964-1968, Volume XXIX, Part 1, Korea, May 21, 1964, https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v29p1/d11. Accessed May 14, 2019.
[830] Samuel D. Berger, "Telegram From the Embassy in Korea to the Department of State," FRUS 1964-1968, Volume XXIX, Part 1, Korea (Seoul, May 20, 1964), https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v29p1/d10. Accessed May 14, 2019.
[831] Marshall Green, "Memorandum from Green to Bundy, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 59, Central Files, 1964-1966, POL 15 KOR S," FRUS 1964-1968, Volume XXIX, Part 1, Korea (Washington, June 1, 1964), https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v29p1/d12. Accessed May 14, 2019.

After the government ignored a nine-point ultimatum presented by the demonstration leaders, on May 30, 1964, the students of Seoul National University instituted a hunger strike demanding the release of the arrested students, the ceasing suppression of the school, and asking for severe punishment for the suppressors. Over the weekend, the number of hunger strikers, surviving only on water, swelled from 40 to 150. Fifteen students were carted to local hospitals for "exhaustion."[832] In response to this action, many people arrived with gifts for the protestors including eggs, salt water, glucose packs, porridge, fruits, towels, and even duck.[833] Since many of these items were contrary to the purpose of the fasting students, the hunger strikers received some of the items and donated the others to the *Chosŏn ilbo*. Kim Sŏnghwan highlighted the hunger strike with an amusing twist in expectations. Mr. Kobau stands before a mobilized demonstration prevention unit with the belief that they are distributing tear gas, which causes Kobau to quiver in fear. (Figure 7.8) Realizing they were carrying bread and juice, Kobau follows the officers to a group of fasting demonstrators. The police force their mouths open and pour the food down their throats as the students shout, "I won't eat! I won't!" Mr. Kobau quickly realizes that "it's just a special task force for stopping the hunger strike."[834] The symbolism of the hunger strike, especially when performed by the privileged in society, like university students, who possessed the ability to easily afford food, was powerful and could take on additional symbolic meanings associated with oppression, abstinence, and necessity. In this context, strikers linked the performance to the oppression seen within the Park regime, which deprived them of the democratic and moralistic necessities of free speech. Kim Sŏnghwan presses this notion of oppression further by having the police "force" food down the throats, a

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[832] *Korea Times* June 2, 1964.
[833] *Seoul University Press* June 4, 1964.
[834] *Tonga ilbo* June 1, 1964.

possible symbolic nod to the forcing of the "humiliating treaty" down the throats of the Korean people, which might even be worse than the threats of physical violence with tear gas.

In trying to diminish their symbolic impact of the hunger strike movement, the government stated that the hunger strikers are only a very small portion of the student population. However, this attempt was met with further protests from students, which echoed in the *Seoul University Press,* which claimed that the zealous outcry by the people following the declaration of the student manifesto "shows that this demonstration is not backed by a small portion but all the people."[835] Throughout the strike, the students shouted the phrases: "Keep the freedom of the University;" "Stop government terror;" "The Nation is hungry;" "Why are we in this situation where we live below animals?;" and "Why are we deceived by the current government's exaggerated lie?"[836] By early June, the language and issues discussed by protesters, with the exception of demands for punishment of pro-Japanese businessmen, bore more ire and connection to student suppression and economic stagnation than Japan or the treaty. Thus, while the protests nominally instituted the hunger strike in the name of the Normalization Treaty, what they protested had little connection to the treaty itself. This illustrates the fears expressed earlier by Ambassador Berger in the direction of the student protests that they would soon blossom into a full-fledge student revolution, like under the Rhee regime.

Though some editorials remained critical of the escalating tensions, echoing Park's words and trying to deflate the situation, the majority of editorialists and political cartoons supported the efforts of the hunger strike as a cool-headed approach to express their misgivings. In one particularly informative *Tukkŏbi* cartoon, a government official stands upon a podium and announces, "I have an important announcement about the student hunger strike!" (Figure 7.9)

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[835] *Seoul University Press* June 4, 1964.
[836] *Seoul University Press* June 4, 1964.

Several people gather around him as he continues his speech: “The act of fasting by the students are actually the most patriotic act.” He pulls out a large graph with an arrow plunging rapidly downward before showing a slight incline at the end. “Look here.” He continues, “There is insufficient rice. Now we begin to have enough rice to spare. All students! All citizens! All together let’s fast, and let’s have no more concern about rice!”[837] On the surface, the cartoon reflects rise in rice prices and government corruption scandals surrounding the importation of U.S. grains, which would surface in criticism over the management of the funds associated with the treaty.[838] This critical look at the student situation pokes fun at the government’s propaganda asking the nation to sacrifice and live an “austere life” for the good of the nation, which was part of Park’s economic strategy of “growth first, distribution later.”

The economic linkage seen here was part of the ideological clash in the diverging view of modernization that was entwined with the criticisms over Korea’s normalization with Japan, which would emerge in the later protests and become the base for the formation of the *chaeya*.[839] According to Myung-Lim Park, two issues would emerge as the prime focus of the protests and political turmoil of 1964. First, “a clash of two opposing worldviews—pragmatism and moralism, realism and idealism—over how to interpret Korean nationalism, what to make of its political missions, goals and functions, and who ‘owned’ it as a spokesperson for the national ethos.”[840] This would be seen over the cries of “humiliating diplomacy” by protestors, discussed earlier, and repeated figuratively in the editorial cartoons. Park took the stance as a pragmatic leader, asking the nation to hold back its pride for needed economic development funds so build

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[837] *Tonga ilbo* June 3, 1964.
[838] The rise in rice prices may be a significant factor in the unrest and dissatisfaction with the government. More research is needed in this connection.
[839] Park, “Chaeya,” 387–88.
[840] Park, 387.

a "rich nation and a strong army." Second, another clash formed based on diverging views on modernization that rejected Park's "growth first, distribution later," where benefits would "trickle down" through the market, in favor of distributive justice.[841] These would then combine into a third criticism involving political rights where the *chaeya* pushed a vision of Western liberal-democratic values emphasizing procedural democracy in contrast to Park's vision of "administrative" or "guided" Korean democracy that would later take on an almost "trickle down" approach of "development first, democracy later."[842] These criticisms and Park's suppression of the protests espousing these nationalistic sentiments would help in forming the *chaeya*, which would play key roles in the democracy struggles of the late 1960s and 1970s.

Inspired by the hunger strike, over 2,700 collegians, primarily from Korea University, staged demonstrations on the streets of Seoul—leading to the arrest of 639 individuals. Several other universities across the country joined in the protests, though not all demonstrated. Unlike previous campaigns that generally attacked specific corruptions or lack of freedoms, these protests took a decidedly anti-government turn as protestors called for the resignation of President Park along with the dissolution of the Young Thoughts Party—secret cells infiltrating universities—the release of students, and punishment of corruption. Sixty-seven Korean ROTC members joined the demonstrations despite stern warnings from superior officers.[843] These developments prove crucial since Chang Myŏn, who lost power due to Park Chung Hee capitalizing on the perceived "chaos" of his regime, warned students after submitting their nine-point ultimatum "of the grave situation which would result if the student demonstration touches off other rallies by the military and labor."[844]

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[841] Park, 387.
[842] Park, 387.
[843] *Korea Times* June 3, 1964.
[844] *Korea Times* May 31, 1964.

On June 3, demonstrators rose to 20,000 college students and 10,000 citizens, and the streets became "unruly." In the milieu, a group of protestors captured thirteen military trucks barricading the Capital, which they drove through the streets of Seoul before returning them to authorities. Sit down demonstrators turned to stone-throwing violence against the police, blocking traffic. The streets filled with tear gas as the protestors overtook seven police boxes and battling with police. The government officials looked uneasily at the demonstrators while soldiers guarded the residence of Kim Chongp'il.[845] The march toward the Blue House became especially critical for authorities, who nervously recalled the public outcry that led to the overthrow of the Rhee regime.[846] True to Chang Myŏn's earlier prediction that "grave results" will occur if the demonstrations escalated, Park declared Martial Law at 8 p.m. on June 3 while simultaneously closing all campuses. Apologizing for the "troubles in which he was partially responsible as a government party leader," Kim Chongp'il resigned as the Chairman of the DRP on June 5, 1964 in order to calm social order.[847]

According to the Park administration, the press played a large part in perpetuating the student activities through numerous supportive articles and commentaries, labeled as "irresponsible" reporting by the government. *The Chosŏn ilbo* alone ran 90 articles concerning student protests between their start on March 24 and their conclusion with the enforcement of Martial Law on June 3.[848] In my review of four newspapers, I found most articles and political cartoons, though often critical, contained reasonable and often restrained critiques of the government and social situation. This "irresponsible press" judgment dominates most of the

[845] *Korea Times* June 4, 1964.
[846] Park, "Chaeya," 388.
[847] *Korea Times* June 6, 1964.
[848] This data derived from an internet keyword search of the *Chosŏn ilbo* online database, which is categorized according to headlines.

discourse, reflecting a similar categorization of the press during the April Revolution Movement. Ideas of press responsibility played very heavily in the media following the implementation of Martial Law as the government attempted to shift blame, and the general population reflected upon the grave situation.

7.2 *Martial Law and Censorship*

In the wake of the Martial Law decree, the government focused on the press as a major contributor to the nation's turmoil. Authorities cracked down hard on both the press and the students by shutting down college campuses and implementing harsh censorship upon the media similar to measures imposed during the military junta. Each of the papers reviewed for this chapter displayed large portions of text and images removed as blank spaces.[849] The *Tonga ilbo*, notably, embedded a demonstration related insert with sixty percent filled with whitespace, indicating deletions. Only two photographs remained—both depicting students as riotous.[850] Half of the *Chosŏn ilbo* editorials were deleted, and every article on the third page, with the exception of the literature chapter, bore signs of censorship.[851] These omitted portions largely dealt with student activities and demonstrations. In addition, *The Korea Times* displayed the words "All Pages Censored" in bold print in the lower corners of the front page until just prior to the lifting of Martial Law on July 28. This indicates an obvious appeal to U.S. authorities and the international community to intervene and remove these repressive restrictions. Embarrassed by the excessive blank areas in the newspapers, the government forbade the use of whitespace. In light of these developments, the International Press Institute, a global organization dedicated to

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[849] Policies of leaving blank spaces as protests to indicate removals hark back to the Japanese colonial period. The *Tonga ilbo* alone suffered 2,423 deletions of articles from its founding in 1920 to closure by the Japanese authorities in 1940. Chang, "Development of Korean Journalism Education," 49.
[850] *Tonga ilbo* June 4, 1964.
[851] *Chosŏn ilbo* June 4, 1964.

the protection of press freedom, reported, "the new regulations amount to practically complete press control."[852]

Editorial cartoons also received a severe censure. On June 4, censors completely removed the *Tukkŏbi* cartoon, but, interestingly, the title remained, marking its deletion. (Figure 7.10) While Mr. Kobau retained its spot within the *Tonga ilbo*, probably largely due to his popularity, it still contained a meaningful critique of Martial Law. (Figure 7.11) Kobau rolls out of bed with his wife who tucks him back under the covers with the fear that he will catch cold.[853] Shortly afterwards, he rolls out of the covers again. In the last panel, Kobau awakes to find his wife has placed both of them under a table to restrain his activity. Though seemingly innocuous, the cartoon illustrates the idea of the press "falling" outside of their ethical role, which the government equates to an "illness" within the media. After failed attempts of persuading the press to discontinue their "irresponsible" and "unethical" critiques, the government forcibly restrains them physically through Martial Law and censorship. Since the cartoon attributes the implementation of Martial Law to press actions, it could be a reason it escaped censorship, but the surprised look upon Kobau's face indicates a sense of disapproval in the law.[854] Kim Sŏnghwan, in *Kobau History: Modern Current Affairs Cartoons Forty Years After Liberation*, describes how the government immediately arrested eight members of the editorial staff and promptly enacted pre-press censorship "in order to blockade press freedoms."[855] As a result, his cartoons fell under government restraint as shown in the four-legged "restraining" tabletop.

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[852] Chang, "Development of Korean Journalism Education," 96.
[853] *Tonga ilbo* June 4, 1964.
[854] A possible reason the Mr. Kobau cartoons continued without deletions is the popularity of the cartoon. It was and probably still is one of the most recognizable editorial cartoons in 20th century Korea.
[855] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1962-1970*, 92.

Throughout this period, the *Tonga ilbo*'s Mr. Kobau and *Tukkŏbi* cartoons and *Chosŏn ilbo*'s single-panel illustration continued, though in a less conflicting tone, with the exception of a few occasions where they were either deleted or held from publication. Additionally, the *Tonga ilbo* removed the front page single-panel political cartoons until July 29, the day following the lifting of Martial Law, and the *The Korea Times* completely removed the cartoons until July 17, forcing the editors to find creative ways to fill up space. This resulted in a series of absurd poems that managed to mask their social commentary and pass government censors while simultaneously stating their intended purpose through inserting lines such as "poems are made to fill up space, but only God can make a face."[856]

After Martial Law was lifted on July 28, cartoonists returned to commenting on the government's attempt to muzzle the press. Kim Sŏnghwan expressed this with a single-panel cartoon of a pen, symbolizing the press, trying to lift weights next to an open bottle of vitamins, which showcased the determination of journalists to not be defeated by government repression.[857] (Figure 7.12) In Mr. Kobau, Kim Sŏnghwan expressed his frustration further by having Mr. Kobau enter a writing contest with the title, "Infernal Martial Law," with the military police as a live model.[858] (Figure 7.13) While the cartoon shows his obvious displeasure in the situation, it also expresses a feeling of hope that he will be able to comment upon the military regime. Less hopefully in their assessment, *The Korea Times* went a step further by displaying a cartoon of a porcupine labeled as "Press" and a coalition of the "pressmen, government and opposition" together holding a large clipper with the intention of "clipping the quills."[859] (Figure 7.14) This cartoon visualizes the thorny characterization of the press by the administration as

[856] *Korea Times* June 24, 1964
[857] *Tonga ilbo* July 30, 1964.
[858] *Tonga ilbo* July 30, 1964.
[859] *Korea Times* July 28, 1964.

well as compliant reporters who bowed to government criticisms after the implementation of Martial Law. Unsettled by this merger of "obedient" reporters, opposition party members and the government, the cartoon marked the beginning of the Anti-Press Ethics Commission Act Campaign, a movement against press control by government agencies.

7.3 *Clipping the Quills: Press Ethics Commission Act Protests*

Focusing on the press as a major contributor to the nation's turmoil, the government cracked down hard on both the press and the students by shutting down college campuses and implementing harsh censorship upon the media similar to measures imposed during the military junta. Designed to prevent the "irresponsibility" and lack of discipline exhibited over the last few months, the Press Ethics Commission Act (*ŏllon yulli wiwŏnhoe pŏban*, PEC) and the Student Protection Law (*hagwon poho pŏban*) became the requisite for the removal of Martial Law. Since the opposition parties resisted passage of these laws, it left the military in control of the streets for 53 days. A forcible push through the National Assembly resulted in the passage of the PEC on August 4, six days following the lifting of Martial Law.

Through the PEC, Park Chung Hee attempted to continue his control over the press after the Martial Law period. He emphasized the media as dangerous encouragers of the student demonstrations, a continuation of his "responsible freedom" rhetoric. The code of press ethics stipulated in Article 3 of PEC contained nine restrictions of matters in the press:

1. Matters relating to the guarantee of the national security and public order;
2. Matters relating to respect for the reputation of heads of states at home and abroad;
3. Matters relating to the social responsibility of periodicals and broadcasting;
4. Matters relating to guarantee of the fairness of news reports and commentary;
5. Matters relating to guidance of children and juveniles;
6. Matters relating to respect of human rights;
7. Matters relating to the virtue of family life;

8. Matters relating to guarantee of respect for reputation and privacy of others;
9. Matters relating to guarantee or promotion of social ethics and public morality.[860]

Those who violated these prohibitions faced criminal punishments that ranged from imprisonment to fines.[861]

The PEC differed from the already established autonomous Press Ethics Commission formed in 1961 voluntarily by journalists and publishers in response to the threat of the enactment of the Newspaper Registration Act introduced on July 28, 1961, which was abolished after protests from the Newspaper Editors' Association, Korean Newspaper Publishers Association, and Korean Communications Association.[862] The new PEC (1964) was a step up in the level of control, and a return to the pre-censorship of the military junta period, negotiated now through a government-monitored PEC (1964). While the government applied other means of control and censorship on the press that often served the same purpose as the stipulations removed in the Newspaper Registration Act of 1961, these were less easily enforceable. Furthermore, by allowing an autonomous advisory board, which was the provision for removal of the Newspaper Registration Act, it created a less threatening, and therefore, more "welcomed"

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[860] Youm, *Press Law in South Korea*, 53.
[861] Youm, 53.
[862] The Newspaper Registration Act was introduced by the Legislation Judiciary Committee of the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction with the aim to "create a responsible media" by promoting registration through the Public Affairs Department. Kim Chuŏn, *Han'guk ŭi ŏllon t'ongje: ŏllon t'ongje e taehan majimak kirok igil yŏmwŏn hamyŏ [Korean Media Control: Wishing that these will be the Final Records of Media Control]*, revised edition (Seoul: Ribuk, 2009), 308. It contained two provisions to prevent "miscommunication" in the media: a prohibition of publication of defamation articles (Article 6) and registry cancelation (Article 7) Kim Chuŏn, 308. The bill required the Deputy Secretary of Public Affairs to chair a committee of ten experts from the media publishing industry to judge newspaper registration and facilities. If deemed inadequate, they could withhold registration and publication. In addition, if a newspaper article damaged the reputation of another person or was deemed to be untrue, the victim can claim compensation, and if this occurred more than three times during the year, registration would be withdrawn Kim Chuŏn, 309. Upon announcement of the bill, the Korean Newspaper Editors' Association rushed to form a newspaper ethics committee and demanded the "defamation" clause to be deleted. On August 3, 1961, the Korean Newspaper Publishers Association and the Korean Communications Association agreed on the formation of the Press Ethics Committee with the pledge of "freedom and responsibility of the newspaper." Kim Chuŏn, 309. As a result, the Newspaper Registration Act was abolished, and the newspapers adopted a policy of self-regulation.

form of regulation that helped create a space for critique that may not have been possible under direct government control. For journalists, even if it resulted in similar prohibitions on reporting, the symbolism shown in a self-regulatory committee was important.

Feeling betrayed by the "irresponsible and passive attitude on the part of the opposition lawmakers in the course of the passage of the controversial 'evil' law,"[863] as quoted from the *Tonga ilbo,* the Korean press launched a massive struggle committee against the PEC called the Committee for the Repeal of the Press Ethics Act [*Ŏllon yulliwibŏp ch'ŏlp'ye ch'ujin wiwŏnhoe*].[864] As a *Tonga ilbo* editorialist cried out: "The Korean press will struggle against the press act until it is lifted since this is the best way for the nation and people."[865] Though restricted from printing certain articles, reporters still expressed their opinions through editorials and political cartoons. In the two-month anti-PEC campaign, the *Tonga ilbo* and *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* alone penned over 300 articles referencing or discussing the PEC.[866] The majority lambasted the law as "evil" or "draconian"—either as the topic of editorial comment or within the titled reference. Kim Sŏnghwan illustrated several series of one-panel cartoons accompanying editorials in the same forceful style as those published during the Second Republic. Mr. Kobau also joined in the campaign decrying the actions against the press. The *Korea Times* blasted the government two days prior to the passage of the law for "trying to write the worst of press laws to make mockery of the concept of free and responsible press and reduce the independent carrier of information into virtually a government servant."[867] With the possible

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[863] *Tonga ilbo* trans. *Korea Times* August 7, 1964.
[864] Youm, *Press Law in South Korea*, 53.
[865] *Tonga ilbo* August 6, 1964.
[866] Including the non-editorial articles published announcing the formation of the ethics committee in late July, the *Tonga ilbo* published 171 articles and the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* published 144 articles. Many of the articles are short references to discussions, commentaries, or protests surrounding the PEC, but as a whole, they contained a negative editorial tone toward the act and its defenders. The longer editorial pieces were also primarily devoted to discussions criticizing the PEC.
[867] *Korea Times* August 2, 1964.

intention of awaking international support and U.S. intervention in the press ethics crisis, the English version *Korea Times* published many articles, editorials and political cartoons decrying government intervention into press freedoms. However, the U.S. refused to comment on the PEC saying: "the Korean government and peoples are able to manage their own affairs without American meddling."[868] In light of the U.S. call for non-interference, this made the effort to gain foreign support increasingly necessary, causing many reporters to double their means of garnering attention and possibly adding to the ferocity of the campaign.

On August 10, over four-hundred journalists gathered to protest the PEC. This struggle committee produced a ten-point resolution including branding colleagues cooperating with the government as "spurious newsmen" and boycotting "all reports concerning the 'unilateral' propaganda by the government."[869] This referred to the exercise of broadcasting official news reports issued by the government, a standard practice that accounts for pervasive uniformity in most news articles. True to their boycott, the majority of the dailies refused to print President Park's Liberation Day speech on August 15.[870] Vowing to uphold the existing press code, the press supported the continuation of the autonomous PEC set up in 1961, preferring measures of self-regulation to government interference. Announcing the act as "disastrous to harmonious relations between the government and press," the advocates clarified the basis of their reasoning:

> The law is 'unconstitutional' in its contents because it denies the freedom of the press and it interferes with the independence of the judiciary…. The law is enacted through 'undemocratic process' because neither committee-level deliberation nor article-by-article study was made in the course of legislation. It is contradictory from the beginning that matters concerning 'ethics'—not morals—was provided by a law. Ethical matters such as press ethics should be stipulated by those engaged in the field, not by an 'outside imposition' such as a law.[871]

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[868] *Korea Times* August 12, 1964.
[869] *Korea Times* August 11, 1964.
[870] Youm, "Freedom of the Press," 227.
[871] *Korea Times* August 11, 1964.

Taking advantage of government-controlled news agencies, the state retorted through television and radio spots "explaining" the PEC to the people. This included the usage of a state-produced film entitled, "Responsible Press," that pointed out similar committees in countries such as Turkey, India and Italy, which were false statements because these committees actually were separate from their government's control, so they resembled the autonomous PEC not the government-controlled organ.

The government's pro-PEC crusade intensified the need to create a more unified press. This resulted in the formation of the Korean Reporters Association (KRA) on August 17. Representing all news reporters from nineteen Seoul newspapers, news agencies and commercial broadcasting stations, the KRA continued to function after the conclusion of the campaign as an organ for voicing reporter's concerns. In the inaugural speech, Ch'oi Sŏkch'ae, editorialist for the *Chosŏn ilbo*, implored that they "should rise up not only to the rights and interests of journalists, but also to democracy and freedom of speech."[872] In an editorial the next day, he continues: "Rulers often attempt to shift responsibility for their mal-administration on the journalists. But once they become Opposition men, they complain about 'lukewarm attitude' of the press. What an ironic nonsense this is!"[873] Kim Sŏnghwan expressed similar attitudes in the duplicitous views on the press by illustrating Mr. Kobau following a man, who he asks directly what he thought of the PEC.[874] (Figure 7.15) To Mr. Kobau, he replied, "I oppose, of course." When drinking with a colleague, the man supports it. Mr. Kobau then asks him again, while the man visits a toilet, his opinion on the subject. To the man's shock and anger, Mr. Kobau accuses him of changing his mind depending on the place. This illustrates the continuous shifting attitude

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[872] *Korea Times* August 18, 1964.
[873] *Chosŏn ilbo* August 18, 1964.
[874] *Tonga ilbo* August 31, 1964.

toward the press that reflects a sense of skepticism in the support of the people. But he also in confronting the man upon the toilet, he employs a sense of shame in his illustration that emphasizes the necessity of support.

Despite the strong oppositional campaign, Park vowed to remain firm, not retract the law, and intensify pressure. In a written reply to a press questionnaire on August 21, Park Chung Hee stated:

> It is too late now to debate whether or not to accept the plan prepared by pressdom for strengthening of the existing Press Ethics Committee. The existing Committee categorically differs from the one to be established under the new law, because the former is a voluntary organization while the latter is one established by a law of the State. Had the existing Press Ethics Committee practiced more thorough autonomous regulation, legislation of this law would not have been necessary.[875]

The *Korea Times* responded to his statement through a cartoon that depicted Park Chung Hee driving a train, representing the PEC Act, barreling at full speed through a blockade of writers' pens entitled the "Anti-Law Campaign."[876] (Figure 7.16) True to Park's statement, it was precisely this "categorical difference" that the press so vehemently fought against. The idea of self-regulation or that the press sometimes took their liberties too far brought little objection amongst reporters; in fact, the majority agreed with this assessment. The difference lay in *who* should administer the regulation. A government monitored organization, even one comprised entirely of members of the media, is still a non-independent body. Ultimately, this organ still answers to government initiatives, and potentially stifles honest opposition and checks upon abuse of power.

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[875] *Tonga ilbo* August 21, 1964.
[876] *Korea Times* August 22, 1964.

To show that the autonomous PEC was willing to compromise and respond to the social critique of abuse over press liberties, the publishers amended regulations of the PEC, which were also approved by Struggle Committee. While less stringent than the charter set up by the law, the amended policies appeared almost identical to those proposed by the government with the exception of a membership of 17 media agencies within the Commission instead of the 400 proposed by the government that included non-media affiliates and special interest groups. The autonomous PEC even proposed daily review of media services and harsh punishments for non-compliance with Commission decisions. These revisions caused the *Tonghwa T'ongsin* (Tonghwa News Agency) to withdraw from the Struggle Committee because "the penal rules in the revision, which are more or less the same as those in the law, have many factors which would virtually repress the press."[877] This marked the only withdraw from the committee for reason of compromising with government policies. Regardless of the seemingly identical revisions to the autonomous PEC, it still remained as an independent entity, the heart of the matter.

Despite the newly compromising attitude of the struggle committee, Park still refused to withdraw the law. Instead, he increased pressure, through threats and bribes, on publishers and in negative ad campaigns. These bribes included the extension of bank loans for expansion of newspaper facilities and promises of deletion or relaxation of punishment of publishers in the law.[878] These actions are particularly ironic since they were undertaken in promotion of a law established to foster "ethics." While many of these efforts proved successful in persuading publishers, people still subscribed or read the "forbidden" newspapers as illustrated by Kim Sŏnghwan, who showed Mr. Kobau confronting a civil servant sitting at a desk reading a

[877] *Seoul sinmun* August 31, 1964.
[878] *Tonga ilbo* August 29, 1964.

"forbidden" newspaper.[879] (Figure 7.17) When his supervisor approaches, the civil servant immediately feeds the newspaper to the goat sitting next to his desk. The supervisor quickly turns from accusations of reading a "prohibited paper" to praise for his loyalty when he realizes the unread papers remaining are all approved news. Though the forbidden nature of the press might have attracted some readers, the fear that these bribes might ultimately win over the publishers caused the personnel of the Editorial Department of the *Chosŏn ilbo* to demand that "the Government to immediately stop applying pressure to newspaper publishers and declare that they would not hesitate to strike in case their publisher succumbs to the Government's pressure."[880]

Unfortunately, swayed by Park's persistence and threats, by September 1st, twenty-one out of the twenty-six members of the Korean Newspaper Publisher Association, an agency separate from the KRA and consisting mainly of publishing editors and executives, convoked a session of the government-controlled PEC. The KRA and five newspapers—*Tonga ilbo*, *Chosŏn ilbo*, *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, *Taehan ilbo* and *Taegu maeil sinmun*—continued the struggle by proclaiming PEC Act and publisher's decision as "'foolish attempt' to suppress the press and it will be long resented by the people and journalists as well."[881] These actions of the five papers are very significant since four of the mentioned newspapers made up two-thirds of the circulated press in Seoul.[882] In a poignant illustration, Kim Sŏnghwan featured the people's transformation into compliant workhorses due to restrictions to listening to the media or reading the

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[879] *Tonga ilbo* September 1, 1964.
[880] *Tonga ilbo* August 31, 1964.
[881] *Korea Times* September 1, 1964. The *Taegu maeil sinmun* change to *Maeil sinmun* in July 1960. It would again change its name to the *Taegu maeil* in 1980.
[882] The *Taegu maeil sinmun* was a regional paper that held the largest subscription base in *Taegu*.

newspapers.[883] (Figure 7.18) Additionally, these opposing five newspapers faced harsh retaliation actions from the government that included:

1. Subscription of the five papers were stopped by government institutions;
2. They were discriminated against in the imported newsprint prices;
3. Advertisement from governmental sources and organizations was not allowed in the five papers, and pressure was exerted to private enterprises not to offer them ads;
4. Restriction of the bank loan and withdrawal of the loan already offered was ordered for them;
5. Restriction in access to news information was imposed upon the five newspapers only.[884]

In addition, a *Tonga ilbo* reporter was denied a passport by the Foreign Ministry as retaliatory measures against the daily. A Democratic Party representative decried that "the government action is a most vicious press suppression, unprecedented even during the Japanese rule of the country."[885] Disappointed with the stand taken by their paper's publishers, reporters from the *Korea Times* and its two sister newspapers requested a retraction of the vote and vowed to continue their struggle despite publisher's decision.[886]

In the end, it took a banding together of the five major newspapers, opposition parties, religious organizations, the law profession, and universities to eventually lead the government to "retreat." Grasping upon this opportunity, the press obtained a compromise. Though the law continued to remain upon the books, Park Chung Hee promised not to invoke it, relying on reporter's responsible self-regulation through the autonomous PEC. The press took this as a moment of celebratory triumphant. On September 5th, An Ŭisŏp illustrated a bandaged government representative holding a broken sword labeled inscribed with "retaliation" and sweating in the face of a determined journalist holding a pen like a spear before him while an

[883] *Tonga ilbo* September 2, 1964.
[884] Youm, *Press Law in South Korea*, 53.
[885] *Korea Times* September 2, 1964.
[886] *Korea Times* September 3, 1964.

unknown figure lassoed the government representative to reign him in.[887] (Figure 7.19) The caption reads, "Act One, finished. Can't do it." The fact that the figuring lassoing in the government representative is "unknown" allows the reader to fill in their own perception of who might be responsible for this action, which opened up the possibility of including the readers or even the U.S. To further emphasize the support of the public, in the background linger a swarm of nameless faces, representing the backing of the people in defending press freedoms. Though this cartoon depicts a moment of triumph and strength in the power of the press, the fact that the government threat still lingered, and the sword was only temporarily broken but not fully removed caused the law to remain as a virtual "Damocles' Sword threateningly hanging over the pressdom well into the next two republics."[888] In other words, in the end, the press lost by winning. As two journalism scholars commented, "This was an odd situation, in which the execution of an enacted law, rather than a legal repeal, was to be withheld as long as the press remained within the bound specified by the government."[889]

So, the damage was done, and a more cautious reporting style emerged from the struggle. It marked the beginning of the press compliance to the "development first; democracy later" policies that would characterize the Park Chung Hee era, an expression fortuitously expressed in a *Korea Times* editorial two days before the passage of the PEC. "Somehow, though, the thought is dawning on them that the press must do its unique share in a politics of development and nation building."[890] As one press executive later stated, "this may be recorded in the history of

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[887] *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* September 5, 1964.
[888] Chie-woon Kim and Jae-won Lee, *Elite Media and Mass Culture: A Critical Look at Mass Communications in Korea* (Seoul: NANAM Publishing House, 1994), 52.
[889] Kim and Lee, 52.
[890] *Korea Times* August 2, 1964.

the Korea press as a case in which the pressdom put up a good fight only to bring to fore its political subordination."[891]

7.4 *Locked in a Bank Vault: A Financial Mark upon Press*

With the security of the financial loans achieved during the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty and an improvement of economic growth, Park Chung Hee felt confident in his ability to start limiting the powers of the press, which he accomplished through alternating carrot and stick policies. Rather than directly attacking the press, which tended to result in fierce public resistance as shown in the aftermath of the Press Ethics Commission Act, Park Chung Hee utilized the coperate power of financial incentives and the persuasive power of limiting government access to approved newspapers' journalists to obtain control of the press. This was achieved by a slow restructuring of the newspaper industry by restricting newspaper publishers to only a few approved papers and then utilizing loans, advertising, and corporate influence to sway reports toward government friendly stories. It resulted in a slow transformation of the newspaper industry into financially dependent corporations.

When Park Chung Hee lifted martial law in 1963, he implemented the Newspapers and News Agencies Registration Law (*Sinmun t'ongsin tŭng ŭi tŭngnok e kwanhan pŏmnyul*), which made the registration of new newspapers extremely difficult without prior approval of the government.[892] It limited the number of newspapers by making copyrights for existing newspapers a privilege. The threat of revoking this privilege became a regular feature of Park's press policies. The limiting of markets also allowed the existing newspapers to grow financially through expansion of their readership and advertising markets, making newspapers a more

[891] Kim and Lee, *Elite Media and Mass Culture*, 52.
[892] Kim Chuŏn, *Han'guk ŭi ŏllon t'ongje*, 297.

desirable entrepreneurial investment. Newspapers received monthly financing through foreign commercial banks through the recommendation of the Public Affairs Department to help in expansion and debt repayment.[893] While extremely limited in 1963, these low-interest foreign loans became a regular and often necessary part of newspaper budgets. The *Chosŏn ilbo*'s Koreana Hotel Cash Loan is one example of this preferential treatment. In 1967, the *Chosŏn ilbo* received around 67 million won from Japan to help in construction of the Koreana Hotel at an interest rate of 7-8% per annum, which was secured by government approval. Since the domestic rate was about 26% at the time, it illustrates the importance that such loans played in expanding financial assets and industrial stability.[894] This allowed the Park administration to apply financial as well as regulatory control upon owners, which may have led to many newspapers, including the *Chosŏn ilbo*, to turn a blind-eye to government infractions by means of internal censorship.

The fate of the newsprint industry in 1967 also served as an example of how the government could weaken industries through manipulation of foreign import duties. For most of the early 1960s, the Park regime retained a strict quota system on foreign newsprint imports, allowing for growth within the domestic market. However, this changed in 1967 as Park reduced import tariffs on foreign newsprint from 30% to 4.5%, making them far cheaper than domestic paper.[895] Though this was done primarily as a "import liberalization" policy pressured by the U.S., it resulted in a drastic hit upon the domestic paper industry and caused many newspapers to import cheap foreign paper to reduce cost of production. This shock provided a clear reminder of the government's control of the industry, and it showed newspapers potential consequences of

[893] Kim Chuŏn, 298.
[894] Kim Chuŏn, 299.
[895] Kim Chuŏn, 298.

loss of government favor. With little social safety net or legal non-governmental sources of assistance, financial ruin could prove devastating.

The prime victim of Park's economic manipulation of the newspaper industry in his attempt to control free speech was the *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, which was historically known as a Catholic run, opposition focused newspaper that was shut down during the Rhee administration for "false editorials" before being revived after the pro-democracy April Revolution in 1960. Under the guidance of Yi Chun'gu, who purchased the paper from the Catholic foundation in 1963, the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* continued its support of opposition or progressive leaning parties against Park Chung Hee, including strong resistance to the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty and support of the Press Ethics Commission Act. Widely seen as a reprisal by the Park regime for the newspapers anti-government activity, Yi Chun'gu was arrested for violations of the National Security Law and Anti-Communist Law on June 3, 1964 and May 27, 1965, which started a government supported take-over of the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, including applying pressure to those invested in the newspaper to sell or collect on their interests.[896] On January 22, 1966, the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* was auctioned to Kim Ch'ŏrho president of Kia Industries, for failure to repay a 46 million won bank loan.[897] Yi Chun'gu first refused to respond to the request of the KCIA for stock transfer, holding to his long-standing value of resistance to government control.[898] However, upon release from prison with the promise that he stay abroad for ten years and a suggested compensation of 200 million won, Yi Chun'gu transferred his stock to Kim Hyŏnguk, the Chief Information Officer of the KCIA, at the beginning of April 1966.[899]

[896] Kim Chuŏn, 259–61.
[897] Kim Chuŏn, 257.
[898] Kim Chuŏn, 262.
[899] Kim Chuŏn, 262.

Immediately after the takeover, Kim Ch'ŏrho, upon pressure from Park Chung Hee, appointed Park Kyŏnghyŏn, a member of the Constituent Assembly and former president of the *Busan ilbo* during the 1950s, as manager of the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* and transferred 50% of the stock shares to the Blue House.[900] Kim Ch'ŏrho also conducted an immediate and drastic removal of executives critical of the government so that the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* turned from an oppositional to government friendly newspaper. In January 1969, Kim Ch'ŏrho was rewarded with ownership of Sinjin Motors by request of Yi Hurak, the Presidential Secretary of the KCIA, a direct compensation for Kim Ch'ŏrho's work in subduing the oppositional stance of the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*.[901] This forced loss of control of a well-known oppositional press by use of financial pressure stemming from the use of loans and KCIA pressure due to government opposition sent a clear message to the *Tonga ilbo*, *Chosŏn ilbo,* and remaining opposition newspapers of the consequences of resistance.

Kim Sŏnghwan was quick in understanding the implications of the sale. Two days afterwards, Mr. Kobau is seen watching the purchase of the *Kyŏnghyang Shinmun* with a concerned expression, "Where did our press freedom go?"[902] (Figure 7.20) A businessman then asks Kobau to follow so he can show where. After traveling down a long staircase, Mr. Kobau asks, "Isn't this an underground bank vault?" To his horror, he discovers within the double locked thick vaulted doors a large pen labeled, "press freedom." Kim Sŏnghwan regularly criticized the usage of money in purchasing influence that shaped the types of stories allowed within the press, which became a long-standing theme within many of his cartoons and writings. Paek Insu would join in this criticism the same day by illustrating a battered pen being carted

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[900] Kim Chuŏn, 262.
[901] Kim Chuŏn, 262.
[902] *Tonga ilbo* January 27, 1966.

away. (Figure 7.21) In the background stood three pens next to an empty hole, or perhaps, grave. The cart driver shouts loudly, "Kyŏnghyang for sale!"[903] Like Mr. Kobau, Paek Insu expresses a similar concern for the implications of press freedom in this sale, likening it to a death. The three remaining pens symbolize the few remaining "free" newspapers with the implication that they could soon face a similar fate.[904]

7.5 *A Cog in a Machine: Corporate Consolidation of the Cartoon Industry*

In the mid-1960s, the cartoon industry also faced its own economic take-over that profoundly affected the industry and helped forge a pathway toward restricted creative expression and increased censorship. Like with the rise in the national economy, the comic book industry saw an explosion in sales and structural distributional changes centered upon specialized comic book rental shops (*manhwabang, taebonso*). First introduced in Japan, rental shops started to appear in the late 1950s and allowed readers to check out comics for a reduced fee. Within Korea's cash-strapped economy, this provided a means for comic fans to indulge in reading without the high up-front cost. Instead of purchasing a comic and circulating it amongst friends, fans could indulge in a wide-selection of works and genres. Children naturally flocked to the shops, which resulted in an explosion in comic book popularity. In general, publishers preferred to provide comics directly to rental shops than to bookstores due to their popularity amongst readers. However, the fact that a single copy could be rented out multiple times started to effect overall sales and profits. Over the course of the 1960s, as rental shops quickly took over the industry, it intensified competition and contributed to a cheapening of comics with publishers

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[903] *Tonga ilbo* January 27, 1966.
[904] The three pens most likely represent the *Tonga ilbo*, *Chosŏn ilbo*, and *Mail sinmun*, which all took place in the Press Ethics Committee Act opposition. The *Mail sinmun*'s editors were also accused of violating anti-communist laws on December 18, 1965, but they were found not guilty.

cutting costs through means such as plagiarism and low-quality paper. Furthermore, as comic book rental shops popped up around the country, they started to make alliances and often viciously competed against one another's distribution turf, threatening and preventing authors from publishing in rival shops.[905] This harmed many publishers, sending several out of business due to poor sales. By the mid-sixties, three publication companies dominated the industry: Owl Books (*Puŏngi Mun'go*), Number One Books (*Cheil Mun'go*), and Clover Books (*K'ŭroba Mun'go*).

In 1966, Yi Yŏngnae, an operator of a third-rate printing company and known colloquially as "President of Sinch'on," established a publishing company and collaborated with five of the most influential comic publishers as well as all of the most popular comic artists to establish a joint publishing house.[906] He achieved this by taking control of the Korean Children's Comics Autonomy Society *(Han'guk Adong Manhwa Chayurhoe*) and convincing artists of the benefits of collaborative publishing, which he claimed would open new markets closed by the current system of distribution.[907] Despite promises of open markets, his true motivation was to close and tighten control of the comics publishing industry. Works that did not cross through his hands, he would deliberately slow down or modify and thus manipulate the means of their disposal.[908] As the sole distributer, he shut out those who did not have a relationship with him from distributing comics. Once Yi Yŏngnae received the distributions, he would allow the works to pile up so that the publishers recorded a huge financial loss.[909] This continued repeatedly, forcing many to close their doors.

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[905] Chang Sangyong, *Chang Sangyong ŭi manhwa*, 27–28.
[906] Chang Sangyong, 28–29. Chang claims that the number of comic artists signed on by Yi Youngrae to be about ninety-nine percent.
[907] Ch'oe Yŏl, *Han'guk manhwa ŭi yŏksa*, 113; Chang Sangyong, *Chang Sangyong ŭi manhwa*, 28.
[908] Ch'oe Yŏl, *Han'guk manhwa ŭi yŏksa*, 113.
[909] Ch'oe Yŏl, 113.

As Yi Yŏngnae squeezed out the competition, he approached five of the major publishers and set forth the prospect of utilizing price fixing as a collective enterprise with the profits distributed amongst the shareholders. Tempted by the persuasive offer, Owl Books, Number One Books, and Clover Books "surrendered under the banner of the joint publishing company with Owl Books as the first to wave the white flag."[910] After creating five additional subordinate brands under the joint-publishing company, the printing of all comic books took place under their control, creating a monopoly system that would dominate the industry throughout the 1960s and 70s. These types of predatory business practices were not unique to Yi Yŏngnae. They represented larger trends in the corporate consolidation methods in the media and industry supported by Park Chung Hee under the developmental state model, where concentrated power allowed for ease of control and preferential treatment was generally granted to *chaebŏls* who supported state publication and industrial policies.[911]

While the joint publishing company allowed for greater national distribution of comics, it placed heavy restrictions upon the authors and reduced the production quality in order to maximize profits. The joint publishing company limited the number and type of books an author could draw.[912] Those who did not produce popular books in a timely manner were punished and barred from future publications. Speed was the primary concern with little respect to quality. With no other outlet for publication and distribution, this severely hampered comic artists whose visions ran outside of the company's wishes or objected to prices paid per copy.[913] The lack of production quality and the desire for publishers to control production tended to reproduce similar

[910] Chang Sangyong, *Chang Sangyong ŭi manhwa*, 29.
[911] Eun Mee Kim and Gil-Sung Park, "The Chaebol," in *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea*, ed. Pyŏng-guk Kim and Ezra F. Vogel (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2011), 272–301.
[912] Chang Sangyong, *Chang Sangyong ŭi manhwa*, 30.
[913] Chang Sangyong, 30.

works, imitating past successes, usually at the demand of the publishers. As expressed by Ch'oe Yŏl, "Artists were in the hands of the president's demands and their works were stripped down to merely a cog in a machine."[914]

Since many editorial cartoonists also published comic books, the changes within the industry affected their works as well and financial security, pushing some from the industry and making them increasingly reliant on their newspaper income. The cheapening of the publications made the field less appealing creatively as well, contributing to a desire toward an intellectual separation from "trash" comics. Kim Sŏnghwan, for example, often straddled the line between the two industries, though he preferred his association with newspaper comics at this time and sometimes grew upset when people associated him with children's cartoons. He visually illustrated this in a May 5th Children's Day cartoon where his "devil" boss expected Mr. Kobau to mimic the actions of children including skipping rope, reading comics, and eating candy.[915] (Figure 7.22) Though he tried to distance himself by associating with less children's cartoonists and more with popular artists and intellectuals by diversifying his works through essays on social and political commentary and paintings invoking abstract expressionism, the comic stigma still clung to most of his works. This line between newspaper and magazine cartoons would become entangled at times, placing his works and fellow editorial cartoonists under dual regulations and censorship guidelines outlined by policies governing publications by the press and those regulating comics.

The consolidation of the industry and drive for greater profit by cheapening the content and format of comics ended up reinforcing the negative stereotypes, further tightening regulation and pushing more creative artists from the industry. With less diversification in publishing, it

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[914] Ch'oe Yŏl, *Han'guk manhwa ŭi yŏksa*, 113.
[915] *Tonga ilbo* May 5, 1969.

made it easier for Park Chung Hee to exert control upon the industry. The low quality provided the justification in overturning the autonomy of artists, which was seen as a failure in self-regulation. This would lead to a movement bolstered by parents and educators fearful of the "corrupting influence" of "trash comics" and the creation of the government-controlled Korean Comics Ethics Committee.

7.6 *Korean Comics Ethics Committee*

From the beginning of May until the middle of June 1969, cartoonists faced what would become an annual ritual of book-burnings and condemnations organized by the Seoul Metropolitan Government extending into the late 1970s. In front of the Namsan Outdoor Music Hall, government officials in conjunction with the Korean Book-lending Cleansing Association (*Han'guk taebonŏp ch'ŏnghwa hyŏp'oe*) burned 51,000 volumes of "bad cartoons" that included 13,103 romance comics, 9,730 historical comics, 9,680 war comics, 1,418 detective and fantasy comics, and 10,406 general comics.[916] When commenting on the incident, the *Tonga ilbo* justified the burning by proclaiming "the books burned on this day are obscene; the thoughts are impure; weaponry and vanity is in use; crime is encouraged; and the content is crude."[917] As part of the campaign, officials attempted to encourage youth participation in these events, prompting about 100 students from Seoul National University to organize their own anti-corruption campaign and petition against "impure" publications and movies echoing the belief that cartoons "are destroying innocent children's minds and burdening their sense of social ethics through the mass communication of 'sex' and 'violent recreation.'"[918] They concluded the campaign with a

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[916] "Ppaeakkin ch'angjak ŭi chayu."
[917] *Tonga ilbo* May 9, 1969.
[918] *Tonga ilbo* June 10, 1969. The petition included over 3000 signatures, including university professors.

public burning of cartoons and magazines, which was photographed and displayed in the *Tonga ilbo* as a way of promoting an idea of autonomous public support of Park's "anti-corruption" campaigns.

Park's moralistic anti-corruption campaigns had roots in ideas related to "wholesome modernization" based on, as described by Charles R. Kim, in *Youth for Nation*, "aspirational scripts of personal development woven into an aspirational narrative of national development."[919] These were seen in "old generation" and "new generation" conflicts of the 1950s where the "old generation" came from Japanese education traditions, and the "new generation" came after liberation and received formal instruction in Korean language and under an American education system that inculcated the fundamentals of liberal democracy in students, discussed in earlier chapters. The "old generation" became the symbol of backwardness and attached to corrupt or nonmodern practices that should be resisted and overcame.[920] In early student campaigns, "anti-corruption" rhetoric manifested in the New Life Movement of the April Revolution period, discussed in chapter five.[921]Park Chung Hee would again revive the idea of "lifestyle revolution" as part of his National Citizens Reconstruction Movement (*Kukka chaegŏn kungmin undong*) set forth during the beginning of the military junta, which promoted austerity and wholesome sensibility.[922]

In the late 1960s, Park Chung Hee continued these ideas in developing a "new image of the nation" (*kungminsang*), which included an expansion of the education system, in order to formulate a "national revival" (*minjok chunghŭng*) through modernization. The expansion of the education system also coincided with a ratcheting up of Park's campaigns against societal

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[919] Kim, *Youth for Nation*, 43.
[920] Kim, 49–50.
[921] Kim, 180–84.
[922] Kim, 193–95.

"corruption," which focused on potential critical political outlets like magazines and newspapers. Comics became an easy target for those hoping to purge "corrupting" influences, especially in the idea that comics might hinder educational development. Therefore, the expansion of the education policies, in turn, led to campaigns against comics as non-governmental and governmental organizations started to demand tighter regulations. Backed by psychological studies published in the U.S. and similar comic censorship campaigns conducted in the U.S. throughout the late 1950s and into the 1960s, Park sponsored education and ethics committees that latched onto the comics as a convenient scapegoat for delinquency and societal problems.[923] These campaigns included public burnings of cartoons.

While dramatic in symbolism, these public burnings received little attention in the general press in the late 1960s, which sequestered it to short supporting articles in the back pages. Only one photo was taken in the *Tonga ilbo* of the cartoon burnings, which emphasized the students' participation in the act as the primary focus. By emphasizing student participation, the article marked it as more of a grass-roots movement rather than a public branding or attempt at censorship by the government. Editorial cartoonists, like Kim Sŏnghwan, also did not directly comment upon either the May 9 or June 10 burnings, since these events did not occupy the headlines, which is the typical material that editorial cartoonists draw inspiration. However, while Kim Sŏnghwan generally despised this form of mass condemnation of his artform, he may have also realized that a full protest might draw attention to his own works, which he still tried to distance from the lower quality mass produced cartoons at this time.

As mentioned earlier, the reason comics excited such passionate opposition rested primarily upon the long-standing belief that comics were cheap forms of entertainment with little

[923] David Hajdu, *The Ten-Cent Plague: The Great Comic-Book Scare and How It Changed America*, 1st ed (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008).

value and akin to “trash.” The changes within the publishing houses during the 1960s only further solidified this belief as comic book publishers produced increasingly cheaper quality prints and threw out storylines in order to maximize profit with little care for artistic value. In defense of his profession, Kim Sŏnghwan published a nine-page article in 1968 titled “Cartoon Art Theory,” where he utilized historic examples—starting with cave paintings and tracing its' development to the modern era—in order to prove the worth of the genre and its important historical role in the conversation on art.[924] In one of the first works on cartoon criticism, Kim felt he faced a fierce barrier in defending his profession. Using western art history, he outlines his argument on the necessary role that cartoons played in human social and artistic history. In particular, Kim pointed out the importance of satire and criticism as influential ways that “the entirety of humanity can be enlightened. The more and more that cartoons have political and social significance, the more it shows a language of a new society.”[925] This belief and defense of the political role of the artist would continue to stir trouble with government authorities as Kim penned essays and cartoons championing the role of the politicized artists, even those who might fall under the label of “communist,” like Pablo Picasso.

On June 10, Kim Sŏnghwan illustrated Mr. Kobau reading an announcement condemning the display of artistic works by Pablo Picasso. It proclaimed: “Saying Picasso's works are ‘good art’ will fall under the anti-communism law.”[926] (Figure 7.23) This refenced an announcement made by the Seoul District Public Prosecutor's Office on June 9th, which stated the praise of Pablo Picasso would violate Article IV Section 1 of the “Anti-Communist Law” on “praise of foreign communists.”[927] As a communist party member in France, Picasso received the “Lenin

[924] Kim Sŏnghun, *Han'guk manhwa pip'yŏng ŭi chaengchŏm*, 114.
[925] Kim Sŏnghun, 116.
[926] *Tonga ilbo* June 10, 1969.
[927] *Tonga ilbo* June 9, 1969.

Peace Prize" from the Soviet Union in 1944 and painted the "Massacre in Korea" (1951) criticizing a civilian massacre by anti-communist forces during the Korean War, which was the reasoning for the condemnation of the artist. Nervous of possible a possible violation, Mr. Kobau immediately removes a print copy of one of Picasso's iconic female portraits.[928] Behind the portrait, there is a large hole in the wall. Realizing that having a hole in the wall might be more of an issue, he returns the portrait to the spot and includes an explanatory title, "Bad Painting." In the cartoon, Kim points to the absurdity of the Anticommunist Law. It also mocked extreme measures that government went to hide the corruptions and holes within their governance. This could include orchestrating distractions and overwrought campaigns against the media and artistic community, like the comic burnings that occurred on the same day of its publication. The implied meaning of the June 10 cartoon as a critique against the government's anti-communist policies prompted the Public Security Bureau of the Public Prosecutor's Office to call in Kim Sŏnghwan to prepare a statement explaining the image.[929] Unable to find fault with him, they released Kim Sŏnghwan, and for the next week, his cartoons avoided topical issues.

Kim felt a tension toward his role of a cartoonist, often distancing himself from "poor cartoons," but he also recognized the overall value of comics. Since many of the criticisms of the status of Korean comics revolved around the copying and importation of foreign, often poor

[928] The condemnation of Picasso struck a chord with Kim Sŏnghwan because of the abstract and political nature of his work: two components in what Kim viewed as comic artistry. In his writings and drawings, he often wrote on artists, such as Picasso, because "after impressionism (including Surrealism, Cubism, Fauvism, and Dadaism), the connection is not small to modern comics" (Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau in'gan tongmurwŏn*, 181. The fact that Picasso also drew political subjects, part of Kim's own specialization, further drew him to this issue. Declaring the whole of Picasso's work, including those painted prior to joining the communist party, as forbidden because of his later political inclinations echoed some of his personal fears of his own fate and need for freedom of expression. The fact that his father also saw his previous revolutionary activities expunged from the records of righteous patriots because of his loose association with the Japanese authorities as the leader of a farming association in Manchuria might also have colored his reaction, bolstering the desire to defend Picasso's works.

[929] Tei Hitoshikei, *Kobau ojisan wo shitteimasu ka: shinbun manga ni miru kankoku gendaishi [Do you know Uncle Kobau?: Korean Contemporary History as seen in Newspaper Manga]* (Tokyo: Kusanone shuppankai, 2006), 81.

quality, comics, Kim Sŏnghwan warned about this behavior. In writings, he expressed his concern over the blind importing and comparisons to foreign comics. Comics, he said, contains both “high-level comics” and “vulgar comics,” and he felt both categories should not be lumped together.[930] While Kim encouraged artists to emulate “good” comics and improve upon these techniques through study, not simply copying, he states that just because they are foreign does not necessarily make them “good” or “bad” by nature. “Foreign countries can also make trash…. If you just look at the high-level comics, you cannot forget that there are many low-level comics as well.”[931] Through this, he stood behind his fellow artists and the criticism imposed on them by the government and many within the Korean community as proliferators of trash. However, his writing would not draw enough attention and support to prevent the waves of criticism and continual disregard for the medium.

Part of the reasoning for Kim Sŏnghwan’s need to defend the cartoon medium was in reaction to movement toward greater regulatory control, which manifested in a dissolution of the previous independent Korean Children’s Comic Autonomy Society on August 31,1968 by the Korean Ministry of Culture and Public Affairs. This was replaced with the government-controlled Comics Ethics Committee (CEC), which become a legal institution. The ministry enacted the Children’s Cartoon Code of Ethics and the Korean Children’s Practice Guidelines, systematizing all volumes and pages of cartoons in a similar fashion to regulations imposed upon the press in 1962.[932] According to the law, cartoonists, who were previously allowed to publish unlimited volumes, were limited to 130 pages with a maximum of three volumes.[933] In the 1970s,

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[930] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau in’gan tongmurwŏn*, 181.
[931] Kim Sŏnghwan, 181.
[932] On 31 July 1962, the Park regime implemented the “Standards for the Implementation of the Press Policy” that reduced the allowed publications from 12 pages per day for morning and evening to 8 pages total, which caused newspaper publishers to economize, often giving priority to profit over substance. Cho Maenggi, *Han’guk ŏllonsa ŭi ihae*, 296.
[933] *Hangyŏre* March 7, 2012.

it was regulated further so that all cartoon series, which during the 1960s could be extended into multiple three-volume series, had to artificially finish within 390 pages.[934] This caused great frustration amongst artists. It also limited the runs of popular series, diminishing their revenue streams. This made it more difficult for a series artist to gain name recognition, limiting their power in contract negotiations. Furthermore, CEC was defined primarily by those outside the industry, including: educators, youth leaders, lawyers, religious people, journalists, women's organizations, children's literature writers, and the Interior Ministry's official in charge of Youth Affairs (Naemubu Ch'ŏngsonyŏn k'wan'gyegwan).[935] Only two cartoonists served upon the CEC, and it was further stipulated that the chairman of the CEC was to be "a cartoonist or someone without cartoon connections," leaving the regulation of comics primarily in the hands of non-experts.[936] The CEC was given authority to "revise, delete, confirm correction, completely modify, amend, and discard" all comics with the failure to comply resulting in sanctions, disciplinary action, suspension, or expulsion of membership.[937] Since the consolidation of the industry left no publications outside of Yi Yŏngnae's joint publishing company's control, which also participated within the CEC and held powerful influence in their decisions, cartoonists had no choice but to comply to CEC instructions or whims.

This was part of a larger trend in the restructuring of the media and creative control by conglomerates focusing on profit and the government limiting of non-compliant, "dangerous" speech. Like with implementation of the Press Ethics Commission Act and the restructuring of the press, the Park regime utilized both corporate and legal pressure to regulate and censor the

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[934] *Hangyŏre* March 7, 2012.
[935] Ch'oe Yŏl, *Han'guk manhwa ŭi yŏksa*, 106. For the ethics committee, there were two cartoonists, two educators, and two connected to youth leadership. The remaining representatives held one member a piece.
[936] Ch'oe Yŏl, 106.
[937] Ch'oe Yŏl, 106.

industry. The consolidation of the industry made the implementation of these laws easier since comic artists had no friendly publishers that could provide recourse for pushback. Therefore, Park Chung Hee was able to regulate and implement even harsher levels of control upon a creative industry, which would not only affect children's comic artists, but editorial cartoonists who sometimes depended on these additional revenue streams and could be blacklisted if they crossed the line. It also made it difficult for these editorial cartoonists to protest or create sensitive political content within the press since expulsion for overtly political speech might also block them from publishing illustrative comics now regulated under similar censoring laws and ministry control. As a result, most comic artists were forced into drawing comics that would not be subject to deliberation, creating watered-down, non-political, and non-controversial cartoons leading to what would be labeled by artists and historians as the "dark ages" of comics.

Kim Sŏnghwan proved an exception to most of these rules because starting in 1964, he held a full-time position at the *Tonga ilbo*, after years of doing part-time contract labor. He further consolidate his personal control over his art by acquiring the copyright for the character of Mr. Kobau in 1969.[938] Furthermore, in 1969, the *Tonga ilbo* started to place a small advertisement underneath Mr. Kobau, which would become the most expensive piece of advertising in the paper, which Kim Sŏnghwan claimed equaled the sum of seven senior staff persons' salaries.[939] This spoke to the popularity of his cartoon. His creative control and the potential economic leverage when negotiating with the *Tonga ilbo* due to advertising revenue gave him an addition shield, though not complete protection, against government interference and internal censorship.

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[938] Taehan Min'guk Yŏksa Pangmulgwan, *Kobau ka para pon uri hyŏndaesa*, 264.
[939] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Ŏlgul i nemokkol ro poyŏtta: manhwa Kobau ŭi pittakhan sesang [My Face Resembles a Rectangle: The Shaky World of Kobau Cartoons]* (Seoul: Sam kwa Kkun, 1992), 187.

7.7 *Conclusion*

Over the course of the late 1960s and into the 1970s, the Park Chung Hee regime would deepen its control of the press and cartoon industry through the usage of regulatory ethics commissions described in this chapter. This control was largely justified by two separate though complementary narratives of an "irresponsible" press and "trash" comics that both affected editorial cartoonists and fell within Park's moralistic prerogative that justified laws and committees supporting ethics and punishing violations under a need for "responsible freedom." As seen in the Press Ethics Commission (PEC) protests, this narrative of an "irresponsible press" was not easily accepted by reporters and editors in the newspaper industry, who viewed it as simply a means of control over government criticism and a violation of the principles of free speech seen in healthy democracies. The protests of the journalists did result in a symbolic victory as Park Chung Hee "promised" not to enforce the PEC, which would provide some momentum for future clashes with Park's press policies. Nonetheless, it was not a complete victory for it allowed the PEC to hang "like Damocles sword" over the press with Yi Chun'gu of the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, though not directly, as its first victim.[940]

In ideological motivation, the belief in press freedoms and the memories associated with free speech during the April Revolution period acted like a carrot to give energy to journalists and incentives to press forward. However, the criticism lobbied against the press as "irresponsible"—another narrative associated with the April Revolution period—led to Park Chung Hee's ability to enact pre-publication censorship policies during the military junta. Following the Korea-Japan Normalization protests, it served as a stick. The reenactment of

[940] Kim and Lee, *Elite Media and Mass Culture*, 52.

martial law during treaty protests only reinforced the memories of silencing during the military junta and the reminder that things could return to this state again. Yet, the feeling that the public agreed with the reporting of criticisms and protests surrounding the treaty, the reason for the implementation of the PEC, and the previous triumph of press protests in 1961 gave journalists a boost of confidence.[941] Editorial cartoonists, like Kim Sŏnghwan, who tried to both capture the public sentiment and interest in their drawings while promoting their personal agenda, joined in the PEC campaign and helped increase the impact of the message through visualization.

The carrot and stick is a common metaphor utilized in describing Park Chung Hee's policies during the 1960s and early 1970s, but many of these techniques did not fully materialize until the mid-to-late-1960s when the economic development plans started to improve in their results and build an network of increasingly intermingling institutional and industry support. The integration of the media, including cartoonists, through incentives and punishments would begin in the early sixties. This was seen in the distribution of loans and special access privileges to compliant reporters (carrots) and the forced payment of loans or withdrawal of ads in oppositional press (sticks) during the PEC campaign and implementation of the Korean Children's Comics Autonomy Society. This period also saw the expansion of regulatory committees, which began as autonomous organizations and then through changes in laws and the infiltration of coperate interests backed or supported by the government saw the gradual

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[941] In addition, the U.S. criticism of Park Chung Hee's attempts to extend military rule in March 1963 and general distain for overt press censorship gave further hope to the press that U.S. censure might keep Park Chung Hee from succeeding in re-initializing his press control policies. As argued by Chung-in Moon and Byung-joon Jun, "U.S. intervention made America the primary source of democratic ideals and support for political opposition groups in South Korea, encouraging the formation of a transnational alliance between Americans and South Korean opposition groups against Park's authoritarian rule." Chung-in Moon and Byung-joon Jun, "Modernization Strategy: Ideas and Influences," in *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea*, ed. Byung-kook Kim and Ezra F. Vogel (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2011), 138.

normalization and acceptance of government mandates. The effects of these methods into institutionalized control will be discussed in greater detail in chapter eight.

In 1964, Kim Sŏnghwan was added as a permanent member of the staff in the *Tonga ilbo*, which gave him considerably more financial security through a steady—though still regularly negotiated income—than most of the editorial cartoonists, who worked as part-time contract workers. This would help boost confidence in his critique and give a sense of protection to counter the intimidation and pressure that the Park regime would occasionally apply to try to reign him in. At times, it also placed additional pressure to conform or produce extra "safe" works in order to satisfy his mandated deadlines when the censor boards removed controversial cartoons. This conflict of interest would plague Kim Sŏnghwan throughout the Park period and much of his career, until democratization in the late 80s lifted most of those editorial restrictions.

Appendix 5. CHAPTER SEVEN EDITORIAL CARTOONS

Figure 7.1 (January 1, 1964)

K: “New Year’s Blessings Readers.”

K: “Although there still remain many questions marking this year too.”

Figure 7.2 (March 21, 1964)

Japanese Fisherman: “Let me get a little bit closer to catch [fish].”

Japanese Fisherman: “Let’s please build a better friendship.”

Japanese Fisherman: “Your fishing rod is old, I’ll cast [fish] for you.”

Japanese Fisherman: “I will give you the top head portion and I will take the bottom tail portion.”

Figure 7.3 (March 5, 1964)

Woman: “Good luck at the Korea-Japan Normalization Negotiations.”

Diplomat: “I’m not a skier!”

K: “Change the humiliating diplomacy with a high posture.”

Figure 7.4 (March 25, 1964)

Yi Wanyong’s ghost: “Here it is.”

Yi Wanyong’s ghost: “I am Yi Wanyong!”
“You come out here!”

Yi Wanyong’s ghost: “You cursed me before as someone that should be knocked off…”
“And now you are doing it again…”

Figure 7.5 (April 23, 1964)

Man: "Are you ready? Start!"

[Hitting sounds]

Man: "Are you terribly hurt? Now you can go."
K: "What kind of exercise is this?"

Man: "He is a demonstration reporter who is getting advance practice in being beaten."

Figure 7.6 (April 24, 1964)

Police Officer: "Who beat the 'reporter?'"
"Come forward!"

Police Officer: "You?!"

Police Officer: "Follow me."

Police Officer: "Drink it up!" [wine "forced" on a person to drink as "punishment"]

Figure 7.7 (May 21, 1964)

Tombstone carving: nationalist democracy

[Tombstone]

"If you dodge, you will not be hurt."

Figure 7.8 (June 1, 1964)

Police Officer: "Mobilize!" [Move out!]
K: "Another demonstration."

K: "They appear to be dividing the tear gas."
[shiver]

K: "What?! Bread and juice, strange?"
Police Officer: "Get going!"

Police Officer: "Open your mouth! Eat!"
Student: "I won't eat! I won't!"
K: "It's just a special task force for stopping the hunger strike."

Figure 7.9 (June 3, 1964)

Official: "I have an important announcement about the student hunger strike!"

Official: "The act of fasting by the students are actually the most patriotic act."

Official: "Look here."
"There is insufficient rice. Now we begin to have enough rice to spare."

Official: "All students! All citizens! All together let's fast, and let's have no more concern about rice!"

Figure 7.10 (June 4, 1964)

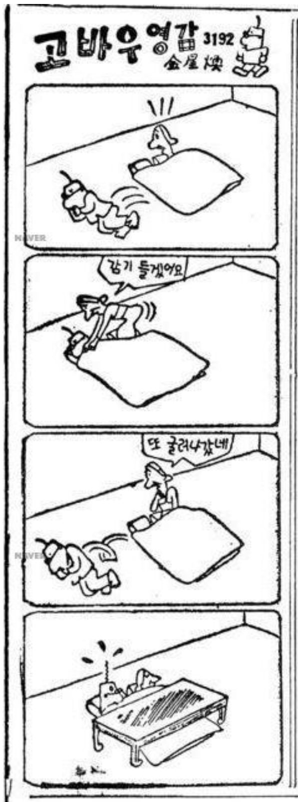


Figure 7.11 (June 4, 1964)

Wife: “You’ll catch cold.”

Wife: “He rolled again!”

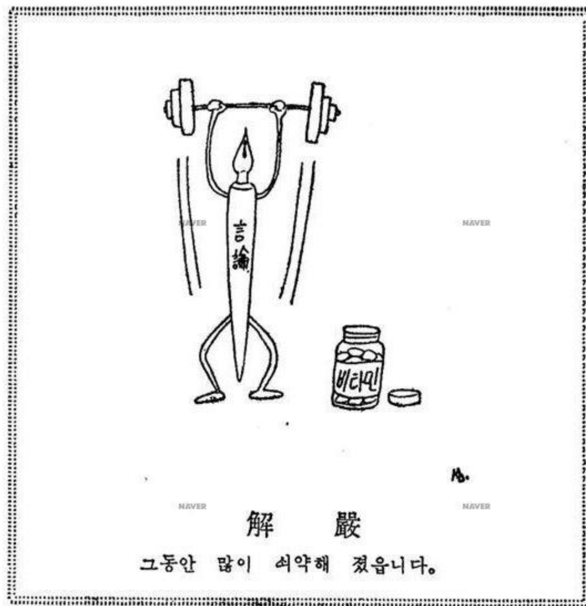


Figure 7.12 (July 30, 1964)

Pen: media
Jar: vitamins

[Withdrawing martial law]

“In the meantime, it has become very weak.”

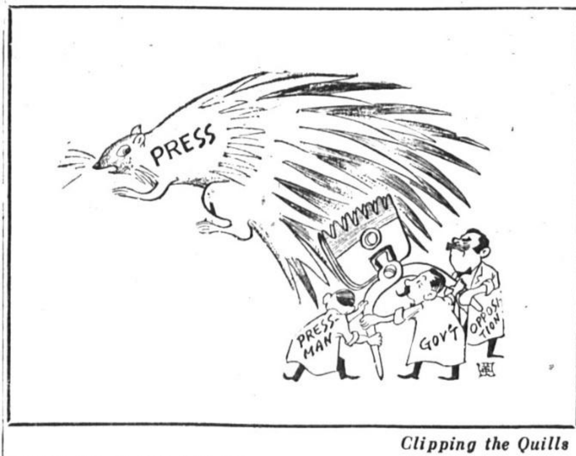
Figure 7.13 (July 30, 1964)

K: “Why not apply for the one million won literary prize?”

K: “Huhum! To generate a good picture one needs to do that.”

K: “Nice to meet you! If you have time, please go to my house.”

Soldier: “What kind of novel are you writing?”
K: “I’m writing a novel about the ‘Infernal Martial Law’”



Clipping the Quills

Figure 7.14 (July 28, 1964)

Figure 7.15 (August 31, 1964)

K: “What is your opinion on the Press Law?”
Man 1: “I oppose! I oppose, of course.”

Man 2: “Opinion on the Press Law?”
Man 1: “I agree! I agree, of course.”

K: “Now what is your opinion on the Press Law?”
Door sign: Toilet

K: “I am asking because [your opinion] is different depending on where you go.”

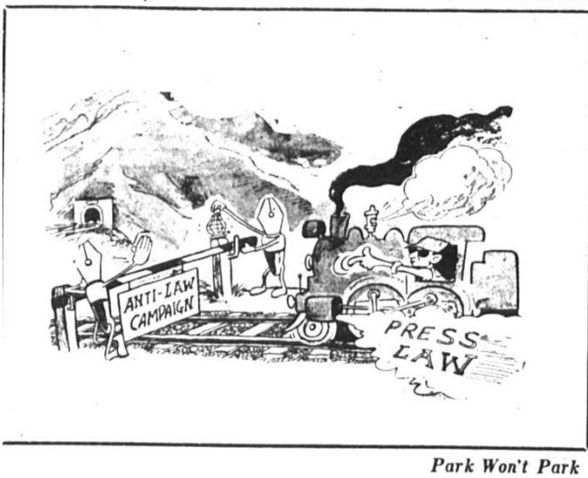


Figure 7.16 (August 22, 1964)

Figure 7.17 (September 1, 1964)

K: “Official, hey! Why are you taking care of a goat on duty?”
Civil Servent: “He has wide usages.”

Civil Servant: “Oh no. He’s coming!”

Supervisor: “Have you happened to see any prohibited subscription newspapers? None!”

Supervisor: “You’re such a devoted civil servant.”
Civil Servant: “He he he he…”

Figure 7.18 (September 2, 1964)

Official: “Don’t listen to anything else.”

Official: “Don’t look at such and such newspapers.”

Official: “If you earn money by working, then you must pay a bribe.”

Animal: “Haven’t I grown a tail yet?”

Figure 7.19 (September 5, 1964)

Written on sword: Retaliation

[Act one; Finished]

“Can’t do it…”

Figure 7.20 (January 27, 1966)

Sign: Newspaper publishing company
Sign: Bidding
Auctioneer: “Sold!” (successful bid)
K: “Where did our press freedom go?”

Banker: “Ah. That’s so. Let me show you.”

K: “Isn’t this an underground bank vault?”

Banker: Here it was.
Written on pen: Press freedom

Figure 7.21 (January 27, 1966)

"Kyŏnghyang for sale!"

Figure 7.22 (May 5, 1969)

Boss: "One, two, three, four!"

Magazine title: Cartoon
Boss: "Oh ha ha ha! Funny! You should read a copy."

Boss: "Suck on a candy."
K: "No, why are you doing this?"

Boss: "It's children's day! On today, doesn't anyone get to spend it like they are children?"

Figure 7.23 (June 10, 1969)

Newspaper: Saying Picasso's works are 'good art' will fall under the anti-communism law.

K: "I will have to get rid of this immediately."

K: "There's nothing to cover the hole in the wall."

K: "Done!"
Painting Title: Bad Painting

Chapter 8. THE FLOATING EYE AND ILLUSIVE DREAM: THE STRUGGLE AGAINST AUTHORITARIANISM (1967-1972)

> "As the government continuously meddled, I tried to make it right by democratization. It's just that I hate to see myself as a big democratic fighter, and that's also not good. I have been taken more than a dozen times, but I was not much aware of it. Of course, like this, a poet is a poet and a patriot, but I am a patriot and democratic fighter, in two ways. These days, most are democratic activists, something on the streets. Leftists are all democratic fighters."[942]
>
> -Kim Sŏnghwan

This chapter will examine the role of Kim Sŏnghwan and fellow cartoon editorial journalists as political activists through an exploration of their cartoons published during three key political movements: the 1967 National Election, the 1969 Constitutional Reform, and the 1971 National Election. Each of these led to changes in press laws and censorship practices that either directly or indirectly targeted cartoonists and, in turn, altered the tone of editorial cartoons.[943] This chapter draws upon multiple archives, personal interviews, and a survey of editorial cartoons within the *Tonga ilbo*, *Chosŏn ilbo*, and *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*.[944] While similar topics can be found in all three newspapers and editorial cartoonists still performed a high level of critique compared to many journalists, their permissible topics became more restricted over time as cartoonists faced increasing and intersecting levels of internal and external censorship. Since this dissertation primarily focuses upon Kim Sŏnghwan, I will restrict the main narrative to his cartoons and a comparative analysis over these periods. The cartoons produced by other artists will generally be confined to the footnotes, which will allow for a broader comparison

[942] Han Yŏngju, "Han'guk manhwasa kusul ch'aerok," 72.
[943] Since all three periods deal with elections, it will also serve as a comparative case study in how Kim Sŏnghwan and fellow editorial cartoonists in three of the top newspapers—*Tonga ilbo, Chosŏn ilbo, and Kyŏnghyang sinmun*—characterized government actions and policies.
[944] These sources included: autobiographies, interpretive writings, essays, museum exhibitions, collective works, and interviews with Kim Sŏnghwan and other cartoonists, including those not connected to newspapers. The *Chŏson ilbo* and *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* were chosen because of personal accessibility and their high circulation as the part of the top three newspapers, including the *Tonga ilbo* in Seoul.

without disrupting the narrative. Amongst the three newspapers, the *Tonga ilbo* served as the most consistent opponent to Park Chung Hee's administration during this period with Kim Sŏnghwan's works as a popular and visual representation of this critique. Over the 1960s, the *Chosŏn ilbo* and *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* would become less critical as would their cartoonists as changes in ownership and economic incentives, described in chapter seven, softened their voices and made government critiques increasingly hidden. Therefore, in choosing to show these artists' works as verbal analysis within the footnotes, I am also metaphorically representing this silencing by literally showing how critique can be rendered invisible.

For editorial cartoonists, the implementation pre-censorship policies, and the corresponding popular movement opposing "corrupt comics," which was part of the Park regime's "social purification" (*sahoe chŏnghwa*) campaigns, would eventually muzzle much of the critique, but not the struggle against censorship, especially with Kim Sŏnghwan. He placed this struggle for press freedom as equal to the struggle against authoritarian rule. The creative ability of comic journalists to stretch the boundaries of critique revealed inner cracks and flaws within the Park regime. Therefore, this chapter joins recent scholarship in challenging the commonly held belief that critique was impossible or at least extremely restrained during the Park period.

Kim Sŏnghwan weaponized "Mr. Kobau" to keep alive the connection between Park and authoritarianism. He highlighted the unevenness of Park's developmental policies in relation to the underprivileged. In doing so, "Mr. Kobau" reflected the growing movement of criticism against Park's dictatorial and developmental policies within the opposition party and *chaeya* intellectuals. "Mr. Kobau" also helped in shaping public opinion against abuses in economic developmentalism, democratic procedure, and suppression of speech. Like in the Rhee regime,

editorial cartoonists would latch onto the contradictions seen within Park's policies and the realities of Korea's economic and political situation. "Mr. Kobau" would motivate resistance movements and the call for democracy.

8.1 *Makkŏlli, Rubber Shoes, and Ghosts: The 1967 Election*

The Election of 1967 represents a unique time in the political history of South Korea. Situated between Park Chung Hee's narrow win in 1963 and his contested victory in 1971, the presidential election in 1967 appears quiet and "fair" with a marked ambivalence. While most scholars depict this election as evidence of the people's support for Park Chung Hee and his regime, beneath the surface it reveals growing tensions and fear of dictatorship. The majority of the media never fully sided with either the ruling Democratic Republican Party (*Minju Konghwatang*, DRP) or the opposition New Democratic Party (*Sinmintang*, NDP) in the presidential election. However, when signs of political corruption and manipulation by the DRP started to surface in the National Assembly election campaigns, the neutrality shifted as memories of similar corruption and election manipulation during the Rhee regime surfaced. At the conclusion of the election, the realization that a DRP majority would secure enough votes to amend the Constitution and allow Park to serve another term caused the media and students to echo cries of foul play put forth by the NDP and even take to the streets in protest. Though the protests would not last long as the majority of the population accepted the election, the belief that Park Chung Hee and the DRP rigged and stole the election unfairly lingered to reemerge as the opposition came to believe that the reasoning for election irregularities was to gain enough support in implementing a constitutional reform to extend Park's rule.

This section examines the 1967 elections through the lens of Kim Sŏnghwan's editorial cartoons as well as a few supporting images within the *Chosŏn ilbo, Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, and *Tonga ilbo* during the early stages of the corporate takeovers in the *Chosŏn ilbo* and *Kyŏnghyang sinmun,* described in chapter seven.[945] It will provide a base-line comparison in revealing how these artists framed the candidates and issues, leading to the victories of Park Chung Hee and the DRP as well as popular perceptions of electoral procedures. Through these visual representations, the media reinforced the administrative policies of the Park regime by utilizing developmental imagery within editorial cartoons and images, drawing upon and solidifying Park's policies within popular culture. This study will show how the contesting voices shown in these images complicate the story of the electoral victories and support of the president and his party. Park Chung Hee and the DRP won the election, but it was not a complete victory. The election uncovered the political machine behind the DRP and underlying anxieties toward their power, which would carry on into the imagery and dialogue regarding the 1969 Constitutional Reform and 1971 election.

Developmental imagery, which I define as visual representations of industrialization or growth that convey meanings of progress and prosperity, appears in many of the cartoons as either critiques or support of Park's developmental economic policies, generally in the form of factories, industrial equipment, and agricultural production. Advertising contained the most frequent usage of developmental imagery, which also revealed the strength of Park's political

[945] In 1967, Kim Sŏnghwan primarily produced Mr. Kobau in the *Tonga ilbo,* though he occasionally contributed one-panel cartoons to the front page or supplementary pages in the *Tonga ilbo* or other newspapers and magazines. Paek Insu joined the *Tonga ilbo* as a cartoon journalist in 1963, where he produced the majority of the one-panel cartoons from 1964 until 1997. An Ŭisŏp moved to the *Chosŏn ilbo*, where penned both the one-panel cartoons and 4-panel Tukkŏbi. In 1967, Chŏng Unkyŏng started publishing his famous serial, "Walsun Ajimae," in the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*.

machine, unevenness of campaign funding, and the persuasive power of the image.[946] In the lead up to the 1967 election, the DRP provided a year of advertising propaganda, including cartoon images, promoting Park's second Five-Year Economic Development Plan, under the slogan "uninterrupted progress" where the DRP posed Park as the "architect of the 'Miracle of the Han River,' orchestrating a concerted program of modernization through tapping the innovative spirit of the military, state bureaucracy, business community, and people."[947] One cartoon advertisement utilized this type of promotional developmental imagery by illustrating Park confidently leading a bull carrying a cart labeled as "Unification," "1st Five-Year Development Plan," and "2nd Five-Year Development Plan."[948] (Figure 8.1) The cart is loaded with developmental images depicting: industrial factories; the shipbuilding and fishing industry; bundles filled with cement, rice, and fertilizer; and smiling-happy people representing different sections of society. In bold letters, the cart advertises: "The DRP without doubt! The strength of the bull is the greatest! Let's work them to our heart's content!"

A predominate metaphorical image connected to development is the bull, a symbol of the ruling DRP. In contrast, the NDP is usually shown as a caricature of Yun Posŏn, the leading

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[946] Throughout the month of April and interspersed between advertisements promoting various industrial growth projects—a possible second form of advertising for Park that highlighted development—the DRP published twenty-three political ads that often filled all of the front-page advertisements, which covered a fourth of the page. These were spread across *Tonga ilbo*, *Chŏson ilbo*, and *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* with an almost equal distribution. Though none of these advertisements repeated in the same newspaper, identical ads would sometimes appear in the other newspapers. Not only did the DRP produce over twice as many of these political advertisements as the NDP, but they often contained eye-catching imagery, campaign slogans, and even cartoons. These advertisements included photos of Park amongst the people, sharing makkŏlli with a farmer after a long day's work and interacting with children, highlighting his role as "son of a farmer" and "father for the growth of a new generation" (*Tonga ilbo* April 10, 1967 and April 26, 1967).

[947] Young Jo Lee, "The Countryside," in *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea*, ed. Byung-kook Kim and Ezra F. Vogel (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2011), 376.

[948] *Chosŏn ilbo* April 2, 1967. Though unsigned by the artist, the cartoon advertisements appear in a similar style of Paek Insu,, and he is the only artist in this study that drew detailed and recognizable images of candidates in his cartoons. While Paek Insu might simply be illustrating these political advertisements to supplement his income, it still suggests a partial endorsement for President Park, since Paek Insu's political cartoons in general show little (or at least very light) criticism for President Park and the DRP.

presidential contender. In Korea, the bull not only represents strength, but it also symbolizes wealth and loyalty to one's masters.[949] As a means of cultivation for farmers, the bull signifies development and the possibility of upward mobility.[950] In replicating these images through caricature, the symbolic meaning is also reinforced, attaching these positive assumptions to the candidate characterized. Thus, Park, the "son of a farmer," and the DRP takes on the bull and its associative characteristics—implanting their political meaning within the visual. This not only shows how the DRP used political imagery and cartoonists to promote Park's public image, but it also illustrates that political cartoons were not solely used to critique government policy, but they also could be used to endorse policies.

While Kim Sŏnghwan also utilized developmental imagery within his cartoons, he generally used it to highlight the failures or unequal development that arose out of Park's spending practices. Mr. Kobau dabbled in new technologies, like the introduction of the television sets as part of the national broadcasting system promoted in 1962, but most of these "luxury" products and labor-saving devices would appear within the hands of corporate heads or politicians as symbols of bribery or signs of their wealth. In contrast, the lower-class characters performed the act of desire in acquiring these new technologies. For Mr. Kobau and family, Kim Sŏnghwan often showcased the desire of technology in tandem with the struggle against common afflictions, such as lack of heat and poor transportation. He would also attach these afflictions to political or corporate scandals regarding the misappropriation of funds. By

[949] John M. Roberts and Chong Pil Choe, "Korean Animal Entities with Supernatural Attributes: A Study in Expressive Belief," *Artic Anthropology* 21, no. 2 (January 1984): 116.

[950] The consumption of beef equated to success. Farming families also raised oxen, which produced large sums of money and could be sold to send a son to college, which was a marker of upward mobility. Beef consumption also had allusions to the rise in economic prosperity in Japan, due to Japan's material production for the Korean War and Japan's successful development policies that rose out of that windfall, as shown in a *Chosŏn ilbo* commentary: "After the close of the Korean war, the Japanese had to enlarge seats in their classrooms and theaters because they ate more meat than before." (*Chosŏn ilbo* May 12, 1967)

incorporating generalized problems with political critique, he provided a means for Kobau to personally relate with the tribulations of the population, becoming both a critique and personal connection in the same frame. Some of these consumer products, like the television by 1967, would become more ubiquitous in society, allowing Mr. Kobau to participate like a "common person" in watching sports and other national and international experiences broadcasted over television networks. However, unlike the DRP political ad, Mr. Kobau never directly attributed these improvements to Park Chung Hee or his development policies. These technologies only appeared as peripheral in Kobau's life without a metaphoric or directed signpost marking them as the result of government-coordinated improvements in the economy, thus it made the modernization association with Park Chung Hee's development more ambiguous and less powerful even when Kim Sŏnghwan's cartoons re-produced ideas of national progress.

Along with critiques on developmental policies, Kim Sŏnghwan liberally used symbols of corruption within his drawings. Topics suggesting corruption and election manipulation presented more danger due to its suggestive implication to former president Rhee's election manipulation, which could potentially incite public outrage and create destabilizing demonstrations, as seen in the Korea-Japan Normalization Protests. However, this did not prevent Kim Sŏnghwan from bringing to light controversies. Because of the sensitivity of the subject, it would often appear in visual metaphors of corruption, like drawings or references to

makkŏlli,[951] rubber shoes[952] and ghosts.[953] Following the election results with the DRP winning 129 seats compared to the NDP's 45, Kim Sŏnghwan draws Mr. Kobau watching the incoming parliamentary members.[954] (Figure 8.2) Each member enters the National Assembly metamorphosed as a makkŏlli barrel, piano playing finger, rubber shoe, and ghost.[955] The last member, of course, frightens Mr. Kobau and his friends as they run away. As evidence of DRP poll manipulation, symbolized in Kim Sŏnghwan's images, became more evident, students and NDP supporters took the streets in protest. To reflect on and support these protestor's efforts to stand against abuses in democratic procedure, Kim Sŏnghwan visualized a dream of Mr. Kobau

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[951] Makkŏlli indicated the practice of providing alcohol, particularly the inexpensive rice wine (makkŏlli) that was popular and generally associated with the lower classes of society, as a means for luring people to election rallies and securing their votes. Makkŏlli also acted as a symbol for the manipulation of the masses, loose promises, and moral degradation. This moral implication often contained a gendered aspect as editorialists lambasted women for drunkenness. In reference to election bribery, Park Sun-ch'on of the NDP handed out some "grandmotherly advice" as a warning of the potential damages to party and personal reputation, "If they offer you 'election goodwill,' receive as much of it as you can. But don't you, particularly women, drink too much of the 'campaign liquor!' Your tipsy lurches will invite only scorns from your sons and daughters on the street…You don't have to reject what they may hand out to you, provided that you keep just one thing in mind: obey none but your own conscience when you vote!" (*Tonga ilbo* May 25, 1967) One farmer during an interview vowed a similar point of view, "drink the makkŏlli the DRP offered, but vote for the NDP." He further admitted that "men are not like that. In the end we voted for whoever gave or promised us economic goods, even if that meant only a bowl of makkŏlli."

[952] The image of "rubber shoes" referenced election bribery, especially the practice of handing out gifts. Rubber shoes were once considered a form of modernity during the colonial period due to their superiority to traditional straw sandals, but they now were worn by most of the population. It now implied a cheaply bought vote. Though evidence indicated that this practice of bribery was not exclusive to the DRP, the disparity of funds between the ruling and opposition parties allowed the DRP to utilize bribes and distribute gifts in greater quantity. Thus, the reference to rubber shoes generally referred to the DRP, and it was a frequent point of criticism by editorialists and opposition party members.

[953] Ghosts appear as symbols of voter fraud and the concocting of residents in order to inflate election results. These fabricated residents could include citizens no longer living in the area but failed to transfer their residency or actual "ghosts," people who passed on. Between the May 3rd presidential election and June 8th National Assembly election, over 900,000 eligible voters appeared on the registers throughout the country, double the amount of increase that occurred in the 1963 election (*Tonga ilbo* June 7, 1967). In addition to "ghost voters," other accusations of fraud surfaced just prior to the June 8th National Assembly election and immediately following. This included: voting by proxy, when a chief of an institution would cast votes for his subordinates; failing to distribute ballot notice sheets; purchasing ballot notice sheets; casting ballots in advance; open balloting; printing of ballots that omitted opposition party members or highlighted the DRP candidate; obstruction of voting; harassment of voters (*Chosŏn ilbo* May 31-July 13, 1967; *Tonga ilbo* May 31-July 13, 1967; *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* June 1-July 13, 1967).

[954] Young Jo Lee, "Legitimization, Accumulation, and Exclusionary Authoritarianism: Political Economy of Rapid Industrialization in South Korea and Brazil" (Ph.D diss., Harvard University, 1990), 361.

[955] *Tonga ilbo* June 12, 1967. The piano finger also indicates another form of ballot fraud. In "piano style" ballot counting, the committee members would affix random fingerprints on the votes with cinnabar seal-ink in an attempt to invalidate them.

witnessing a demonstration on the "fraudulent election," which is silenced by the police pouring makkŏlli upon the protestors through fire hoses.[956] (Figure 8.3) He viewed the stupefaction of the common people through the practice of bribery, symbolized in alcohol, and violence, seen in the fire hoses often used on protestors, as equal forms of repression of democracy. Many articles depicting voter fraud appear between the May 3rd presidential election and June 8th National Assembly election and even after these dates. However, the heaviest concentration of articles occurred during this period. Most of these types of voter fraud were also seen within former president Rhee's elections, especially the 1960 elections, which brought about Rhee's downfall. Therefore, the usage of these symbols carried heavy implications against Park Chung Hee and the DRP.

In addition to symbolic imagery, Kim Sŏnghwan also used direct attacks as he revitalized the usage of his cartoon weapon in the election. This often manifested in narrative forms that showed the act of bribery and election manipulation. One example is the usage of free buses to cart citizens to DRP rallies, which violated Article 65 of the Presidential Election Law.[957] While Kim Sŏnghwan criticized the practice as an anathema to the democratic process, he ultimately felt that the greatest danger to democracy was the apathy of the citizenry. In one cartoon, he drew a DRP recruit approaching a random citizen, catching a free bus together, and providing him with a free lunch. When he asks what he thought of the speech, the citizen holds up a sign

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[956] *Tonga ilbo* June 14, 1967. Another example of the makkŏlli image was three days prior to the National Assembly election. Paek Insu illustrated a cartoon entitled "Life or Death" with a fist, a barrel of makkŏlli, and a safe dancing on the overturned pillar of "clean elections," which is weeping in mourning of its death (*Tonga ilbo* June 5, 1967).

[957] *Chosŏn ilbo* April 4, 1967. Often these buses included government employees who were given time off contingent upon their attendance to rallies, which helped inflate attendance numbers. Kim Sŏnghwan illustrated this controversy as part of the desperation of the ruling party to find people to listen to their speeches. In contrast, the audience at the NDP rallies often faced police checks and obstacles, including being forced to cross streams barefooted (*Chosŏn ilbo* April 18, 1967 and April 19, 1967). This hyper-vigilance not only showed the difficulty in attending NDP rallies, which might account for some of their low attendance rates, but also the force of the DRP political machine that used government and private resources to mobilize people for their own rallies while obstructing their opponents.

that explains that he is deaf.[958] (Figure 8.4) In this cartoon, Kim not only criticized this practice of bribery, but shows its ineffectiveness: no matter what bribes the DRP may give, it will not fix the citizen's "natural" apathy.[959] Kim Sŏnghwan's frustration was not restricted to the citizenry, though his comments on apathy surfaced regularly in his cartoons. It would also extend to ineffectual politicians and leaders he saw as deaf to his and other activists' cries against corruption and authoritarian control.

The fact that the economy was improving in 1967—while uneven in its distribution as often pointed out by the opposition party—created an atmosphere where the industrial policies of the two candidates appeared little different. Therefore, people might be just as likely to vote for the opposition party as the ruling. This would be a point of criticism against the opposition party for failing to distinguish themselves from Park's plans for economic development. With no great constitutional issue to capture the public's attention in the early stages of the election, the differences between the two candidates and their policies appeared negligible. Thus, for the general public, the election debates often appeared as shouting matches with each side stating, simply, they will provide a better living than the other candidate. In the rallies, the DRP called for economic development; the NDP also called for economic development, but with an emphasis on equal distribution. Both candidates made unrealistic claims and promises. Therefore, the majority of editorial cartoons depict illustrations of political infighting, sometimes with no clear indicators of which party was involved.[960] One comic example of this comes from

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[958] *Tonga ilbo* April 4, 1967.

[959] Park Insu and An Uisŏp also produced several cartoons depicting these practices. Paek Insu, in a April 4, 1967 *Tonga ilbo* cartoon, drew a bull carting two busloads of people with the question, "Is the strength of the bull really the greatest?" when the people are not there by individual effort or choice.

[960] Kim Sŏnghwan generally showed fights and shouting matches between politicians, like in his mockery of "Etiquette Month," which he illustrated two politicians being temporarily broken up by Mr. Kobau to politely greet each other before returning to their fistfight. (*Tonga ilbo* April 4, 1967) As with many editorial cartoons within this period, this commentary does not explicitly refer to a specific candidate or incident, though it does suggest a possible outbreak like one between Chong Inso and Yim Kyunsŏk of the "Righteous Citizens Society." When Yim

An Ŭisŏp's political cartoon depicting two candidates shooting arrows at each other through make-shift megaphones as an old woman wanders through the crossfire, barely able to escape the onslaught.[961] (Figure 8.5) These metaphorical arrows represent verbal insults traded between parties.[962] Stuck in between the onslaught are the powerless masses who are also damaged by this kind of political battle, which An Ŭisŏp symbolized in the image of a poor woman in tattered clothes. Political infighting was not an infrequent topic, and it would resurface throughout the late 60s in relation to both parties. It tended to be a "safe" topic that generally implicated both ruling and opposition parties, so it provided an easy and equally popular topic for political satire.

While editorial cartoonists generally could still count on certain topics as "safe," like political infighting—at least in the case of opposition candidates—throughout the 1960s, the effects on the ability to produce critical journalism in the press, including editorial cartoons, would become increasingly difficult largely due to the takeovers of opposition-oriented newspapers, like the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* and *Chŏson Ilbo*, described in chapter seven, by government-tied corporate entities. In the 1967 election, the NDP started to suspect government manipulation when the press refrained from reporting the contents of campaign speeches and underreported the numbers of attendants at their rallies.[963] In reaction to this suspicion, the NDP accused the Park regime of suppressing journalists and threatened to send the International Press Institute and the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea

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Kyunsŏk attempted to nominate Yim Sejin as a presidential candidate, members of the Chong faction rushed the stage and pounded Yim Kyunsŏk with their fists (*Tonga ilbo* April 2, 1967).

[961] *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* April 1, 1967.

[962] An example of a typical mutual character assassination was accusing party members of Japanese colonial collaborationist ties. In one debate published around the time of the cartoon, the DRP accused Yun Posŏn's family of colonial exploitation by claiming, "You [the people] now lead a miserable life because Mr. Yun's father exploited your ancestors," and the NDP counter referenced Park's service in the Japanese army. In replicating these types of exchanges without clear signposts indicating the political actors, he made the arguments appear equal, diffusing their potency. *Tonga ilbo* April 4 and April 5, 1967.

[963] *Chosŏn ilbo* April 7, 1967.

letters informing them of the repressive situation.[964] The press took pride in their status as independent organizations, and these accusations of succumbing to government pressure created uproar amongst editorialists in most major newspapers, including the *Tonga ilbo*, *Chosŏn ilbo*, and *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, who accused the government and opposition parties of attempting to manipulate journalists into becoming propagandists through these accusations.[965] As a *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* editorialist stated in their defense:

> Experts in various fields, politicians as well as government officials visit news media for advice or correction. Some of their statements or advice are used and others ignored. However, it is preposterous to imagine that government officials can force publishers or editors to distort news… it is unwise and unnecessary for the NDP put in place 'measures for protection of the press,' which are designed to employ the press to its advantage in the election campaigns.[966]

While appearing to take a strong stand against political influence, the criticism was primarily directed toward the NDP, so it showed a marked shift in the stance of the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* toward press policies that tended to focus on the DRP prior to the loss of Yi Chun'gu's leadership and the takeover by Kia Industries. It would be the last time that the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* acted as a leader in criticism against government press policies until the restructuring and rebranding of the newspaper in the 1980s. An Ŭisŏp would also find it increasingly difficult to draw critically within his post at the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* and his works in this newspaper would feature less and less critical commentary on Park's regime; Kim Sŏnghwan would comment in an interview that An Ŭisŏp faced even greater pressure and censorship issues than he experienced.[967] This controversy over political influence in the press died out over the next

[964] *Tonga ilbo* April 8, 1967.
[965] *Tonga ilbo* April 8, 1967.
[966] *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* April 9, 1967.
[967] Second Interview. July 2015.

couple of weeks, but the accusations might have cooled some reporters toward favorably reporting on the NDP, breaking the perceived ties between the press and the opposition party.[968]

On May 3rd voters went to the polls and handedly elected Park Chung Hee to his second term as president. While many factors may have contributed to his win, including the success of his industrial policies in many districts, as reflected in the polls and most scholarship, the editorial cartoonists' characterization of the election also played a factor. In their political imagery, it contributed toward an atmosphere that may have led people to perceive Park Chung Hee's policies more favorably or at least equal to Yun Posŏn through promotion of developmental imagery, the highlighting of political infighting, and the leveling of candidates so that the election of Park Chung Hee and Yun Posŏn marked little difference in choice. Nonetheless, the press and editorial cartoonists were not completely silent or void of criticism. The editorial cartoons and articles also reveal the political machine behind Park Chung Hee that explains his ability to secure votes. By utilizing government and private resources, the DRP could bribe and pressure people into attending rallies; purchase twice as much advertising space designed by artistic professionals; and create obstacles hindering the opposition, therefore, discouraging attendance.[969] These types of actions would only increase in the National Assembly

[968] Though the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* and other editorialists' characterization of the press as "free," but still susceptible to pressure—personal, editorial, and political—might be a fair assessment of the Korean press at this time, some of the accusations of underreporting of opposition campaign speeches and numbers are also true. After the first week of campaigning, the newspapers focused primarily upon two candidates: Park Chung Hee and Yun Posŏn. Though the newspapers may have been impartial in their reporting of Park and Yun, they essentially banished the five additional candidates to the status of non-contenders through the lack of reporting on their activities.

[969] After the election, the NDP filed 266 election suits, double the amount filed by opposition parties in the 1960 and 1963 elections. Of these suits, 202 called for the nullification of the election, 23 asked for resignation of fraudulent candidates, and 41 called for both (*Tonga ilbo* July 11, 1967). Rumors and accusations about election rigging ran rapid like those depicting the types of voter fraud mentioned above as well as one of violence, raiding of offices, and kidnapping. These stories included activities as strange as a member of the DRP concealing himself in the ceiling of the polling booths to watch what voters marked on their ballots (*Chosŏn ilbo* June 13, 1967). This story was based on the investigation of the prosecutors of the Kwangju District Prosecutors Office. A member of the opposition party reportedly discovered the man and referred him to authorities. Whether or not this story is true, it does show the desperation felt by both sides in regard to the election.

election when voting irregularities would surface and the press would realize the strength of this machine and its political implications.[970]

Hovering within the background of the elections was the ghost of elections past. Accusations of election manipulation and bribery prompted street protests following the National Assembly election, which revived memories of the April Revolution and posed a level of danger to the current political establishment. April 19th acted as a symbol of the potential dangers in election fraud, failure to promote democracy, and broken promises to clean up the political system, one of the justifications for Park's overthrow of the democratically elected Chang government in May 1961. This would be illustrated by Kim Sŏnghwan, who drew a crowd of protesting citizens shouting, "Nullify the fraudulent election!" (Figure 8.6) Two anxious policemen search for demonstrators. Instead, Mr. Kobau directs them to a statue commemorating the April 19th Revolution—a clear warning.[971]

In order to avoid a repeat of the April 19th Revolution, the Ministry of Education issued an order allowing the closure of universities engaging in protests, which included all universities in Seoul, with the exception of women's universities, and some high schools.[972] On the same

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[970] The institutional bribery, pressure, and force directed in support of the DRP intensified with the elections of the National Assembly, resurfacing forms of political corruption harkening both to scandals of the 1960 election and money politics. The type of institutional support and pressure within the DRP took many forms. Throughout the election period, the NDP candidates experienced intense surveillance and even violence. (*Tonga ilbo* May 31, 1967) Almost immediately following Park's victory on May 3rd, police rounded up over 900 violators of election laws, over twice the number recorded in the 1963 election, including reporters and many top leaders of the opposition party who planned to campaign in the upcoming National Assembly elections. (*Tonga ilbo* May 9, 1967) Seen as a clear example of political repression since few indictments occurred for those of the ruling party who violated the new election laws, which warranted comment even from the *Washington Post*, the NDP protested, leading to the release of the reporters and some of the accused violators. (*Tonga ilbo* May 11, 1967) Nonetheless, this besmirching by prosecutors—whether legitimate or not—prevented some candidates from seeking office in the upcoming elections.

[971] *Tonga ilbo* June 9, 1967.

[972] The government viewed the closure of campuses as a proven measure in preventing demonstrations from becoming a nation-wide crisis, as seen in the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty protests and dissipation following school closures and martial law.

day, the police authorities arrested and clubbed hundreds of students.[973] As many editorialists pointed out, the situation truly resembled the democratic crisis of 1960, where when protesting students were angered more by the voting irregularities than the loss of the opposition party. In this situation, the closure of campuses failed to assuage this anger of the students, elevating the sense of danger.[974] As much of the press threw their support behind the opposition and student protests, reporters also drew the ire of the government and accusations of instigating the citizens, resulting in several arrests.[975] While the closure of campuses did eventually prove an effective deterrent to the crisis, it did not halt all demonstrations as they periodically broke out throughout the country, including less provocative forms of protests such as candlelight vigils, hunger strikes, newspaper advertisements, and the publication of pamphlets.

The passage of time did not help the cause of the NDP as the population and the media slowly started to sour toward the prolonged struggle, asking for a compromise between the parties and a return to normalcy. Eventually the sides reached a settlement and the NDP returned to the National Assembly, though with a realization that the next election might prove decisive for party survival and the survival of democracy. Overall, Park's overwhelming "victory" in presidential election of 1967 would grant legitimacy to Park's presidency and his role in sponsoring a number of developmental projects.[976] It would also provide the strength needed to secure a majority in the National Assembly so that he might amend the Constitution to allow him to run for a third term. It made Park more confident in pressing his policies. Thus, the 1967 election, through the usage of his political machine, provided the way for President Park to

[973] *Tonga ilbo* June 14, 1967.
[974] *Chosŏn ilbo* June 14 and June 15, 1967; *Tonga ilbo* June 14, 1967; *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* June 14, 1967.
[975] *Tonga ilbo* une 14, 1967.
[976] One developmental project instituted shortly after the election as a partial reward for supporting Park is the development of the rural sector known as the Second Green Uprising, 1968-1979. Lee, "The Countryside," 367–74.

perpetuate his rule and showed the strength and power of “money politics,” which might also account for the seeming “normalcy” of the 1967 elections.

Even without the usage of outright fraudulent procedures such as vote tampering, Park and the DRP probably would have secured enough wins in the elections due to the combined persuasive power of their political machine comprising of money politics, authority, economic success, and an underlying cultivated belief that occasionally freedoms can and should be sacrificed for national development. Whether they could have obtained a majority necessary to grant a constitutional amendment lies in the realm of speculation. Nonetheless, the developmental imagery strewn throughout the advertisements, photographs, and editorial cartoons—regardless of their political orientation—still suggested a correlation between the Park regime and modernization and prosperity. A 1966 survey of 1,515 professionals and journalists revealed that even amongst the contention and cries of morality, the intelligentsia regarded economic development as the highest priority in the country.[977] Equally apparent was a suspicion of the corruption and manipulation that lay beneath this blanket of prosperity. The political imagery within the election illustrated the fears of government corruption and a return to dictatorship as well as the potential danger of compliance. Out of the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty, described in chapter seven, arose a loose coalition of student activists, intellectuals (including members of the press), and religious leaders that joined with NDP politicians as moral critics of Park’s policies, a group that began to be called “*chaeya*.”[978] They would coalesce behind the movement against the constitutional revision of 1969 and election in 1971. Though the presidential election might prove to be the most “honest” election of Park’s presidency, a completely fair and “clean” election in the atmosphere of Korean politics at this time (or possibly

[977] Lee, “Legitimization, Accumulation, and Exclusionary Authoritarianism,” 360.
[978] Park, “Chaeya,” 388.

any time?) might have been exactly as Mr. Kobau expressed a day before polls opened—only a dream.[979] (Figure 8.7)

8.2 *1969 Constitutional Revision*

The taming of the press and the exclusion of alternative or uncensored outlets for cartoonists, described in chapter seven, would start to have an effect upon critical and political speech directed toward Park's government and policies. This was part of Park Chung Hee's strategy to persuade the media toward more favorable reporting of his policies and reduce the public outcry against the revision to the constitution that would extend his rule. The NDP immerged from the 1967 electoral defeat, politically weakened, demoralized and in disarray, having lost both the presidential position and two thirds of the National Assembly seats despite fierce campaigning by party candidates combined with accusations against the DRP of bribery and bureaucratic corruption. Park's promises of economic growth, political stability, and military security seemed to be coming to fruition as the GNP grew 15%, unemployment decreased by 4.8%, and inflation rate fell from 11% to 9% in 1968. In addition, rural income climbed about 21% as farmers celebrated a booming harvest.[980] This only strengthened Park's belief that he was the person best suited to lead the country and that the restrictions placed upon him by the Constitution hindered national interests.[981] During the 1967 election and following, rumors

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[979] *Tonga ilbo* May 2, 1967.

[980] Hyung Bag Im, "The Origins of the Yusin Regime: Machiavelli Unveiled," in *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea*, ed. Byung-kook Kim and Ezra F. Vogel (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2011), 246.

[981] The motivations behind Park Chung Hee's decision to extend his rule and pursue these constitutional revisions is controversial. Loyalists to the Park Chung Hee's legacy as the economic "savior" of Korea tend to believe the path taken toward Yusin came primarily from economic and strategic necessity. While some faithfully see his rhetoric as truth and imagine him as a "Nietzschean superhero" transforming South Korea along the framework of Japan's Meiji Restoration, others take a subtle approach and view him as personally motivated, but still needing to implement strict political and economic policies in order to achieve what the market could not achieve, Im, 242–43. For these adherents, Park's authoritarianism is generally seen in various degrees as a political and economic

circulated that the reason for Park Chung Hee's aggressive push for securing a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly was to easily implement a change in Constitution of the Third Republic, which was set in 1962 and allowed for only two terms of four years. In response to these accusations, Park first denied the rumors and tried to distance himself from implications that he wished to run for a third term, but his intentions quickly became clear.[982]

While the weakened NDP and press started 1969 with political and editorial disadvantages, this did not prevent the opposition and sympathetic members of the media from taking on the challenge of blocking Park Chung Hee's drive to reform the Constitution. As explained by Pak Myŏngnim, like with the battle against the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty, the *chaeya*, a nongovernment unaffiliated activist group, fashioned themselves as freedom fighters against the state.[983] While Park Chung Hee's behind the scenes control of journalism, including cartoonists, described in chapter seven, was starting to see its influence in the editorials and editorial cartoons of the press, Kim Sŏnghwan still continued to display sharp criticism. This

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necessity. While this tends to follow the general popular and scholarly views on Park's path toward Yusin, some argue that Park never intended to release his hold on power and his path toward Yusin was more of an "evolutionary" process that fulfilled a long-standing goal of perpetuating his political rule and creating a personal legacy as a "great modernizer," Im, 243–45. Though I tend to agree with the latter perspective, this chapter is not intended to delve into Park's political, economic, or psychological motivations behind the constitutional revisions that lead to Yusin. Instead, these later sections will continue to analyze how these changes were seen by Kim Sŏnghwan and other political cartoonists and how the effects of censorship policies and political pressures characterized their critique.

[982] On January 7, 1969, in what was staged as an act of defiance from the party line and generally questioned in the media as a possible political maneuver to open up debate upon the subject, Yun Ch'iyŏng, the Chairman for the DRP, announced the possibility of reviewing and amending the existing constitution in order to pave the way for Park Chung Hee who he saw as "the greatest leader since the founding of the Korean nation by Tan'gun 5,000 years ago." Im, "Origins of Yusin Regime," 247. Park once again utilized the political technique of distancing himself from the debate in a press statement issued three days later by stating, "it is not the time for discussing the constitutional amendment, but it is my honest belief that I should not amend the Constitution during my tenure unless there is a special reason"[982]*Tonga ilbo* January 10, 1969. But, he left this open ended by calling for a possible review of the Constitution by the end of the year, indicating Park's true intent.

[983] Park, "Chaeya," 383. According to Park Myung-Lim, the *chaeya* are a nonparty, non-interest group of activist intellectuals that formed an extra-parliamentary opposition group outside of the government. They saw themselves as standing above politics to speak for moral principles and guard national interest. While the strategies and consensus of what these national interests were not always clear or uniform among members, the diverse group of conservative and radical reformers tended to oppose authoritarianism.

began as mild warnings toward the possible authoritarian tendencies prevalent within Park's power grab shown in the purging of high-level officials to Kobau's outcries against strong-armed tactics aimed at student protestors and the press. Throughout this period, Kim Sŏnghwan sprinkled visual reminders of the dubious and coercive tactics utilized in voter and speech suppression to cue in readers to inherent dangers in passage of the Constitutional amendment and possible connection to similar methods utilized prior to the April Revolution. While ultimately unsuccessful in defeating the Constitutional amendment, it formed the basis of a larger movement pressing against Park Chung Hee's drive toward greater authoritarian rule, which would culminate with the passing of the Yusin Constitution in 1972.

The announcement of a possible Constitutional revision caused an adverse reaction amongst the opposition parties and *chaeya* intellectuals, who generally were mild in their critique of the administration following the defeat in the campaign against the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty.[984] In July 1969, under the leadership of Reverend Kim Chaejun, the NDP and a partnership of diverse *chaeya* leaders formed the National Committee to Oppose the Constitutional revision. Their manifesto charged Park of trying to create a "special reason" for implementing a constitutional change by stating:

> The Park regime [is using] the threat of North Korean military invasion for the purpose of political propaganda. However, the real threat of North Korean that [could] encourage the North to invade the South [is] the destruction of national consensus and the spread of social unrest triggered by Park's dogged effort to bring about a constitutional revision.[985]

They pressed further with accusations that he wished to institute a lifelong dictatorship along with criticisms of his *chaebŏl* driven economic development plans as "bankrupting" and

[984] Park, 389.
[985] Park, 389.

"obstructing efforts to democratize the economy."[986] Reverend Kim Chaejun even went as far as to equate Park's maneuvers with the Nazi party for "it [is] necessary to remember that the fascists justified their existence in terms of the need to stem communism."[987] Despite recognition of Park's usage of communism as a means to justify his rule, the *chaeya* coalition remained staunchly anti-communist, rejecting communist agenda of the Unification Revolution Party (formed in 1969) and other like-minded political groups.[988] This provided the ability for the group to push some boundaries in its public speaking without granting an excuse for Park to "officially" crack down on their political activities, limiting obstruction techniques to the standard forms of intimidation, arrests, and protest suppression.

The political debate and protests surrounding the constitutional revision remained the most enduring editorial cartoonist's subject of 1969, a year that also saw the continuation of the struggle against Park's Han'gŭl-only policy, a North Korean spy scare, the Apollo Moon Landing, and the hijacking of KAL flight YS-11.[989] For the first few months, Kim Sŏnghwan focused primarily on small topical social issues dealing with poverty, weather, and cultural trends. Most of his early critiques centered upon the political infighting, a "safe" topic, as discussed earlier, within the DRP and with the NDP.[990]

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[986] Park, 389.
[987] Park, 390.
[988] Park, 390.
[989] For example, Park's announcement closely followed the conclusion of a two-week long split within the media over coverage of the opposition campaign against the amendment and the lunar moon landing. Throughout this period, Kim Sŏnghwan poked fun at how the lunar landing served as a distraction from South Korea's numerous social and political ills. He culminated the series with a crowd of men, including Mr. Kobau, turning upon and beating up a bright-eyed innocent stranger wishing to talk about the lunar landing when the group nervously listened to a report about the national referendum. (*Tonga ilbo* July 16, 1969-July 26, 1969). An Ŭisŏp also expressed a similar point of view, publishing several cartoons of a distracted media drowning out calls by the opposition party to resist the constitutional amendment. In this commentary and several other cartoons depicting similar sensational events, Kim Sŏnghwan and An Ŭisŏp show that the real distraction is not the constitutional amendment, but the public's lack of focus upon it.
[990] As the political shakedowns within the DRP bread distrust in whether Park Chung Hee truly intended to relinquish his control to his presumed successor, Kim Chongp'il, the DRP and NDP briefly formed a political alliance to show their displeasure in the Constitutional amendment proposal. The mainstream faction of the DRP

Though not always direct, Kim Sŏnghwan's editorial cartoons produced in 1969 primarily illustrate the growing fears associated with authoritarianism and its association with past abuses under the Rhee regime and Park Chung Hee's press policies. The Constitutional amendment was introduced to the public in a diffused manner through short announcements, which were not lost upon Kim Sŏnghwan, who visually pieced together the seemingly unconnected events of the constitutional reform agenda to show Park's true intent. In front of a party headquarters, Kim Sŏnghwan illustrated a gentleman holding out signs of individual components of Chinese characters while asking Kobau if each were alright.[991] (Figure 8.8) Mr. Kobau observed silently with a question mark above his head. In the final panel, the officials put together the signs to form the characters representing "Constitutional Amendment." He asks, "Since the components are okay to put out, shall we slowly put them together?"[992] Mr. Kobau reacts, startled. Through this, he warns how seemingly innocuous public announcements might hold hidden meanings that are not revealed until much later, which stood as a statement against blind trust in government propaganda. Among the editorialists surveyed, Kim Sŏnghwan was the only one that emphasized the importance of the subject of the constitutional amendment by elevating it to the level of societal (language) and familial (since it fell on Mother's Day) importance.[993] It further reminded readers of how Rhee extended his power by constitutional

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harbored discontent toward the amendment with the belief that it would cut off their boss, Kim Chongp'il, from his chosen place as successor to Park Chung Hee Im, "Origins of Yusin Regime," 247. The NDP felt it would lead to an extended dictatorship as well as permanently cut them from power. In April 1969, the mainstream faction of the DRP and the NDP formed a brief political alliance with a vote of no-confidence against minister of education Kwŏn Opyŏng, a largely political move to show their displeasure with the constitutional amendment Im, 247–48. However, this alliance did not last long as Park Chung Hee purged Yang Sunjik, Ye Ch'unho, Chŏng T'aesŏng, and Kim Talsu of the main stream faction, risking the DRP control of two-thirds of the National Assembly seats, a testament to his distrust of Kim Chongp'il and desire to extend his political rule. Im, 248.

[991] Kim Sŏnghwan is also displaying a subtle critique of Park's hangul only policy by utilizing the way that Chinese characters can serve dual purpose of meaning through pictorial representation, something that might be lost when transitioning to hangul.

[992] *Tonga ilbo* May 8, 1969.

[993] *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* May 8, 1969. The *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* published a one-panel cartoon regarding the introduction of elementary and middle school textbooks written in hangul as part of Park's push restricting the usage

revision without mentioning it explicitly.[994] This would be a continuous theme throughout most of Kim Sŏnghwan's commentary upon the constitutional amendment debates.

By May, with the purging of key members, the DRP abandoned its anti-constitution stand as Yun Ch'iyŏng reiterating his previous request for a constitutional amendment "because the country is more important than the Constitution, a constitutional amendment is unavoidable for political stabilization and economic development."[995] In light of this political shift, Kim Sŏnghwan chose not to scale back on his commentary, but, instead, he grew more forceful in standing behind what he anticipated would be strong-arm attacks upon the opposition party. As protests erupted in the streets, Kim Sŏnghwan produced a series of cartoons depicting the various means that Mr. Kobau and ordinary citizens tried to avoid the onslaught of tear gas or being mistaken for protestors.[996] Within these images, the police are seen as heavily-armed zealots, indiscriminatingly causing destruction upon students, opposition party members, the press, and general public. Though the throwing of bottles was decried as acts of "terror," in Kim's eyes, the search for unknown "terrorists" by the police and politicians was the true act of terror.

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of hanja in lieu of hangul as a national language, but without the political tie-in to the constitutional amendments, choosing to largely ignore the issue in the editorials. May 8th was also Mother Day, which was focus of both the four-panel cartoons of "Whalsun Ajimae" (*Kyŏnghyang sinmun*) and "Tukkŏbi" (*Chosŏn ilbo*).

[994] Kim produced a similar cartoon on June 4th depicting officials progressively striking a bell with larger and larger mallets. He reveals in the final panel that the bell is labeled as "constitutional amendment" and the officials intend to ring the bell loudly (make the big announcement) at the end of the year. In 1969, the *Tonga ilbo* published 84 articles with a focus on "constitutional discourse" (*kaehŏn tamhwa*). Most of the articles concentrated on the preliminary debates within the NDP. The *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* only published 49 articles concerning the same topic, which tended to neutrally or positively phrased with focus primarily upon the economic and security benefits from a constitutional revision. A keyword search on "constitutional issue" (*kaehŏn munje*) revealed 544 articles published within the *Tonga ilbo* and 329 published in the *Kyŏnghyang Sinumn* in the same period. In the *Chosŏn ilbo*, which was located on a separate online database with narrower search parameters, a keyword search of "constitutional amendment" (*kaehŏn*) revealed 593 articles in the same period. While I was unable to read all articles, brief scans over the headlines and introductory passages tended to reveal a similar pattern of support or neutral non-confrontational passages regarding the Constitutional Amendment within the articles in the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* compared to the often hostile stance exhibited prior to the takeover by Park Chung Hee's government through Kim Ch'ŏrho of Kia Industries.

[995] *Tonga ilbo* May 7, 1969.

[996] *Tonga ilbo* June 28, 1969-July 10, 1969.

On July 25, Park Chung Hee held a press conference officially announcing a national referendum for a constitutional amendment. Tactically released during a period of heightened exuberance within the media celebrating the Apollo 11 moon landing, Park Chung Hee simultaneously linked his rule to the rising success of the U.S. allies and as a vote of confidence in his leadership.[997] Though Kim Sŏnghwan joined in the celebration of the Apollo 11 moon landing, dedicating a week of cartoons representing the fever surrounding the event, on July 26, this abruptly switched with Park Chung Hee's announcement of the referendum. Kim Sŏnghwan illustrated a Western looking man talking about the moon landing. (Figure 8.9) The westerner is immediately attacked by a crowd of men more concerned with the referendum, elevating the gravity of this news.[998] Park Chung Hee's response to the movement against the reform was to claim it as personally motivated and, ultimately, anti-government: "this last-ditch struggle against the constitutional amendment will surely drive the political arena into utter chaos and confusion."[999] Park Chung Hee tried to frame the opposition and its newly formulated *chaeya* support as radical, a tactic that ultimately would prove successful in the upcoming vote. Nonetheless, his words only strengthened the ties between the NDP and *cheaya* as they formed the National Committee to Oppose the Constitutional Reform.

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[997] *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* July 25, 1969. Chŏng Unkyŏng's "Walsun Ajimae" chose to link the Apollo 11 water landing to a recent corruption scandal in the Waterworks Department. In the July 26 cartoon, Chŏng Unkyŏng produced a mildly suggestive cartoon expressing a possibility of a negative outcome to Park Chung Hee's vote of confidence in his leadership. Walsun's master approaches his boss about receiving a pay increase or bonus, which he is refused. He then asks if he is ready for a vote of confidence his boss. In this, he links Park Chung Hee's political vote to the economic prosperity of the people, stressing that as synonymous with the ability to pass the amendment. While potentially critical, the linkage also supported in the editorials of the tamed *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* that tended to emphasize the importance of Park's policies in growing the economy. Almost the entirety of the July 25th edition of the *Chosŏn ilbo* was dedicated to the Apollo 11 shuttle landing with only a brief article marking Park Chung Hee's TV announcement. An Ŭisŏp's "Tukkŏbi" expresses a similar weariness with the Apollo 11 news coverage, but without the strong political overtones. In the July 26th edition, An Ŭisŏp draws a one-panel cartoon of a city crier trumpeting the Constitutional Amendment, but the image is neutral without any criticism, a far cry from his previous position as a staff member of the once oppositional, *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*.

[998] *Tonga ilbo* July 26, 1969.

[999] *Tonga ilbo* July 25, 1969.

After a two-month-long heated struggle within the National Assembly and pro-and-anti-amendment campaign tours, on September 14, the DRP pushed the amendment bill through in a plenary session held at the Assembly's annex building while the opposition lawmakers staged a sit-in protest in the main Assembly Hall to block passage, a common though often ineffective political tactic. Kim Sŏnghwan illustrated this as an act of theft. On the day following passage, he showed Mr. Kobau searching for the "new" National Assembly Building where he is guided to a bus, labeled "mobile National Assembly." (Figure 8.10) Shouting "bastard thieves!", the NDP run after the bus filled with the DRP members that gavel in the passage of the new amendment.[1000] The next day Kim Sŏnghwan produced a similar cartoon with a man "practicing thievery" in order to gear up for the next round of "secret voting" within the National Assembly.[1001] (Figure 8.11)

Kim Sŏnghwan continued his attack by showing a man trapped and almost drowning in a torrential downpour.[1002] (Figure 8.12) Struggling to escape and near death, he spies a shadowed person upon the shore. At first, he is upset because he assumes that the stranger was just sitting around, not bothering to save him. He coughs out a demand for his name. However, upon closer examination, it is revealed that the shadowed person is wrapped in bandages with only one eye

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[1000] *Tonga ilbo* September 15, 1969. "Walsun Ajimae," in an off-cuff joke made by Walsun's master in admonishing his wife for her excessive usage of electricity, references the annex building as a means for "saving energy." (*Kyŏnghyang sinmun* September 15, 1969) "Tukkŏbi" produces a similar mildly critical response with a school trip of the capital that ends with the annex building as a place for the "nighttime usage of the National Assembly." (*Chosŏn ilbo* September 16, 1969) Though both of these cartoons highlight the events of the plenary session, neither is as forceful as Kim Sŏnghwan's branding of "thievery." Chŏng Ukyŏng's commentary could even be seen as supportive of this measure since it linked the DRP's actions to progressive measures like conservation of energy.
[1001] *Tonga ilbo* September 16, 1969. An Ŭisŏp ramped up his critique on September 17 when he produced a "Tukkŏbi" depicting a similar cartoon to Kim Sŏnghwan's with a thief being caught by a police officer after sneaking from a building. He quickly declares he is a member of congress. Instead of being punished, the police officer congratulates him on a job well done. (*Chosŏn ilbo* September 17, 1969) An Ŭisŏp held similar political beliefs as Kim Sŏnghwan, but since *Chosŏn ilbo*'s faced increasing financial connections to the government, it made editorials, including cartoonists, more subject to pressure to conform. The fact that Kim Sŏnghwan produced two critical cartoons prior to An Ŭisŏp's illustration may have given him the license to produce a similar critique and showcase his true opinions upon the subject.
[1002] *Tonga ilbo* September 17, 1969.

remaining. Tapping his crutch, the bandaged person replies, "My name? My name is 'Parliamentary Politics.'" To which the near-drowned man cries out, "Yikes! You're near death!" Through this, Kim illustrates the terror and violent intimidation surrounding the passage of the law. He also employed a metaphor and critique of the status of politics. Kim illustrates the general perception of the parliamentary system as a shadowy figure, unresponsive and uncaring of the people's struggles. However, in the reveal, Kim shows that this is a dangerous mistake because the system is actually badly damaged, abused, and near death.

Like with the protests following Korean-Japan Normalization Treaty and 1967 election, Kim Sŏnghwan harshly criticized the treatment of the press and demonstrators. Within the darkness, a floating eye surrounded by a lens appears with the label "eye of the nation." (Figure 8.13) It is quickly smashed by a thug who exclaims proudly, "Hey! I blocked it."[1003] Hiding in the background are two creeping men, representing government administrators. The final panel shows the photographer now followed by an eye doctor and a muscular man. The photographer explains, "A photojournalists must employ a physician secretary and gangster secretary." This critique follows with another series of comics expressing the overzealous actions of the police who attempt to arrest people fasting for health reasons, bald monks, and flier distributors for flood relief in fear that they were attempting a demonstration.[1004] While lighthearted in their ridiculous representations, the final comic of this short series shows the serious violence lurking behind these metaphoric images. A school principal is handed a gift to be placed on his desk and kept actively in his thoughts. (Figure 8.14) However, his initial excitement is short lived when the final panel reveals the "gift" is a tree carved with the expression "if you don't block the demonstrations." A noose is attached to a limb baring the label, "letter of resignation," a

[1003] *Tonga ilbo* September 18, 1969.
[1004] *Tonga ilbo* September 20 and September 22, 1969.

figurative death threat.[1005] The trembling and terrified official shows how deep the level of intimidation is in the society: even school communities are not immune.

For the next month, the political debate grew more heated as the ruling and opposition parties took their campaign to the people, hoping for favorable outcome in the national referendum on the constitutional amendment. Kim Sŏnghwan followed the debate, with a similar pattern of cartoons decrying government interference and the societal tensions formed when people chose sides. He spoke on the duplicity of government officials publicly claiming neutrality while secretly trying to sway voters toward passage of the amendment;[1006] how people spoke pleasantly about the value of the vote until they realize they are voting against each other;[1007] the way corrupt officials tried to ingratiate themselves with voters through bribery, alcohol, and flattery;[1008] the closure of schools to prevent demonstrations;[1009] and, above all, he parodied the gravity of the situation.[1010]

On October 17, the referendum for the constitutional amendment passed with 65.1 percent, a clear majority and symbolic vindication of Park Chung Hee's rule.[1011] Without much uproar, the opposition declined rapidly, and students returned to campus, a far cry from the surge

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[1005] *Tonga ilbo* September 23, 1969. While Kim Sŏnghwan produced cynical interpretations of the fight against the Constitutional Amendment, An Ŭisŏp showcased a hopeful image that equated the NDP to the independence movement leaders of the New People's Association (*sinminhoe*) under the Japanese occupation (*Chosŏn ilbo* September 21, 1969). Considering Park Chung Hee's military ties to Japan and implications of revolution hidden within this association, this represented a powerful message of support for the NDP and the *chaeya*, which An Ŭisŏp shows as the inheritor of the legacy of New People's Association. Though the cartoon does not explicitly mention the *chaeya*, the New People's Association held similar values associated with the *chaeya*, including the raising of national consciousness; the construction of commercial and industrial facilities; and the promotion of education, theology, and the press. In addition, many of the members originally came from providences in what is now part of North Korea.
[1006] *Tonga ilbo* October 3, 1969.
[1007] *Tonga ilbo* October 4, 1969.
[1008] *Tonga ilbo* October 6, 1969; October 14, 1969
[1009] *Tonga ilbo* October 7, 1969.
[1010] *Tonga ilbo* October 8, 1969; October 10, 1969; October 11, 1969; October 15, 1969; October 17, 1969.
[1011] Park, "Chaeya," 391; Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1962-1970*, 270. Kim Sŏnghwan cites the favorable votes at 7,553,655 out of 11,064,438, which equates to 68.2%, a higher percentage than cited by Kim and Vogel.

of protests following the passage of the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty though similar to the protests following the 1967 election. On the whole, this reflected the ambivalence felt by many regarding the constitution. With a rising economy and continuous reminder of threats from the north through spy reports and military buildup, the continuation of Park's rule seemed justified. The DRP further emphasized this by taking out a series of ads in major newspapers the week prior to the vote, a similar successful tactic they employed during the 1967 elections. In the tamed *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* and *Choson Ilbo*, the DRP contrasted a photo of neatly lined farms cross-sectioned by a series of roads with a photo of a lost child next to a North Korea soldier amidst the ruins of Seoul during the Korean War. "Stability or chaos? What is your choice?"[1012] The *Tonga ilbo* followed with a softer piece of imagery. A fatherly looking Park Chung Hee gazes out over a crowd of people with the caption, "Let's trust Park in assuring stability and prosperity."[1013] The absence of any visual symbol published by the NDP, whose only ad consisted of a text of bullet-points, created a purely cerebral message, possibly alienating non-literary segments of the population and making the connection between Park and the image of "man of the people" seem even more clear.[1014]

Though the *chaeya* collation tried to mobilize some of the traditional pockets of resistance—students, mainstream journalists, and academics—it failed to stir up large-scale protests or substantial resistance. In fact, many students turned upon the press, accusing them of propping up Park's rule.[1015] This reflected a shift occurring in the press that displayed a negative attitude toward the student protests in editorial commentaries. Rather than championing their cause, some reporters pressed students to return to studies or decried their lack of patriotic spirit.

[1012] *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* October 16, 1969 and *Choson Ilbo* October 16, 1969.
[1013] *Tonga ilbo* October 16, 1969.
[1014] The DRP ads also tended to occupy the front page while the NDP ad fell upon the third page.
[1015] Park, "Chaeya," 391.

This was also shown in many of the political cartoons that focused on student protests against the draft card. Kim Sŏnghwan remained one of the few editorialists that did not emphasize this behavior. The lack of support for student concerns might have contributed to their ire against the mainstream press and unwillingness to join in the collation. Furthermore, calling upon a national referendum following the passage of the bill quelled many of the accusations of government abuse since there was no obvious violation of constitutional procedures. This would bolster Park Chung Hee's initiative to continue his rule as the embodiment and representative "will of the people" in what would become what Yun Haedong would call a "dictatorship of referendum."[1016] Kim Sŏnghwan and to a lesser degree An Ŭisŏp, however, remained consistent in his feelings of distrust in the constitutional revision and its implications in authoritarian rule, unlike other editorial cartoonists.

Like his fellow editorial cartoonists, Kim Sŏnghwan was not immune to the pressures of internal and external censorship driven both by government pressures and the market. This primarily exhibited in the necessity to redraw cartoons deemed politically sensitive, which he was sometimes forced to do four or more times. Asking artists to redo works, even when the message was not blatantly anti-government, served as a means of control, especially when it appeared arbitrary. This caused the artists to continuously internalize the government messages that they wished produced and question their creative impulses, pre-censoring cartoons that could require a redraw. Sometimes these pressures led to metaphorical codes or the replacement of images with suggestive space, a tactic often used in comics as part of the artistic medium, but it could take on greater political significance within the editorial cartoon. However, Kim

[1016] Namhee Lee, "The Theory of Mass Dictatorship: A Re-Examination of the Park Chung Hee Period," *The Review of Korean Studies* 12, no. 3 (September 2009): 51. A "dictatorship of referendum" is a "legal and public expression of the general will of the people, which delegates the power to the state, which it then exercises its power in creating supra-legal apparatuses."

Sŏnghwan had an economic advantage over some of his fellow artists due to the popularity of his cartoon. In 1968, he secured the copywrite of the character, "Mr. Kobau," which allowed him greater control over the production and advertising associated with the character. The space below "Mr. Kobau," also became the most expensive slot for advertisements within the *Tonga ilbo*, which shielded Kim Sŏnghwan from threats of expulsion even when he pushed against government censors.[1017] This advantage would set himself apart from other cartoonists, who might have held similar political views but submitted to internal or external pressures. Kim Sŏnghwan still drew criticism, creating what Kim Sŏnghwan described as a "lonely, isolating profession," but his protections and popularity also would prove invaluable in the upcoming fights of the 1970s for free elections and creative expression.[1018]

8.3 *1971 Presidential Election*

Park Chung Hee's 1971 Presidential bid constituted the last free election under the Park regime. The discontinuity and contradiction between "bread" (desire for equality in development) and "freedom" (desire for individualism) in what Kwŏn Podŭrae and Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan described as a "hostile symbiosis" of Park Chung Hee's policies would come to a head in the election as the tragic consequences of the uneven development, which was brought to light in the death by self-immolation of Chŏn T'aeil in 1970.[1019] His political suicide exposed how the state willfully ignored the "modern" rights of laborers in order to promote growth, shutting out key segments of the population from the benefits of this growth and subjecting

[1017] Han Yŏngju, "Han'guk manhwasa kusul ch'aerok," 128. A small square advertisement started appearing at the bottom of "Mr. Kobau" in August 1969. These were usually purchased through contract with the price exceeding the salary of seven reporters.
[1018] Kim Sŏnghwan, Author's second interview.
[1019] Kwŏn Podŭrae and Ch'ŏn Chŏnghwan, *1960-yŏn ŭl mutta*, 9.

laborers to near industrial slavery.[1020] As the *Tonga ilbo* pointed out in 1971 and Kim Sŏnghwan would later reiterate in his 1987 collection of Mr. Kobau cartoons, "The death of Chŏn T'aeil would symbolize the problems of Korea during the 1970s, just as the Korean War was an emblem of the 1950s and the April Revolution defined the 1960s."[1021] The election further tested the organizational capabilities of the *chaeya*, whose revived coalition saw themselves as social reformers on the side of the oppressed *minjung* as well as the last barrier guarding democracy against DRP-KCIA top political leaders and their organizational machine.[1022]

Editorial cartoons played a powerful political role in the 1971 elections largely due to alterations in the electoral laws issued on December 22, 1970 that called for a "prohibition of praise and advertising." Though Article 61 Section 2 of the law did not expressly forbid the purchasing or usage of political advertising by non-candidate or non-political party affiliates, the restrictions against "paying advertisements that praise or defame the achievements of the government" severely limited the framework.[1023] As a result, in the month leading up to the Presidential election, only one political ad appeared that was primarily visual.[1024] This prohibition of visual advertising left editorial cartoons as one of the only graphic representation

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[1020] Park, "Chaeya," 392–94.
[1021] Kim Sŏnghwan, *Kobau hyŏndaesa: 1962-1970*, 310.
[1022] Park, "Chaeya," 382.
[1023] Pak Yunhŭn, "Taet'ongnyŏng sŏn'gŏ pŏpchung kaejŏng pŏmnyul mit kuk'oeŭiwŏn sŏn'gŏ pŏpchung kaejŏng pŏmnyul haesŏl [Presidential Election Law Revision and Parliamentary Election Law Revision]," Pŏpchech'ŏ [The Legislative Office], January 1, 1971, http://www.moleg.go.kr/knowledge/publication/monthlyPublicationSrch.jsp?w=nhn&yr=1971&mn=01&mpbLegPstSeq=125322. Accessed May 20, 2019.
[1024] *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* April 15, 1971. It showed an image of Park Chung Hee peering through a pair of binoculars next to a soldier in army fatigues and gazing over at a separate image showcasing fighter planes and military build-up. The caption reads, "With whom will we entrust our lives and property?" Since the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* now leaned toward government support and the advertisement did not overtly praise or defame President Park Chung Hee, but simply asked a hypothetical question based on a possible confrontation with North Korea and not an actual event, it passed the electoral law restrictions. As the only image besides stock candidate photographs utilized during the election in these three newspapers, it highlighted the importance of Park's military policies and the difference in experience seen between the two candidates in light of escalating tensions with the North: only an experienced general can "protect the people."

of political policy in the newspapers, elevating the status of its artists as forces in campaigning. While this provided a powerful position to project their political viewpoint, it also painted a target on the artists so that censors kept their depictions in check, which for some cartoonists resulted in presenting a limited set of less controversial moments of political infighting, a "safer" topic. Kim Sŏnghwan would still project a strong voice as he focused primarily upon corrupt election practices, economic fears, and restrictions on the press. On the whole, these cartoons reflected a fear of a repeat of the corrupt elections of the past and perpetuation of power signaled by the 1969 Constitutional Revision.

Kim Sŏnghwan started off the election season with a cartoon depicting the four predictable phases of the election cycle: a heavily humble politician bows low before the election; an anxious politician leaps with nervousness in the middle of the election; a triumphant politician cheers after the election victory; and a proud politician sticks out his chest and haughtily struts as though owning the country after the election. (Figure 8.15) "This will be his posture for the next four years."[1025] Though Kim believed in the importance of the elections and the consequences of the results, he saw the process as repetitive and tended to foster politician's overinflated sense of self and power with little genuine concern for people's livelihood. After living through and commenting upon several different elections within the first three Republics, this sense of frustration and bitterness often shined through his characters.

Throughout the Presidential and National Assembly elections, Kim Sŏnghwan refrained from direct caricatures of President Park and National Assembly members, focusing most of Mr. Kobau's critiques against the systemic corruption within government institutions as a whole and their ability to suppress, manipulate, and misdirect the common people through bribery and

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[1025] *Tonga ilbo* March 19, 1971.

violence that supports the leaders. In particular, he focused upon the political process, raising issues questioning the government's willingness to truly protect democracy from interference and manipulation by the DRP. Like before, the role of civil servants in election manipulation became a key target for his cartoons. For example, Kim illustrated an official declaring loudly, "Civil servants should never be involved in elections!" (Figure 8.16) At the same time, the official's shadow whispers within the subordinate's ear, "You know what he means…ho ho ho." The shadow pats a reassuring gesture on the civil servants' back indicating that the opposite is actually the case.[1026]

While the concept of election manipulation played throughout the period, the critique appeared less forceful than the previous election. Kim Sŏnghwan gave nods to efforts by the *chaeya* organized committees and police to guard the sanctity of the elections. This even included positive painting the police in the position as protectors of democracy rather than participating in voter suppression as was often depicted in his election cycle cartoons. Kim illustrated Mr. Kobau eliciting the help of the police to help guard against the stealing of the presidential registration ballots, showing both the fear of another stolen election as well as hope that with diligence by those in power the outcome might be fair.[1027] (Figure 8.17)

Overall, the 1971 presidential elections primarily focused on the 1969 Constitutional amendment and the economy. However, compared to the 1967 election and 1969 referendum periods, the economy started to slow down after 1969, which helped shed light on the growth inequalities that were part of Park's trickle-down economics of "growth first and distribution later."[1028] The NDP, reinvigorated by the support of *chaeya* leaders remorseful and angered

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[1026] *Tonga ilbo* April 1, 1971.
[1027] *Tonga ilbo* April 2, 1971.
[1028] Im, "Origins of Yusin Regime," 251.

following the death of Chŏn T'aeil, latched upon this as showing failure in Park's policies and leadership, which made the possibility of his extension of rule less appealing and more consequential. Though the threat of another constitutional revision loomed over the election and became one of the primary talking points of NDP leaders, most editorial cartoonists and journalists tended to be less forceful in their commentaries and linkages to Park Chung Hee's movement toward a perpetuation of rule during the presidential campaign period.

This taming of the press rose out of corporate and legal interference backed by the Park regime over the previous decade, including creation of ethics committees and modification to the election and press laws, described in chapter seven. The mildness of critiques drew reproach from student leaders and *chaeya* activists, who felt the press compromised their roles as watchdogs of the state, thus shifting critical power to underground newspapers that repeatedly called for students to rise against repression and injustice.[1029] Like with the 1967 election, many within the press felt insulted by these accusations of passivity and lack of critical voice from student and *chaeya* leaders. The *Tonga ilbo* announced a "Declaration of Freedom" on April 6, 1971, the 15th anniversary of Newspaper Day, with a pledge to fight censorship that was soon followed by statements from the *Han'guk ilbo, Chosŏn ilbo, Jungang ilbo,* Munhwa Broadcasting Company, and Haptong News Agency.[1030] However, unlike the Press Ethics

[1029] Park, "Chaeya," 398.
[1030] Park, 398. *Tonga ilbo* April 6, 1971. (Translated by author) Today, journalists across the country renew their resolve with a firm voice to defeat the persistent challenge to free speech. Indeed, what we need to be aware of is that we define this as an illegal, unjust interference from outside; a destructive threat; and a self-deprecating tendency that sprouted within. We are fully aware of the principle that as the freedom of speech advocates, the ethics and accountability must be thorough. For these two propositions, we have repeated the cold-blooded self-criticism while reprinting the bold struggle to defend free press for many years. Thus, we have defeated the legislative prayers to regulate the media and have fought with unyielding intentions the many events that endanger the free press, and we have not lost our self-confidence and self-sacrifice in own transgressions. Through the Declaration of the 15th Annual Newspaper Day, we will make a "constructive and directive endeavor" under the presupposition of "a posture and physiology of constitutional resistance as well as a cleansing of a cynical habit" as the primary mission of the newspaper. Because of that belief, we have endeavored to endure the burden of the time-honored mission of the era under the difficulties of a realistic adversity and production. Nonetheless, we are forced to break free of it with extraordinary reverence when we are faced with a new type of threat that is hindering the creation of free

Committee campaign of 1964 where the news agencies faced a restrictive policy to target their declarations, at this time, there was no clear target which journalists could focus except for their own internal sense of pride and determination. Therefore, for many critics, the declaration appeared largely symbolic and empty. Even journalists questioned the feasibility of such statements when faced with economic and political pressures. Nonetheless, the consistent attacks and detainment of journalists by authorities invoked a sense of martyrdom and feeling of standing against insurmountable odds.[1031]

Kim Sŏnghwan accompanied the declaration with an illustration of pens at a run that are stopped by a pillar carved with the inscription, "Newspaper Week," which causes them to stalk away with tearful rejection. (Figure 8.18) Returning to the site again, the pens hang a mirror of self-reflection and declare, "We have grown quite weak during this time."[1032] They then proceed

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speech. Therefore, we will crush any attempt to interfere illegally with the press, regardless of any political group. In addition, in order to meet the wishes of the people to faithfully guarantee "rights," it is necessary for the readers to have a common interest in expressing the attitudes of affirmation and denial clearly and fairly. We will try to resolve the common complaints of the readers. We declare on the occasion of the 15th Newspaper Day that the reporters and publishing editors will firmly unite and not sell out toward the attainment of this immediate goal.

[1031] This is shown in multiple statements within the four protesting newspapers, including a statement from the *Chosŏn ilbo* on April 7, 1971. (Translated by author) We press are skeptical as to whether the newspapers of today are faithful to their original function.…We do not want to excuse this situation of Korean newspapers today. We know that the high standard of factual reporting has deviated from that of the "period of resistance." Today our commentaries give priority to social stability and order…. The newspapers of today are centered on management's interests, not on the views of editors…. [This is largely due to] the pursuit of business interests or profits at the cost of the original mission and the consciousness of newspapermen is like digging one's own grave. We know this well. Even if there is some outside intervention in newspapers today, such intervention should not go beyond the limits of democracy. And if these limits are crossed over, newspapermen must rise up and struggle to recover democracy. In the present process of modernization, newspaper companies and news agencies are agonizing over establishing harmony between their role of serving the public interest and their business as profit-making organizations. Even in this agony, newspapers must stick to their role as guides of social development. If not, they will fall. And if newspapers fall, society and government will fall too.

[1032] *Tonga ilbo* April 6, 1971. During "Newspaper Week," the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* illustrated cartoons celebrating Arbor Day, US-China relations, enjoying government sponsored rallies like a picnic, and candidates stealthily concealing political promotion advertisements. Chŏng Unkyŏng, in "Whalsun Ajimae" only briefly referenced newspapers as something Whalsun's husband would eagerly wait for in the rain and protect from getting wet rather than nobly shield his wife from a shower (*Kyŏnghyang sinmun* April 8, 1971). He also showed two police mistakenly identifying Whalsun's husband as a reporter who just got burnt after he accidentally caught his suit on fire while attempting to warm himself by a heater (*Kyŏnghyang sinmun* April 9, 1971). None of these cartoons directly celebrated ideas of press freedom, decried censorship, or showed support for the struggling newspaper's "Declaration of Freedom." However, if read behind the lines, the protection from the rain and the way that reporters

to vigorously work out and take ginseng, an herb known for promoting potency.[1033] While the pens invoke the idea of self-reflection and determination as shown in the various editorials, the mirror in Mr. Kobau also illustrates a sense of vanity within the press and the thought that this exercise in self-criticism might only endure for a week's length. Kim Sŏnghwan ends the week with a cartoon depicting a government official declaring to subordinates the familiar mantra of "because you're government officials, don't get involved in elections."[1034] (Figure 8.19) However, instead of repeating earlier commentaries on government corruption, Kim Sŏnghwan turns the criticism against the press by having the government officials return disguised as radio, TV, and news camerapersons, asking: "Is it okay if we get involved?" In this statement, Kim Sŏnghwan proposes the idea that despite claims of government and press detachment, much of the media continues to act as government shills, thinly disguised mouthpieces.

While critical of the status of the press, Kim Sŏnghwan never viewed his work as government propaganda. Aware of his public status as an opposition commentator and "voice of the people," Kim Sŏnghwan persistently guarded this image by attacking signs of government, corporate, and even religious corruption. Rather than produce a work that might be seen as supporting a policy that he disagreed with or saw as harmful, Kim Sŏnghwan chose to either replace the work with a special interest, non-political cartoon or leave the page blank for the day,

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could be seen as individuals that could easily be "burned" may be interpreted as mild support for the press and the need to protect it from damaging influences that could "wash" or "burn away" the writings (i.e. censorship).

[1033] Paek Insu produced a similar caricature of a pen sharpening its mangled tip upon a stone grinder. *Tonga ilbo* April 6, 1971. An Ŭisŏp, in the *Chosŏn ilbo* produced a one-panel cartoon illustrating a pen reverently sitting in front of two plates with the Chinese characters of "self-reflection." Tukkŏbi equated the Newspaper Day to a potential day of rest for the candidates, emphasizing an importance of newspapers in the political process. Both cartoons emphasized a sense of peaceful contemplation over battle. However, after the initial publication. The remaining cartoons primarily addressed issues related to the election and the struggle to obtain votes from the different candidates.

[1034] *Tonga ilbo* April 12, 1971. While Kim Sŏnghwan would cover other election related issues during "Newspaper Week," he spent the most amount of ink covering and critiquing ideas of press censorship and government interference.

which occurred more frequently as censorship policies increased. Special interest cartoons during the 1971 presidential election occurred more frequently compared to the 1967 election.

Still, Kim maintained a level of hope in his belief in the power of democracy by publishing a large sign in Chinese characters covering the whole four-panels of Mr. Kobau, including his head, allowing Mr. Kobau to truly act as the "everyman." (Figure 8.20) The expression reads: "Sovereignty rests with the people."[1035] The "unknown voter" then declares, "it is my day that returns every four years." While this cartoon might appear as a typical "get out and vote" advertisement, the fact that the 1969 constitutional amendment played such a critical role in the politics of the 1971 election and questioned the notion of sovereignty by demonstrating ability of the government to change to the rules to suit their purpose made this simple phrase powerful and ominous.

On April 27, 1971, despite the efforts by the NDP to correct the mistakes from the previous elections by early selection of a candidate, a clear platform, and vigorous campaigning, Park won against Kim Dae-jung with 53.2 percent of the popular vote compared to Kim Dae-jung's 45.3 percent.[1036] Kim Sŏnghwan was swift in expressing his disappointment with the results and the inconsistency in voting. When the Central Election Management Committee (*sŏn'gwanwi*) tossed out around 4,000 votes in one county due to incorrect procedures, Kim Sŏnghwan illustrates them as "stone heads" perfect for weighing down kimchi jars.[1037] (Figure 8.21) In a rare specifically targeted joke, he attacks their actions as idiotic. With such a close margin of votes compared to the previous election, which also was plagued with accusations of

[1035] *Tonga ilbo* April 27, 1971.
[1036] Lee, "The Countryside," 383.
[1037] *Tonga ilbo* April 29, 1971.

voter manipulation, the reason for removal of votes becomes suspect and a potential rallying cry against democratic procedural abuses.

Through the election period, Kim Sŏnghwan switched between political and general interest cartoons. Criticism against the heavy-handedness of anti-protest measures—including school closures, beatings, and tear gas explosions—mixed with commentaries on cigarette prices, health fads, and shoddy infrastructure. This lessoning of political focus came out of the internal and external censorship practices implemented within the press and upon cartoonists that required Kim to often re-draw cartoons four to six times, prompting him to keep several general interest comics on hand in case the political cartoons failed inspection. An Ŭsŏp and Paek Insu also expressed similar restraints. As stated in interviews, Kim would rotate between general interest and political cartoons as a whole in order to keep the public interest and connection to readers intact by not alienating his audience through too many overtly political or partisan cartoons.[1038] However, during periods of high political tension, like elections, he tended to forgo this rule, often commenting on other's lack of focus, as with the 1969 moon landing. Nonetheless, his practice of rotating between political and general interest comics became less of a choice over time and more of a necessity as censors grew more stringent and fearful of metaphoric imagery with hidden messages.

8.4 *Conclusion*

Over the three periods of democratic juncture in this chapter, the fear of creeping authoritarianism and the need to protect liberal-democratic values remained the most consistent themes for Kim Sŏnghwan. This often took the form of protection for procedural process. He

[1038] Kim Sŏnghwan, Author's second interview.

brought to light practices of bribery and poll manipulation as seen in the metaphorical imagery of Makkŏlli, rubber shoes, and ghosts in the 1967 election or figurative gestures of ballot guarding drawn in both elections and the Constitutional Referendum. Though protection of this basic principle took priority in Kim Sŏnghwan's critique, it was not as prevalent in the cartoons within the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* and *Chosŏn ilbo*, which faced increasing internal and external government pressure to either refrain or soften critiques of government policy. Instead, these cartoonists generally produced works that highlighted the political infighting. This possibly reinforce the idea that "democracy" was not healthy or compatible with Korea's social and political situation. Therefore, some cartoons lent support to Park's push toward "Korean-style democracy." Though Kim Sŏnghwan also produced cartoons that showed political infighting, he mixed it with messages championing the need to protect the process from internal and external government interference. These small pockets of resistance would become increasingly important as Park Chung Hee shut down more and more avenues of critique, depleting the "free space for discourse." This made the moments of critique and the creative outlet of satire all the more powerful.

Editorial cartoonists in Korea rarely saw extensive periods of "unrestrained" freedom of expression that often accompanies this art form in Western liberal democracies. Overall, the level of permissive critique remained relatively high in the 1960s compared to the 1970s and 1980s, and the increasing difficulties in publication did not necessarily mean lack of critique. At this time, Kim Sŏnghwan could press the boundaries of these limitations. He presented a consistent critical voice against creeping authoritarianism, political corruption, and uneven economic distribution primarily due to his long-time status within the *Tonga ilbo* and their obligation to critical journalism. This did not make Kim Sŏnghwan or those within the *Tonga*

ilbo immune to government pressure and censorship. The desire to project or possibly the necessity to project this type of critical image was needed in order to maintain a sense of legitimacy as a voice outside of government control.

In later interviews, when acknowledging the heavy pressure to conform, Kim Sŏnghwan often noted that at times he did not experience it as highly as some of his colleagues. The security of a fulltime staff position gave him a steady monthly salary, but not always more income because of the rising costs of supplies. It also put the newspaper in more control of his cartoons.[1039] As shown in the manipulation of supply sellers, control of resources, consolidation of publication outlets, and distribution of preferential bank loans, market forces are the underbelly of censorship. Carrot and stick policies fostered a constant state of consciousness and self-censorship where censorship became the specter that followed the creators 24 hours a day. It imbedded it deep in the subconscious mind of the cartoonists creating a state where "deliberation kills the Korean comics."[1040] Nonetheless, Kim Sŏnghwan's reputation as "the people's voice" made the space below "Mr. Kobau" the most desirable spot for advertisement, which helped boost his confidence in his ability to continue voicing his opinions and what he saw as the silent voices of the masses.

The security of a regular paycheck, and the "safety" of a position that straddled the line between comic and journalists would place Kim Sŏnghwan in an ambiguous state that generally protected him from the pressure or violence sometimes inflicted on other reporters illustrated or hinted within his cartoons. For Kim Sŏnghwan, the cartoon medium went beyond "nonsense comics" to show an artistic and political point of view in the critical tradition of satire, especially in the promotion of democracy. The daily repetition of themes sponsoring the liberal democratic

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[1039] Han Yŏngju, "Han'guk manhwasa kusul ch'aerok," 49.
[1040] Chang Sangyong, *Chang Sangyong ŭi manhwa*, 41.

ideals, like those of free speech, helped sustain these ideas or at least provided occasional reminders of their importance. As an activist, Kim Sŏnghwan wielded his power through caricature and deploying his genre weapon against authoritarian power and corruption. Over time, he would see himself as a patriot, a poet, and a democratic fighter: not a "big democratic fighter," but a minor, though important "democratic fighter"[1041]

[1041] Han Yŏngju, "Han'guk manhwasa kusul ch'aerok," 72.

Appendix 6. CHAPTER EIGHT EDITORIAL CARTOONS

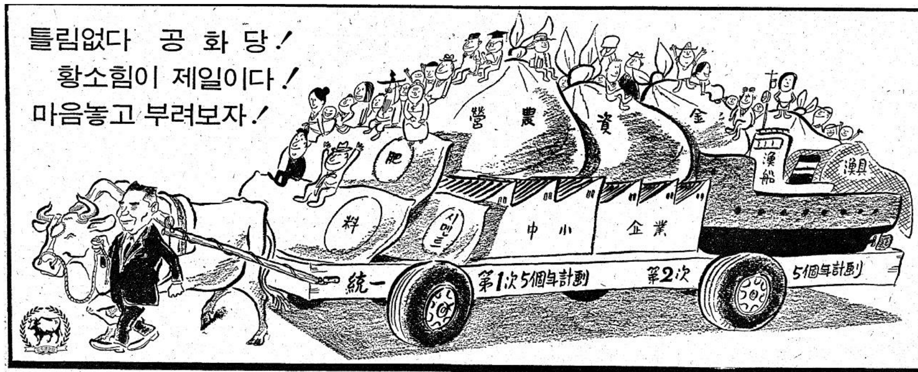

Figure 8.1 (April 2, 1967)

Bags from left: (fertilizer) (farming funds) (fishing boat) (fishing gear)
(fertilizer) (cement) (small-and medium-size businesses)
Cart: (unification) (1st 5-year development plan) (2nd 5-year development plan)

"The DRP without doubt!"
"The strength of the bull is the greatest!
"Let's work them to our heart's content!"

Figure 8.2 (June 12, 1967)

K: "Let's observe here sitting side by side."
"They are coming to register as assemblymen."
Sign: Secretariat of the National Assembly

K: "A makkŏlli ticket assemblyman!"

K: "A rubber shoes ticket assembly man! A piano ticket assembly man!"

K: "A ghost ticket assembly man!"

Figure 8.3 (June 14, 1967)

Protestors: "Makkŏlli election! Fraudulent election!"

Swish!

K: "What did they spray?"

K: "It's makkŏlli again!"

Figure 8.4 (April 4, 1967)

DRP recruit: "Hey! Let's take a ride on this vehicle."

DRP recruit: "Hey! Have a lunch box."

DRP recruit: "After listening to our party pledge, how do you appreciate it?"

DRP recruit: "Failure!"
Sign: I'm a deaf person.

Figure 8.5 (April 1, 1967)

Figure 8.6 (June 9, 1967)

Protestors: "Nullify the fraudulent election!"

Police Officer 1: "It's a demonstration!"
Police Officer 2: "Where? Where?"

Police Officer 2: "Where is the demonstration asking to nullify the fraudulent election."
K: "Huh?"

K: "Are you looking for this?"
Statue: April 19th Revolution Commemoration Monument

Figure 8.7 (May 2, 1967)

Sign: Voting place

Barber: "With a clean haircut and appearance…"
Sign: Next

Attendant: "With a clean body…"
Sign: Next

K: "Can't a voting place like this occur?"

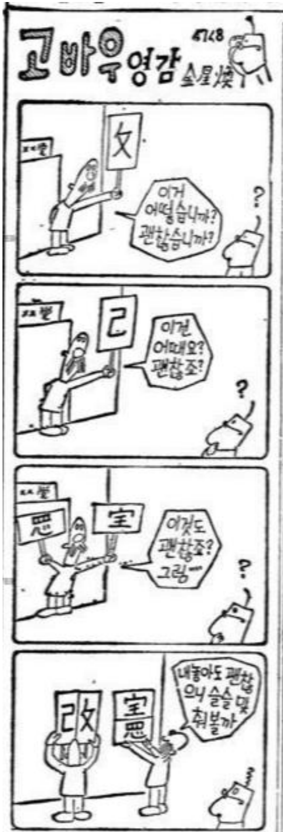

Figure 8.8 (May 8, 1969)

Man: "How about this? Is this okay?"

Man: "How about this? Okay?"

Man: "Is this also okay? Then…"

Man: "Since the components are okay to put out, shall we slowly put them together?"
Sign: Constitutional amendment

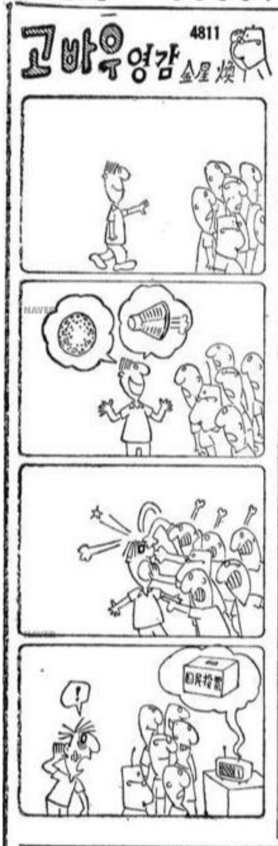

Figure 8.9 (July 26, 1969)

Ballot Box: Referendum

Figure 8.10 (September 15, 1969)

Sign: Selling house

K: “Where is the new assembly hall?”

Man: “In the future they say they will do it there.”
K: “Where?”

NDP: “Bastard thieves!”
[Gavel sounds]
DRP: “Approved!”
Bus: Mobile National Assembly

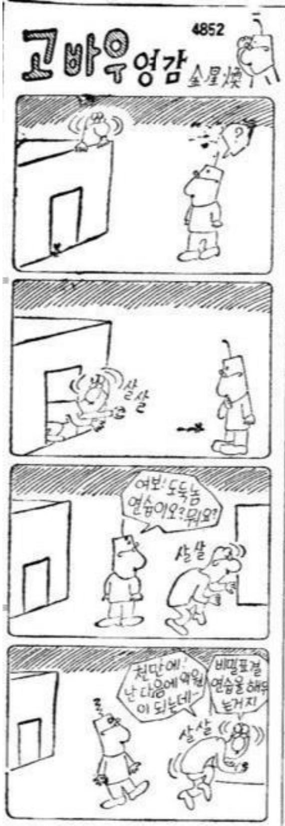

Figure 8.11 (September 16, 1969)

[Gentle sneaking sounds]

K: “Hey! Are you practicing being a thief? Huh?”

Man: “No! I will become a member of the Assembly next.”
“I need to practice for the next round of secret voting.”
[Softly sneak sneak]

Figure 8.12 (September 17, 1969)

Man 1: “A disastrous flood!”

Man 1: “Save me!”

Man 1: “Who is that? Just looking at me…”

Man 2: “My name? My Name is ‘Parliamentary Politics.’”
Man 1: “Yikes! You’re near death!”

Figure 8.13 (September 18, 1969)

Floating eye: Eye of the nation

[Shatter]

Thug: "Hey! I blocked it. Hee hee hee."

Photographer: "A photojournalists must employ a physician secretary and gangster secretary."
Briefcase: Eye doctor
[flex flex]

Figure 8.14 (September 23, 1969)

Official: "Put this on each of your desks."

Principal: "They asked me to keep thinking while looking at this?"
Desk sign: School principle

Carving: If you don't block the demonstrations
Tag: Letter of resignation

Figure 8.15 (March 19, 1971)

[Before the elections]

[During the elections]

[Election victory]

[After the elections]
K: "This will be his posture for the next four years."

Figure 8.16 (April 1, 1971)

Official: "Civil servants should never be involved in the elections!"
Civil Servant: "I understand."

Civil Servant: "Is that really true?"

Official: "Look!"

Official's shadow: "You know what he means…ho ho ho."
"Hee hee hee."

Figure 8.17 (April 2, 1971)

K: "A thief has entered!"

K: "Yes! Let's try to register myself as a presidential candidate."

PO: "I was dispatched to guard the presidential election candidate."

K: "How about that?"
Thief: "Yikes! I can't go in now!"

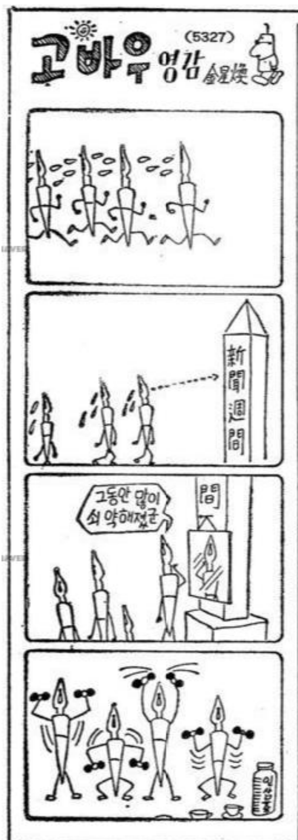

Figure 8.18 (April 6, 1971)

Pillar: Newspaper Week

Pen: "We've grown quite weak during this time."

Bottle: Ginseng

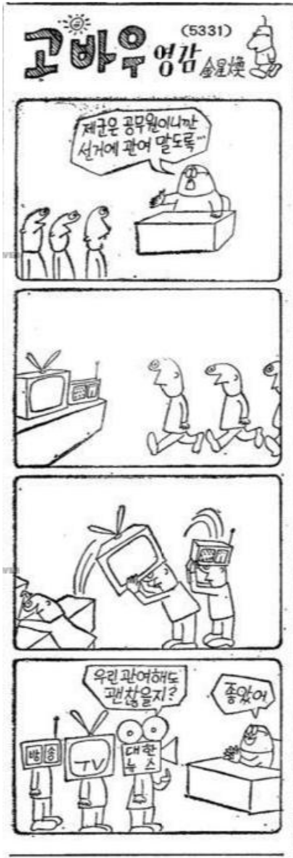

Figure 8.19 (April 12, 1971)

Official: Because you're government officials, don't get involved in the elections.

Media: "Is it okay if we get involved?"
Official: "Excellent!"
[Broadcasting]
[TV]
[National News]

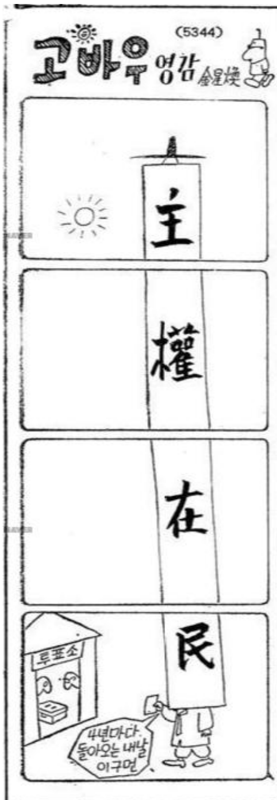

Figure 8.20 (April 27, 1971)

Sign: Sovereignty rests with the People

Building Sign: Voting place
Man: "It is my day that returns every four years."

Figure 8.21 (April 29, 1971)

Wife: “Please look for some stones [clods] to press the old kimchi.”

K: “There are no stones in the city.”

K: “Let’s go gentlemen who possess stone heads.”

K: “These are Central Election Management Committee chair members who did not attach their stamps to the ballot, an act that disqualified 4,000 qualified voters.”

Epilogue. THE FLICKERING FLAME OF DEMOCRACY (1972-TODAY)

He has lived with us the whole time.
Every day
Through the four-panel Kobau
Our truths of the era realized.

The years of the Liberal Party
Kobau sometimes was suppressed.
We shrank
And Kobau unbelievably
Suffered a fine.

The years of Yushin
For several days, nobody knew
Kobau was dragged away.
We do not know where he is
We had to riffle through the blank space of the newspaper.

-Selection from the poem, "Kobau Kim Sŏnghwan," by Ko Ŭn

In February 1973, Kim Sŏnghwan received a phone call at his home. "This is Namsan [KCIA]. Will you receive your May 5th Children's Day prize? We need you to come here again. Once you arrive, we'll take photos. Be prepared for the actors [investigators]."[1042] It was believed at this time, as Kim Sŏnghwan recounted this story, that anyone would be beaten or tortured if called to the KCIA. "I had been called multiple times, and later I was ordered in for interrogation; I knew the role. Usually there were six people; one guy play acted hitting me while shouting loudly and another man told him to cool down."[1043] This "good-cop-bad-cop" scenario went on for several days as part of a course of psychological terror before Kim Sŏnghwan was released. He was not physically tortured largely due to the strength of the public eye. The foreign press concentrated upon him at this time since he was seen as a symbol of Park's oppression of

[1042] Pang Hŭigyŏng, *Kim Sŏnghwan*, chap. 6. Starting in 1961, the KCIA was located at Namsan (Mt. Nam) so going to "Namsan" became a coded word for being summoned by the KCIA.
[1043] *Chosŏn ilbo* October 29, 2011.

free speech in the aftermath of the Yusin Constitution and press protests, in which the *Tonga ilbo* played a critical role.

In October 1972, Park Chung Hee declared a state of emergency, dissolved the National Assembly, and declared the Yusin Constitution. This effectively concentrated the governing power into his hands. Under Martial Law Decree No. 1, “all indoor and outdoor assemblies and demonstrations for the purpose of political activities” were banned, and “speeches publications, press and broadcasts” were subject to censorship.[1044] Those who wished to gather and engage in non-political indoor or outdoor activities required permission. The decree forced a news blackout under the following stipulations:

1) Any article that distorts, defames, or instigates against the purpose of the Declaration of the State of National Emergency of October 17, 1972;
2) Any article that misleads by inciting public opinion and sentiments;
3) Any article that is detrimental to ensuring security of society;
4) Any article that deals with military information;
5) Any article that undermines the moral of military personnel;
6) Any article that is related to duties of the marital law authorities;
7) Any article that is harmful to the national interest.[1045]

Four more items would later be added to the list. It included the banning of printing on the private matters of individuals. On the day following the declaration, there was no Mr. Kobau cartoon in the *Tonga ilbo*.[1046] It would appear the next day to then again disappear for three consecutive days. This pattern would continue over the next few weeks and during other moments of “national emergency”—in both the Park and Chun regimes—until the re-

[1044] Youm, *Press Law in South Korea*, 55.
[1045] Youm, 55.
[1046] *Tonga ilbo* October 18, 1972.

establishment of democratic elections in 1987. It resulted in over a hundred purges of "Mr. Kobau" comics.[1047]

To consider the Yusin Constitution and subsequent declarations a step back for democracy in South Korea would be an understatement. The Yusin Constitution guaranteed Park Chung Hee's rule until his death in 1979. It fundamentally changed the implementation and tone of laws regarding assembly, press freedom, political activity, and free speech in South Korea, which are cornerstones of liberal democracy. Punishment for the violation of these laws was harsh. It often involving imprisonment and torture. The psychological impact of the threat of torture impacted countless others in various ways. Despite this, the draconian nature of the Park and Chun regimes would inspire numerous resistance movements from multiple levels of society including labor, students, the *minjung*, and the *chaeya*. Along with these movements came many minor activists who played important roles. Kim Sŏnghwan and some like-minded editorial cartoonists, whose voices were often silenced and repressed, still found ways to utilize the unique formula of the editorial cartoon as a genre weapon against these regimes and their policies. Through this, they reflected the democracy movement and lit a beacon of hope in an era of oppression.

[1047] Taehan Min'guk Yŏksa Pangmulgwan, *Kobau ka para pon uri hyŏndaesa*, 1. In almost every interview or mention of Kim Sŏnghwan, there is a reference to around 200 comics expurgated from 1958 to 1986. From my research, it appears that the majority of those occurred after the Yusin declaration in 1972 so though I am unable to exactly quantify the number, I will assume that must result in over 100 purged cartoons between 1972 and 1986. The fact that Kim Sŏnghwan generally refers to this time as the period of greatest censorship that it confirms my assumption. Mr. Kobau was not the only comic purged during this period. An Ŭisŏp, Chŏng Unkyŏng, Yun Yŏngok, An Kit'ae, and Yi Ŭnhong also fell under fire for editorial cartoons directed toward policies within the regime. An Ŭisŏp was known for being targeted multiple times by the Park and Chun regimes similar to Kim Sŏnghwan. "Ppaeakkin ch'angjak ŭi chayu."

9.1 *Concluding Thoughts*

Kim Sŏnghwan never saw himself completely as a "big democratic fighter."[1048] Instead, he envisioned himself as a patriot of democracy. The 1960s would see a change in the ideas of what constituted a democracy. Many intellectuals and key political figures viewed liberal democracy as fundamentally "Western" and incompatible with Korea's social and political situation, which also aligned with Park Chung Hee's political ideology. This included those associated with the intellectual magazine *Sasanggye,* which tended to take a firm stance against authoritarianism.[1049] These intellectuals disillusioned with the outcome of the April Revolution initially were in a "partial agreement" with Park Chung Hee's anti-communist "national democracy." However, after the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty, some within this group, including those who would become the moral framework of the *chaeya*, saw the militarization and shrinking of liberties as fundamentally incompatible and dangerous toward democratic development.[1050]

Under Park's insistence, the late 1960s and early 1970s saw the enforcement of education and public policies that replaced the language of "liberal democracy" with "anti-communist democracy."[1051] The idea that anti-communism was necessary in order to "protect" liberal democracy was used to justify the developmental dictatorship that Park introduced in the 1960s and would solidify into national practice through the Yusin Revitalization Reforms of the 1970s. Over time, Park Chung Hee would try to meld the ideas of dictatorship and democracy. The

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[1048] Han Yŏngju, "Han'guk manhwasa kusul ch'aerok," 72.
[1049] Ma Sangyun, "Chayu minjujuŭi ŭi konggan," 175–76. Both Kim Sŏnghwan and An Ŭisŏp would contribute occasionally to the *Sasangye* as editorial cartoonists.
[1050] Ma Sangyun, 177; Park, "Chaeya," 382.
[1051] Yi Nami, "Pak Chŏnghŭi chŏnggwŏn kwa Han'guk posujuŭi ŭi t'oebo [Park Chung Hee's Regime and Regression of Korean Conservatism]," *Yŏksa pip'yŏng* 95 (May 2011): 49. In 1968, the Charter of National Education first introduced "anti-communism democracy" in lieu of "liberal-democracy" as part of its policy. In the 1971 national textbooks, liberal democracy had to be realized through anti-communism.

chaeya would ultimately become an important part of the democratization movement and resistance cells in the 1970s and 1980s. This group, as noted by Ma Sangyun, also helped foster through rhetoric and action what would become a fierce dichotomy between dictatorship and democracy that continues to linger within Korean politics and intellectual discourse.[1052]

Not all intellectuals and artists actively promoted these policies. Some, like Kim Sŏnghwan, viewed anti-communism with skepticism and as a means for solidifying and justifying authoritarianism. Though Kim Sŏnghwan never fully challenged the policies of anti-communism, he never fully supported it either. Most of his politically themed cartoons of the late 1960s and early 1970s focused upon internal abuses of power and threats of eroding democratic institutions and practices, especially in the realm of free speech.[1053]

When engaging in political critique, Mr. Kobau tended to focus on authoritarian resistance, corruption, poverty, and abuse of democratic institutions and procedures. Occasionally he would comment on the taboo subject of North Korean unification, but this tended to be framed more as "an issue" than severe commentary on the subject. His critiques tended to fall within the framework of promoting liberal democracy. His commentary on poverty often mirrored the discussions related to equitable distribution that circulated amongst some leftist and labor activists during the 1950s and 1960s but would become more mainstream in the democracy discourse of the 1970s and 1980s. His everyman image helped in universalizing his messages. Through connection to the struggles of ordinary people, he was able to cultivate an image of an advocate for the people's voice, especially when few outlets were available.

[1052] Ma Sangyun, "Chayu minjujuŭi ŭi konggan," 177.

[1053] Kim Sŏnghwan's ambivalence in anti-communism can also be seen in his writings. For example, in his 1962 travel log, he broke with the tradition of many travel writers commenting on Taiwan and Hong Kong at the time by focusing on cultural practices from the viewpoint of "ordinary people" through the usage of humor and satire rather than political solidarity between the two countries in their mutual stance on anti-communism. Yŏn Yunhŭi, "1960-yŏndae 'Kobau Yŏnggam' kwa wŏlgyŏnghanŭn pijuŏl t'eksŭt'ŭ [1960s Transboundary Visual Text on 'Mr. Kobau']," *Taejungsŏsayŏn'gu* 21, no. 2 (August 2015): 445.

Both the Rhee and Park regimes would devolve into authoritarianism, which made the contradictions with the ideology of democracy even more apparent, opening them up to criticism. Jang-jip Choi argued that this was a fundamental flaw inherent in Park's "closed system with no exit…it was a regime with a fatal defect in that it did not have the political ability to self-transform into a different system…when the regime abandoned democracy and adopted authoritarianism, a strong democratic force completely different from that of the 1950s emerged under that regime."[1054] For the Rhee regime, who actively promoted the idea of a liberal democracy in rhetoric, pointing out the contradiction in the practice—especially the practice of interfering with democratic procedure, such as amending the Constitution to extend his rule and manipulating elections—was clear.

As discussed in Chapters Four and Five, students, who were educated in liberal democratic philosophy seized upon these contradictions and, as I argued, were encouraged by symbolic reminders of these contractions in the form of editorial cartoons like "Mr. Kobau." This student movement, backed by labor activists, dissident intellectuals, and other minor actors frustrated with abuses and contradictions in the system, would form the April Revolution movement that toppled the Rhee regime and attempted to create a democratic nation in the Second Republic. Kim Sŏnghwan's editorial cartoons also played a key symbolic role in pointing out the contradiction in Park's promise to return civilian rule and his move to extend his military power in drawing foreign attention to this controversy, which was published in the *Associated Press*. The Park regime's "revenge" for this unwanted foreign and public attention did cause some psychological trauma in Kim Sŏnghwan and compelled him to abandon editorial

[1054] Choi, *Democracy after Democratization*, 73.

cartooning until 1964. However, it did not silence his critical voice or insistence in pointing out democratic contradictions and modes of oppression within the Park regime.

In the 1960s, Park Chung Hee and the DRP would follow similar patterns as Rhee and the LDP in interfering with elections, though generally in more subtle ways, and modifying the Constitution to extend his rule, as described in chapter eight. As Choi Jang-jip mentioned, this was "different" than Rhee's practices and the reactions of the general public against these abuses. Rhee openly repressed the public criticism in the later part of the 1950s as seen in the prosecution of Kim Sŏnghwan for the "Kyungmudae Satire" and the shutdown of the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, in the mid-to-late 1960s. Park preferred more hidden methods of control and persuasion. He encouraged regulatory "ethics" committees, corporate buyouts, and economic control of the newspaper industry, carrot and stick types of methods. In addition to these pre-censorship practices, Park either muzzled or persuaded much of the press to support the continuation of his regime and policies. However, holdouts, like the *Tonga ilbo*, and its chief full-time editorial cartoonist, Kim Sŏnghwan, still continued to critique what appeared to be a backslide into authoritarianism. Freedom of the press remained a fierce topic amongst democracy advocates, and even when the public backed Park's idea of "responsible freedom," Kim Sŏnghwan visually provided a reminder that to muzzle the press would turn the people into "compliant workhorses" or "mindless automatons."

9.2 *A Flickering Flame of Democracy: April Revolution Revisited*

Kim Sŏnghwan confronted the closing off of critical outlets and the loss of democratic institutions, including free speech and assembly, through many metaphorical images. One of his most powerful reoccurring images came in the form of the April Revolution. Like clockwork,

from 1961 until 1981, except in 1963 and 1980 when Mr. Kobau was removed from the *Tonga ilbo*, Kim Sŏnghwan respectfully memorialized the April Revolution. Each year he symbolically showed the progress or lack of progress toward democratization through this image. When popular movements were on the rise, he drew a beacon of triumph. In the 1960s, Kim Sŏnghwan would occasionally view the April Revolution as losing impact. He showed this by visualizing diminishing dates on a calendar of events including the Military Junta, Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty, and 1967 Elections.[1055] With the declaration of the Yusin Constitution in 1972, these reflections appeared more despondent. In 1976, the flame on the torch of democracy disappeared.[1056] In 1977, the memorial of the April Revolution grew into an aged, withered old man.[1057] In 1978, the teeth of the "young lion" turned into dentures, now easily removed.[1058] In 1979, the final year of the Park Chung Hee's regime, the title of April 19 was completely cleaned from the statue by authorities.[1059] This was fitting testament to Park Chung Hee's legacy of co-opting and erasing the memory of this democratic movement.

After Park's assassination on October 26, 1979, South Korea would experience a moment of renewed hope in the spirit of the April Revolution. But, on April 19, 1980, when student and union protests were on the rise, pressing for democratization, human rights, minimum wages, and an end to martial law, Mr. Kobau was notably absent and censored.[1060] As will be described later, the Chun regime specifically targeted Kim Sŏnghwan as part of the purging of critical

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[1055] *Tonga ilbo* April 19, 1967.
[1056] *Tonga ilbo* April 19, 1976.
[1057] *Tonga ilbo* April 19, 1977.
[1058] *Tonga ilbo* April 19, 1978.
[1059] *Tonga ilbo* April 19, 1979.
[1060] *Tonga ilbo* April 19, 1980. The *Tonga ilbo* still included a poignant one-panel cartoon by Park Insu that had a unknown youthful figure holding a torch and climbing up the memorial to April 19th, covered in weeds and abandoned, toward the shimmery sun of democracy. The caption reads, "reinstated." There was no April 19 edition of the *Chŏson Ilbo*, the new home of Mr. Kobau, in 1982, and the cartoons were stripped of references to April 19 in the days surrounding the event.

journalists. In his final tribute, Kim Sŏnghwan drew Mr. Kobau's figure gradually appearing within the number nine of the April Revolution. His head droops in despair and reflection in a "moment of tribute to the spirit of April 19th."[1061] These types of consistent tributes to the fight for democracy and the forces that suppress it would keep the spirit of democratization alive during the dark years of the Park regime. Under Chun Doo Hwan, the silence in its representation would be viewed by some as further signs of democratic oppression and a need to reignite the flame.

9.3 *Under Park Chung Hee, Cartoons Burned*

In the 1960s, the campaigns and policies against cartoons would be mild with a few public burnings of comics, described in chapter seven, and scattered attention from the press. However, the policies condemning cartoons grew to a peak in the mid-1970s, following a suicide reenactment by Chŏng Pyŏngsŏp, a twelve-year old student, on January 31, 1972. This was attributed to an obsession with cartoons and desire to recreate cartoon character's miraculous survival powers.[1062] The public outcry surrounding this event quickly resulted in pre-publication review of comics by the Korean Book Magazine Ethics Committee (*Han'guk tosŏ chapchi yulli wiwŏnhoe*), which was formulated out of the Korean Ethics Committee (founded 1965), Korean Children's Comics Ethics Committee (founded 1968) and Korean Publishing Ethics Committee (founded 1969).

All books, magazines, and cartoons published in Korea had to be reviewed by the pre-publication review room. Works that followed their terms and conditions must contain a notice in the copyright column: "This booklet adheres to the code of practice of the Book Magazine

[1061] *Chosŏn ilbo* April 19, 1981.
[1062] "Ppaeakkin ch'angjak ŭi chayu."

Ethics Code." And comic books needed the stamp, "Book Completed Review by the Korean Book Magazine Ethics Committee" in order to be published.[1063] Echoing similar regulations seen in the Comics Code Authority in the US and like the regulations and censorship applied to the press, this code would severely hamper free expression. Comic artists would continue to see periodic campaigns calling for regulation of the industry even into the 1990s. Some cartoonists would try to push these restrictive boundaries with various levels of success. Magazine and book comics were used to inspire the people to support the democratization process, a rich area of discourse that begs for further study. Though editorial cartoons tended to fall more under the regulation designed for the press, the pressures would sometimes cross over to effect editorial cartoonists, if only to close off other creative outlets for political critique.

9.4 *1975 Press Protests and Purges*

From June 1974 until 1976, Kim Sŏnghwan embarked on a series of international tours of press and arts circles at the invitation of the foreign ministries in Britain, Germany, USA, and Japan. Kim Sŏnghwan claims these invitations were independently made, largely due to his reputation as a critical cartoonist and skillful artist, and not out of the result of pressure from the Park administration.[1064] Nevertheless, the timing of his removal from the *Tonga ilbo* may have been critical in affecting the ability for Park Chung Hee to succeed in his consolidation of power in a similar manner to Kim Sŏnghwan's disappearance in the *Tonga ilbo* for six months during

[1063] "Ppaeakkin ch'angjak ŭi chayu."
[1064]Kim Sŏnghwan, Author's second interview. While out of the scope of this dissertation, the comparative aspects of Park Chung Hee's repression and Kim Sŏnghwan's travels in both the Military Junta and 1975 "suppression of advertisements" campaign needs more study.

the Military Junta period when Park Chung Hee was trying to obtain support for his presidential bid.[1065]

While Kim Sŏnghwan was abroad, the *Tonga ilbo* came under additional pressure from the Park regime in retaliation for its opposition to the Yusin Constitution and free press campaigns. Unable to completely tame the *Tonga ilbo* through laws and arrests of reporters, which only seemed to infuriate editors and journalists more, the Park regime, through the KCIA, used economic pressure reminiscent of the economic pressures applied to the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* and *Chosŏn ilbo* that turned them into more favorable voices for the government. The KCIA applied pressures to advertisers in the *Tonga ilbo*. As a result, advertising revenue plummeted about 70% since December 1974.[1066] The *Tonga ilbo* responded with blank spaces or partial white spaces that either remained empty or contained poignant anti-government messages calling for the perseverance of the *Tonga ilbo* in the face of government suppression of press freedom. This movement that has been known as the "suppression of advertisements" ended on July 17, 1975 when advertisements were restored, but the impact and message remained clear to the members of the press and the potential consequences of defiance.

The restrictions in freedom of the press within the Park Chung Hee era was also due to the corporate consolidation process of the newspaper industry that started in the 1960s, encouraged by the Park regime. This also would be mirrored in the cartoon industry, which would lead to greater ease of censorship during the 1970s and 1980s as well. By requiring licensing for operating a press and having it subject to government approval, small newspapers,

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[1065]Kim Sŏnghwan. While out of the scope of this dissertation, the comparative aspects of Park Chung Hee's repression and Kim Sŏnghwan's travels in both the Military Junta and 1975 "suppression of advertisements" campaign needs more study.
[1066] John K. Oh, "South Korea 1975: A Permanent Emergency," *Asian Survey*, A Survey of Asia in 1975: Part I, 16, no. 1 (January 1976): 74.

especially those with clear leftist tendencies, disappeared, which started with Park's Military Junta as described in chapter five.[1067]

With smaller markets came greater control and profitability, leading businesses to see the newspapers as a worthwhile investment. This, along with endorsements and encouragement by the Park regime, as in the case of the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* takeover by Kia Industries for retaliation in its opposition reporting described in chapter six, would lead to corporate consolidation of the industry. By the 1980s a few giant news companies remained, often with government and/or *chaebŏl* ties, would reign over the distribution of news.[1068] With less news agencies to control and with conservative financial backing, the control of opposition reporting grew easier. The addition of increasingly draconian pre-censorship laws through the 1970s and 1980s would muzzle oppositional voices in the post-Yusin period. Fresh in public memory, there developed a popular belief for many years that no freedom of press existed throughout Park's nineteen years of rule.

Under the Yusin system, the press, according to Jang-jip Choi, was "passive, having been forced to play the role of a government proxy, (but)… by the time of Chun Doo-hwan arrived, they were playing the role voluntarily. In return for accepting the role, news companies grew to be giant corporations with government favor."[1069] Park's Yusin period and the Chun regime overshadowed previous periods when the role of the press stood as a central force in the democratization struggle.[1070] These newer impressions of the press as government mouthpieces wiped away the memories of the struggles of the mid-to-late 1960s. It replaced it with the memories first of the systematic and often violent oppression of the 1970s and early 1980s, since

[1067] Choi, *Democracy after Democratization*, 78.
[1068] Choi, 78.
[1069] Choi, 79–80.
[1070] Choi, 78.

journalistic oppression continued during Chun Doo Hwan. A belief developed of a compliant if not enthusiastically supportive press. This conservative legacy continues today and in the perception of the Korean press.

For this reason, I concluded this story prior to the implementation of Yusin so that the 1960s might serve as its own era separate and distinct from the legacy of Yusin. The 1960s do serve as a fair warning on how even a minimal amount of liberal-democratic freedoms of press and speech and can be stripped away slowly through economic and legal incentives as well as punishments. Nevertheless, it is good to remember that through much of the 1960s the voice of critique and the passionate drive to defend freedom of the press and speech still held strong. It allowed the intellectually and socially motivated cartoonist Kim Sŏnghwan to shine and produce potent and poignant criticism that resonated strongly in people's mind.

9.5 *Kim Sŏnghwan's Biography Continues*

Perceptions of "Mr. Kobau" would slightly shift during the 1980s largely due to an increase in pre-censorship conditions and changes in the public view of the newspaper industry. Under Chun Doo-hwan's restrictions, Kim Sŏnghwan was forced to change Mr. Kobau to a neutral tone that conveyed simply information with light humor. Unlike the vigorous fighter for justice, Kobau appeared like a passive figure that "seemed to be resigning more quickly than before, and often showing despair."[1071] He was depicted as a "model citizen," and some saw this as supportive of government policies in a similar fashion as the shift in the press in general. Others suspected Kim Sŏnghwan's Mr. Kobau of mocking itself in an "age and society that forces one to endlessly endure as it is pressed from above."[1072]

[1071] Taehan Min'guk Yŏksa Pangmulgwan, *Kobau ka para pon uri hyŏndaesa*, 260.
[1072] Taehan Min'guk Yŏksa Pangmulgwan, 260–61.

Kim Sŏnghwan was targeted early by the regime. He was included in one of the forty journalists dismissed from the *Tonga ilbo* in 1980 for their critical writings on Chun's new military regime and suppression at Kwangju.[1073] Foreign journalists, like the *New York Times*, questioned this dismissal, citing Kim Sŏnghwan as an extreme example of the suppression of criticism of Chun's control. In the journalists' commentary, they stated that cartoonists did not go out to directly cover news and had no personal contact with politicians and businessmen. So the claim that a cartoonists [Kim Sŏnghwan] was fostering a corrupt, cozy relationships with politicians and businessmen, the pretense for the dismissal, was not possible and an obvious coverup built on the desire to suppress criticism.[1074] Though the regime would return permission to continue the publication of Mr. Kobau, the sense of betrayal felt toward the *Tonga ilbo* and a downgrade of a position from full-time editor to part-time employee or advisor was unacceptable. This caused Kim Sŏnghwan to move to *Chosŏn ilbo* where he resumed publishing on September 11, 1980.

However, this move did not protect him from government oppression of speech. Unknown, though suspected by many who still held an adoration for the Kobau character, willing to give him the benefit of doubt, the Chun regime contained what Kim Sŏnghwan would characterize as the harshest form of pre-censorship. Even the slightest suspicion that his comic held hidden meaning led to forced revisions or censorship even if the picture was not related to politics.[1075] As Kim Sŏnghwan expressed in a video interview:

> In the military regime, editorial cartoonists were a thorn in their side. When President Chun Doo Hwan was in power, it was the most severe. It was to the extent that I had to do the same cartoon four, five times a day. Ultimately, the political content was omitted, and I drew humorous comics.

[1073] Pang Hŭigyŏng, *Kim Sŏnghwan*, chap. 8.
[1074] Pang Hŭigyŏng, chap. 8.
[1075] Pang Hŭigyŏng, chap. 8.

> Even so, the censors suspected there was some hidden meaning in the humor comics. A guilty conscience needs no accuser. In cartoons, when a dog came out, it was misunderstood; when I drew the wind blowing, it was misunderstood; and even a scene of sitting motionlessly was also misunderstood. No matter how blandly drawn, and even though it had no relationship to the cartoon, I would be constantly be defending myself, and my drawings were distorted into some other meaning. It was hard not to think that the censors suffered from paranoia. Even though I passed censorship, immediately before going to print, it was demanded again that I redraw.
>
> The situation lasted over a year and the comic could be nothing outside of bland. Therefore, the readers said that "'Mr. Kobau' had become odd." It was even rumored that Kim Sŏnghwan is dead, and a fake is sitting in for him and drawing.[1076]

People started to notice that "the sword of satire and criticism wielded by Kim Sŏnghwan was dull." [1077] Some viewed this as an example of the silencing of the masses by the Chun Doo Hwang regime, and how Kim Sŏnghwan's hands were tied and mouth silenced through a contest with the political power. The daily visibility of this silencing of the masses through the everyman figure of Mr. Kobau would serve as a point of inspiration and motivation in confronting authoritarianism for some within the democracy movement.

Kim Sŏnghwan's critical voice would reemerge once again in 1987, near the end of the Chun Doo Hwan regime, as press restrictions started to loosen. He quickly joined with other pro-democracy movement activists in protesting the death of Park Chongch'ŏl, a student at Seoul National University, who was arrested illegally and died in torture by the police. The coverup of Park Chongch'ŏl's death and the death of Yonsei University student, Yi Hanyŏl, from a tear gas grenade led to the June 1987 Movement where a mass coalition formed of activists frustrated with the oppression, violence, democratic contradictions, and economic inequality seen in the Chun regime. On June 29, Roh Tae Woo [No T'aeu], the nominated successor of Chun Doo

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[1076] *Manhwa rŭl t'onghae yŏksa, Naver TV*. Accessed May 3, 2019.
[1077] Pang Hŭigyŏng, *Kim Sŏnghwan*, chap. 8.

Hwan, issued the June 29th Declaration capitulating to the demands of the protestors for an amendment to the Constitution and release of former presidential candidate and pro-democracy activist, Kim Dae Jung [Kim Taejung]. The promised constitutional bill was passed on October 12 and finally approved on October 28 before officially taking effect on February 25, 1988 when Roh Tae Woo became president. The divisions among the opposition parties and a strong conservative backing of Roh Tae Woo would secure him the election. For activists and much of the population, it appeared as just a continuation of conservative control and a sign that democratization was incomplete. Labor, student, and other grievances movements continued into the 1990s as advocates attempted to address some of the lingering social and political corruptions and contradictions of the authoritarian regimes.

In this political climate, the editorial cartoon reemerged as a voice of the people and government critique. The visible forms of oppression and censorship of the media started to disappear, and the media and Kim Sŏnghwan could focus critique once again upon the government in the spirit of the previous April Revolution period. Also like this period, realistic caricatures of politicians and social leaders, which started in the mid-80s when the restriction was lifted, appeared frequently within Mr. Kobau cartoons, making their attacks more direct and obvious in their political critique. Kim Sŏnghwan continued his satirical spirit after democratization and highlighted the continual power of oppression held by the government despite the disappearance of the draconian methods of intimidation and control. While Kim Sŏnghwan would relish this freedom and receive praise for the sharpness and directness of his critical voice, he also would lament that the four-panel editorial cartoon was starting to lose its power and significance amongst the many competing voices.

The 1990s would see a rise in popularity of the one-panel editorial cartoon, which was increasingly seen as more direct and less "old-fashioned" form of government criticism.[1078] Under democratization, the mixture of life situations and political satire became less needed as a form of protection and was seen as a distraction, returning to the "gag" humor concept they originally were based on. Kim Sŏnghwan would not fall back into this type of light-hearted nonsense humor, maintaining a critical voice until he retired from producing Mr. Kobau in 2000. Though some viewed the four-panel cartoon as losing its voice after democratization, Kim Sŏnghwan commented, "whether there's democracy or not, I think there will always be a target for satire. This is because even with democratization, our society has institutionalized oppression that remains. From that point of view, with the absence of political cartoons, we are losing an important weapon. I think this is still important and necessary because the political cartoon can show and wring out the routine oppression of our society."[1079]

In the conclusion of the historical summary of Kim Sŏnghwan's Kobau published by the National Museum of Korean Contemporary History for their 2014 exhibit of "Korean Contemporary History through Cartoon Gobau [Kobau]," Han Yŏngju compares Kim Sŏnghwan usage of Mr. Kobau to Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956) writings in 1935 about the suppression of truth in the face of Nazism:

> Nowadays, anyone who wishes to combat lies and ignorance and to write the truth must overcome at least five difficulties. He must have the *courage* to write the truth when truth is everywhere opposed; the *keenness* to recognize it, although it is everywhere concealed; the *skill* to manipulate it as a weapon; the *judgment* to select those in whose hands it will be effective; and the *cunning* to spread the truth among such person.[1080]

[1078] Pang Hŭigyŏng, chap. 9.
[1079] *Manhwa rŭl t'onghae yŏksa, Naver TV.*
[1080] Taehan Min'guk Yŏksa Pangmulgwan, *Kobau ka para pon uri hyŏndaesa*, 261. The original quote comes from Bertolt Brecht's essay, "Writing the Truth: Five Difficulties," published in 1935.

Han Yŏngju recalled this image and applied it to Kim Sŏnghwan. He had the *courage* and *keenness* of a man who "knew and spoke the truth through his character and communicated through words and art."[1081] He possessed the *skill* to manipulate an ambiguous "gag" cartoon format and weaponize the character against authoritarianism. In popularizing this form of anti-authoritarian critique in the face of an "everyman," he made the character the "voice of the people." In this *judgment* he saw them as the force to move against authoritarianism and in helping in maintaining and inspiring the spirit of Korea's democracy movement. He had the *cunning* to spread truth amongst "the voices of disgruntled ordinary people." As reiterated by noted political scientist, Choi Jangjip, "there is no democracy without a mass movement for democracy."[1082] In Korea, the democracy movement came out of the hands of many minor actors and activists who endured difficult times. The democracy movement was not completely lost in the 1970s and 1980s, but it grew in force as it built upon earlier movements. In the 1950s and 1960s, the search for democracy centered upon the abuse of democratic procedure and the oppression of critical voices, visualized within Kim Sŏnghwan's cartoons, and as an cartoonist and minor activist, "he cut through the deep dark depths of power and was the genuine face of democracy in those years."[1083]

[1081] Taehan Min'guk Yŏksa Pangmulgwan, 261.
[1082] Choi, *Democracy after Democratization*, 74.
[1083] Taehan Min'guk Yŏksa Pangmulgwan, *Kobau ka para pon uri hyŏndaesa*, 261.

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