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Archives of Ephemera: Cinema and Decolonization in South Korea

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Asian Languages and Cultures

by

Hieyoon Kim

2016

ABSRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Archives of Ephemera: Cinema and Decolonization in South Korea

by

Hieyoon Kim

Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2016

Professor Namhee Lee, Chair

This dissertation offers a historical account of film preservation in South Korea, detailing how and why the idea of preserving film took hold, and how the process of decolonization complicated its practical realization. Drawing upon sources from archives, interviews, newspapers and published reports, it explores the conditions under which the archives of cinema evolved, and analyzes the conflicting ways that Japanese and American political authorities, Korean leaders, international policy makers, and Korean film industry members understood film's value and purpose. The political regimes that ruled over South Korea—both foreign and domestic—understood film to be both short-term entertainment and a didactic tool, and therefore were not concerned with the long-term storage of cinema. Meanwhile, local actors such as filmmakers and critics challenged the state's dominant perception of cinema. Their transnational encounters with film institutes, audiovisual education agencies, and film preservation movements around the world led to different and diverse understandings of the role and value of film. Despite this counter discourse, political regimes concentrated on the utility of cinema as part of the modernization of mutable subjects, instituting little rigor in local actors' film conservation activity until the early 1970s. What ended up dramatically shifting the country's attitudes towards and practices of film preservation was not a sustainable investment in film culture by the political regime, but instead competition with North Korea and the elevation of Korean cultural prestige as an economic force. These forces combined to lead to a reconsideration of film conservation and archival practices in South Korea.

This dissertation of Hieyoon Kim is approved.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKFP	Association of Korean Film Personnel
CAD	Civil Affair Division
CMPE	Central Motion Picture Exchange
FCA	Film Council of America
FIAF	International Federation of Film Archives
FPA	Film Promotion Agency
ICA	International Cooperation Agency
KAPF	Korean Artist Proletarian Federation
KORFEC	Korean Fundamental Education Center
MPAA	Motion Picture Association of America
MPEA	Motion Picture Export Association
MPPDA	Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America
NFB	National Film Board, Canada
NFPC	National Film Production Center
OWI	Office of War Information
SCAP	Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNKRA	United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency
USAFIK	United States Armed Forces in Korea

USAMGIK	U.S. Military Government in Korea
USIA	U.S. Information Agency

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Archives have been curious yet obscure spaces since my childhood. It is largely because the first archive I encountered was demolished just four years after my first visit, when I wandered around without any knowledge of what had once been: this was one of the buildings of the Government General of Colonial Korea, right in the heart of Seoul. My first visit was made around the age of seven, when my father took me after Sunday service. I enjoyed walking the hallways, which had been renovated in order to function as a public museum. What captivated me more than exhibits were the beautifully designed old doors and stairs, as well as the magnificent ceilings and pillars. I found myself most curious about a few locked rooms, assuming that unknown people from the past lived behind the closed doors. Entering the threshold of the past excited me, and no wonder—I was a loyal fan of the Indiana Jones series at that time. I believed that the doors would be opened someday, so became a regular visitor, hoping to see what was inside.

In 1994, the South Korean government proclaimed the need to eradicate the "remnants of Japanese imperialism" under the banner of the "rectification of history," including the demolition of colonial architecture. My Sunday ritual continued until my eleventh summer, but once demolition began with a high-reach excavator removing a spire, I was forced to watch the building I had so enjoyed— or to borrow Ann Stoler's words, the "imperial debris"— torn down over the months. It was disheartening to see the destruction of one of my favorite childhood spaces, but that did not stop me from watching in order to have a proper farewell. This was my entry point into the world of ruins, debris, ephemera, and archives.

This dissertation is my humble effort to think through those things that had disappeared, had become unappreciated, had been destroyed. While its analytic boundary remains in the field of film culture, the foundational inquiry for this project begins at the very moment when the regime’s demolition of colonial architecture could have invigorated, or at least triggered, a kind of counter-historical thinking and writing.

I would like to thank the members of my dissertation committee: Namhee Lee, Chris Hanscom, Robert Chi, Seiji Lippit, and Mariko Tamanoi. I am especially grateful to Namhee Lee for her unwavering patience, generosity, and good heart. I also would like to thank my teachers here at UCLA: John Duncan, George Dutton, Shu-mei Shih, Thu-huong Nguyen-vo, David Schaberg, Richard Strassberg, Vinay Lal, and Burglind Jungmann.

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Special thanks to A. Brooks for his warm support and great sense of humor, in spite of the long distance between us. And finally, my deep appreciation goes to my family, whose love made it possible for me to complete this dissertation without losing too much hair.

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INTRODUCTION

"No one paid attention to the film prints after their short exhibition cycles; it was none of our business at that time," well-known filmmaker Yi Hyŏngpyo (1922–2010) told me with a witty smile. A long pause followed, because I did not know how to respond to his answer to my naïve question: were you aware of any endeavor to conserve film during the so-called "golden age" of Korean cinema in the 1960s?[1] Perhaps noticing the awkward silence, Yi hastened to add that while filmmakers had been aware of the physical nature of celluloid, which deteriorates with age and wears out with use, what had been most important back then was how profitable a film was so that profits could be reinvested to make more features. "Even Shin Sang-Ok, one of the most successful directors in the 1960s, shipped the negative print of my feature to the foreign film market while I was working for his company," Yi noted. It has been difficult to track down physical copies of some of Yi's features, particularly those released in Hong Kong and elsewhere. Apparently, neither Yi nor Shin considered the consequences of selling an original print rather than a copy.[2]

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[1] Author's interview with Yi Hyŏngpyo, May 26, 2007, at his house in Bundang, South Korea. Yi Hyŏngpyo spoke elsewhere of the shipment of the negative print of his film to Hong Kong, which never returned to South Korea. According to Yi, due to the lack of technology that could generate a release print in Hong Kong, Korean film companies had to sell an original negative print without any guarantee that it would be returned. This problematic system led to the permanent loss of numerous negative prints sent to foreign film markets. *Oral History Research: Yi Hyŏngpyo* (Seoul: KOFA, 2009), 253.

[2] The original negative is the film in a motion picture camera that captures the image. The negative is developed and printed to make a positive for projection. Since the mechanical wear and tear of the printing process will eventually wear out the film, the camera negative is not used to produce multiple prints, and production companies generate other copies such as duplicate negative for the future purpose. For details of film's physical characteristics and its stability, see *The Film Preservation Guideline* (San Francisco: National Film Preservation Foundation, 2004). It is

Although South Korea has one of the world's most prolific film industries, preserving its output for the future has proved difficult. Fewer than 20 percent of feature films from the 1940s survive in complete form; for features from the 1930s, the survival rate falls to about 10 percent. Of all films made before 1950, only about 15 percent survive. Films made after 1960 on supposedly "safe" acetate film stock face major preservation catastrophes from "color fading," "vinegar syndrome" (an irreversible film base decay), dimensional stability, and soundtrack deterioration. What the numbers alone cannot tell us is why film preservation in South Korea has been so problematic. The film industry was small and based on short-term entertainment during both the pre-1945 period and after the Korean War, and there was little reason at the time to believe that there would be the need for long-term storage of film prints. Starting in the early 1960s, the film business became a more industrialized and systematic enterprise under the state's control, yet, as Yi Hyŏngpyo recalls, there was no discernable institution for film preservation in either the public or the private sector. Only later, in the decade spanning 1973 to 1983, did film preservation gain an official platform in South Korea for the first time. This official platform was made possible through the creation of the Korean Film Preservation Center (which would later become the Korean Film Archive) and the South Korean government's implementation of the "Restoration of National Culture Plan," whose mandate included the recognition of film as a national culture. However, even in the formative years of the Korean Film Preservation Center, film preservation as a distinct activity was neither comprehensively nor strategically defined.

The conditions of, and the rationale for, film conservation underwent a dramatic change beginning in the mid-2000s. Throughout the second half of the 2000s, saving the country's films

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accessible here: http://www.filmpreservation.org/preservation-basics/the-film-preservation-guide I do not intend to use any industrial or technical jargon, but if needed, I reference FIAF's glossary of technical terms, one of the most approachable electronic sources. http://www.fiafnet.org/pages/E-Resources/Technical-Terms expanded from a justification for public policy into a full-blown popular discourse. The government's unprecedented promotion of and support for popular culture, first under the name "cultural industries" and then "content industries," led to a series of new policies that legislated the duties and responsibilities of the Korean Film Archive as the country's quintessential moving image archive.[3] The Film and Video Promotion Law (2006) acknowledged that the Archive's core activity included both the preservation of moving images and exhibitions that would give access to older moving images. The 2006 Act that defined the Archive's role was built upon the 1996 Film Promotion Law, which required South Korean studios to submit either one original negative print or one exhibition print to the government, and was a key moment for South Korean film preservation. The new legal basis for the Archive coincided with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism's exercise of its remarkable planning and financial capacities, which explains the continuous expansion of the Ministry's spending on film archive. Most notably, its annual budget increased from about $2 million in 2003 to $5 million in 2015 in order to accelerate the digitization and preservation of moving images, now seen as some of as the most characteristic documents of the past century.[4]

The Archive's well-publicized repatriation of "lost" Korean feature films found in other countries brought attention to the increasing importance of moving image preservation. The mid-2000s discovery of films made during the Pacific War (1938–1945)—films previously believed to be lost, and preserved only in oral and printed recollections—generated a heated debate in academia and other public spaces. Both public and scholarly responses tended to judge the wartime features as “militarist” and “imperialist” propaganda.[5] But at the same time, the newly gained visibility of the past through these films also opened up the possibility of going beyond the “national identity” of the film—either “Korean” or “Japanese”—by focusing on the visible evidence of affect, sentiment, and expression of ordinary people in celluloid, which are not fully captured in the Manichean approach to colonialism.[6] The new South Korean attention to pre-1945 films has expanded across different disciplines, including history, literature, and sociology. In addition, cross-disciplinary study of colonial culture has reevaluated the moving image as new textual evidence to counter the formerly dominant nation-centered cultural analysis, representing the Korean audience’s openness to thinking of the complexities of colonial politics and representation through wartime films.[7] These discourses contribute to the notion of moving picture as a historical source that vividly captures the past, a past that has been characterized as “lacking” primary sources, thus making the archiving and conservation of films relevant to examinations of the past.

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[3] The emerging policy in this area included legislation, planning, mobilization of financial resources and the establishment of new governmental agencies to support commercial cultural sectors via funding, education and training schemes. For example, the *Cultural Industries Promotion Basic Law* (1999) was followed by the *Recorded Music, Video and Games Law*—which developed later into separate laws, the *Film and Video Promotion Law* (2006), *Games Industry Promotion Law* (2006), and *Music Industry Promotion Law* (2006)—and the *Contents Industries Promotion Law* (2010), which gave clear legal grounding for state support for those industries.

[4] Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, "2015 Munhwach'eyukkwankwangpu yesan mich'kikŭmunyong kyehoekkaeyo [An Overview of Budget and Funding Planning]" (Sejong: Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism).

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[5] For instance, see the KOFA’s (2005) official brochure, *Haebangŭi Kippŭmgwa Ogabui Hŭnjŏk* [*The Joy of Liberation and Trace of Repression*], particularly Kim Chongwŏn’s short piece Kang Sŏngnyul, *Ch’inil Yŏnghwa* [*Pro-Japanese Film*] (Seoul: Rok’ŭmidiŏ, 2007).

[6] A few examples are: Kim Soyoung, *Kŭndaeŭi Wŏnch’ogyŏng: Poijiannŭn Yŏnghwarŭl Poda* [*A Primal Scene of Modernity: Looking at Invisible Cinema*] (Seoul: Hyŏnsil Munhwa, 2010); Yi Yŏngjae, *Cheguk Ilbonŭi Chosŏnyŏnghwa* [*Korean Cinema of Japanese Empire*] (Seoul: Hyŏnsil Munhwa, 2008); Korean Film Archive ed., *Koryŏ Yŏnghwa Hyŏphoewa Yŏnghwa Sinch’eje, 1936-1941* [*Koryŏ Film Company and New Filmic Order, 1936-1941*] (Seoul: KOFA, 2007).

[7] For a cornerstone of scholarly collaboration, for instance: Yun Haedong, et al, *Kŭndaerŭl Tasi Ingnŭnda: Han’guk Kŭndae Insikŭi Saeroun p’aerŏdaimŭl wihayŏ* [Rereading Modernity] vol. 1-2 (Seoul: Yŏksapipyŏngsa, 2006); Kim Chul, et al. *Haebang Chŏnhusaŭi Ch’aeinsik* [Re-recognition of Korean History Before and After Liberation] vol. 1-2 (Seoul: Sallim, 2006).

In the shifting context of film conservation in South Korea, the country became more comfortable with the proposition that film was a vital cultural artifact needed protection. In 2007, revised codes for the Archive reflected its new imperative of film preservation by prioritizing the protection of Korean film both as "art and historical material for film cultural heritage."[8] What followed this new plea for film conservation was the Cultural Heritage Administration's approval of seven Korean films as "Registered Cultural Heritage." These films, more than five decades old, included a recently discovered film, *Sweet Dream* (1936), one of the earliest films held in the Archive, and others: *Hurray for Freedom* (1946), *A Prosecutor and A Teacher* (1948), *A Hometown in Heart* (1949), *Piagol* (1950), *Madam Freedom* (1956), and *The Wedding Day* (1956). These films were endorsed not only as classics, but also as an important national resource in the name of "Registered Cultural Heritage." This particular category of heritage sought to conserve monuments or sites that had appeared in twentieth-century Korea, and only started in 2007 to include moving images, which had long been disregarded as ephemera.

In the past decade, it has been assumed in the film preservation discourse in the Korean context that film is vital to the preservation of a nation's cultural heritage. This popular assumption naturalizes film's value in its relation to the nation. In this case, film is meant to be preserved as a valuable artifact rather than ephemera, which exist or are used for only a short time. This value is often explained in film's indexical power: the medium's ability to register an event, record what was once animated, and bring an individual or collective past into the present moment. The close relation between film and nation is often determined by the nationality of a film production company, but it is also constructed by cinema's institutional form, which gathers a community of viewers who share a region, culture, and language, thus homologizing the gathering of a nation.[9] The idea that cinema can play a crucial role in fostering national identities, in turn, has generated an institutional identity for film archiving that is centered on archival duties and roles that preserve film as national culture. Film archives' missions are closely tied with nationalism, as demonstrated, in part, by the fact that nearly 95 percent of archives and museums in the world emerged after World War II, at a time when many countries were seeking to collect tangible remnants from their national past.[10] The basis for the growth of film preservation in many countries was precisely the new legitimacy of film as a part of national heritage; the foundation of the film archive—in the larger sense of the institution, the preservation facility, and its activity— was to house and guard this heritage.[11]

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[8] Korean Film Archive, *Han'gukyŏngsangjaryowŏn 40nyŏnsa* [*40 Years of Korean Film Archive, 1974-2014*] (Seoul: KOFA, 2014), 74.

But how did we get here? When did old films become valuable—and archivable? What specific actors have participated in defining film's value, and how has such understanding of film formed the conditions of and rationale for conservation? How have the archival practice and discourse gained their legitimacy in the name of the nation? These are the questions that are at the heart of this dissertation, and the answers bear little resemblance to the narrative I initially imagined. The history of film preservation is not a linear tale of originally worthless assets incrementally increasing their value and then being preserved. Instead, it is a chronicle of struggles among the different actors who defined film's value according to their desires and purposes, often leaving film's longevity in jeopardy.

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[9] For a collection of diverse views on the relation between cinema and nation (or national identity), see *Theorizing National Cinema*, ed. Valentina Vitali, Paul Willemen (London: British Film Institute, 2006).

[10] David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 3.

[11] One reflection of these ideas can be seen in Martin Scorsese's remark on the general imperative of film preservation. As Founder of The Film Foundation, an American non-profit organization dedicated to film preservation, he declared that "American artistic heritage has to be preserved and shared by all of us." The rhetoric of heritage and its belonging to nation has been widespread in the global initiatives of film conservation, which, in turn, legitimates their support in restoring and preserving "world cinema" in those countries whose knowledge of film preservation had been limited and/or archives were underfunded, as the case of The Film Foundation's World Cinema Project.

HISTORICAL SCOPE AND ARGUMENT

This dissertation examines how and why the idea of preserving film took hold in twentieth-century Korea, and traces the difficult process of carrying this idea out. I analyze the conditions under which the archives of cinema evolved, with attention paid to the conflicting views of film's value and role among Japanese and American political authorities, international policy makers, and Korean leaders. Political regimes—both foreign and domestic—were predicated on an understanding of film as either short-term entertainment or didactic tool, with little reason to believe there would be a need for long-term storage of cinema. Meanwhile, other local Korean actors such as filmmakers and critics, grounded in global culture, challenged the state's dominant perception of cinema by creating different ideas of film's value and role. Despite their counter discourse, political regimes had concentrated on the efficacy of cinema as part of the modernization of mutable subjects, which contributed to an environment where little rigor was applied to film conservation activity.

The core of the discussion in this dissertation is focused on the post-1945 period, but is grounded in the ways cinema was discussed and materialized in the first three decades after the first film apparatus was imported into Korea. During the first three decades of Japanese rule, from the 1910s to 1945, an ecology of film culture developed. This ecology included the growth of theaters and audiences; the implementation of film policies; the appearance of networks of producers, distributors, and exhibitors; and most importantly, the epistemological boundary of cinema, that is, a way of making sense of the role and effect of films. In addition, by examining the colonial ecology of film culture, we can trace those conditions of the colonial film industry that allowed the majority of silent films shown in Korea to be lost by the end of the 1930s. Rather than simply claiming that this loss of films was due to a throw-away mentality or a lack of knowledge of the physical nature of film prints, I ask how colonial power initiated a utilitarian mode of cinema, specifically based on its mobility, in an attempt to transform the colonized population into loyal imperial subjects. This particular way of seeing cinema in its practical function and effect evolved within the immediate need to mobilize film by consolidating production and distribution, which gave little consideration to future usage of film prints. A full analysis of the ecology of the colonial film industry is necessary to understand the intersection of the political and the cinematic in twentieth century Korea. As the following chapters will demonstrate, the political authorities in the postliberation era displayed striking similarities to the earlier Japanese colonial practices regarding cinema, even as they shifted the rhetoric of cinematic utility from totalitarian propaganda to promotion of democratic and modernizing welfare state. To highlight the continuities between the colonial and postcolonial period, I show that the disposition of and approach to the medium are central and continuous in the film history of Korea. The belief in cinema's usefulness—its efficiency at best—had been disguised using such terms or rationales as "democratizing" and "educating" people, as well as "modernizing" and "rationalizing" society. This dissertation synthesizes the major rhetorical shifts in beliefs and perceptions of the potentiality of film in order to create an overarching story of cinema and its position in decolonization in Korea.

In the immediate postliberation period, with Korea under divided occupation by Soviet and American forces, cinema's mobility was redefined by its ability to convey ideas, convince individuals, and produce subjects in the service of political reorientation. Koreans were frustrated by the prospect of yet more great-power tutelage and wanted their independence immediately, while Americans (with the Soviets' implicit agreement) understood Koreans as not ready for independence at the time of the partition of Korea. Once opposition to the trusteeship as well as to the establishment of separate states in the peninsula grew, American and Soviet policy-makers increasingly invested in motion pictures and their technology in order to disseminate the general facts and policies of military authorities: to distinguish themselves from Japanese imperialism, and to reorient the peninsula as a sovereign nation-state under superpower's hegemony. In the North under the Soviet Union, the reforms initiated by the North Korean Provisional People's Committee in 1946, including land reform, new regulations on labor, and nationalization of major industries, soon restructured the film business under the state's aegis. In their effort to garner support among the peasants, workers, women, and youth to construct a socialist society, policy-makers saw motion pictures as one of the most important instruments available. With the Soviet's assistance, they quickly invested in a centralized national film studio, which led many Southern Korean cultural elites and members of the film industry to head up to the North by early 1947.[12] However, the South under the United States Army Military Government (USAMGIK) was more interested in the maintenance of Korean society than in reform of the cultural industry; the U.S. local post in the South was, in fact, operated under the supervision of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) and Washington, and thereby rather weak in terms of state autonomy. Washington's major concern remained the effective reorientation of Japan and its former colonies to be more receptive to the American virtues. The U.S. also needed to draw a stark difference between post-liberation "democracy" and "totalitarianism" in order to justify its military occupation. American exceptionalism, nonetheless, contributed to Washington's investment in a non-fiction film program for the occupied Korean theaters, which had much in common with the film policies of the Japanese occupiers. In particular, both sets of authorities produced various forms of film that could facilitate imperial rules, and more importantly, elaborated methods of distribution and theatrical and non-theatrical exhibition. These efforts approached cinema as a tool of engineering and managing the conduct of populations, resulting in film-use practices that often rendered film prints exploited, overused, or lost.

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[12] Charles Armstrong, *The North Korean Revolution, 1945–1950* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 184-190; Lee Myŏngja, *Pukhan Yŏnghwasa* [*A History of North Korean Cinema*] (Seoul: Communication Books, 2007), 14-29.

In the early 1950s, ideas about film's potential became increasingly reshaped in the changing geopolitics of the postwar world. Film's potential to inform, agitate, and persuade the audience now needed to be reoriented, much like the territories and populations that had been under Axis control, in order to build a postwar world that would be free from the threat of totalitarianism. Central players in this reorientation were international cultural organizations and American policy makers, along with media and communication specialists. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) played a fundamental role in connecting film's potential with education meant to help build a democratic and humanistic world. International agencies and media theorists working closely with UNESCO advocated the global importance of audiovisual education, especially in postcolonial nation-states in Asia and Africa. They believed that audiovisual education could successfully tackle pressing issues in those countries such as illiteracy and educational reform, as well as provide adult education as part of national reconstruction. UNESCO laid the groundwork for the U.S. intervention in postwar South Korea through a wide range of support, such as training Korean professionals and building film studios and laboratories. In so doing, the U.S. and international agencies alike normalized their intervention (as “aid” and “support”) in the “developing” country, encouraging new nation-states to quickly create the conditions needed for an international standard of communication and competition while also legitimating the nation-state as the most central player in the development of culture in the “free world.”

When examining the formation of the cultural field in postwar South Korea, it is essential to consider Cold War logic through the analysis of the national mode of control and statist model of development. The origins of nationalism and the developmental state can be traced back to the interwar period, but these patterns became much more pronounced in the dynamics of the Cold War. Nation-building in the postwar era not only meant the imposition of an abstract sense of the nation over the population, but also meant the requirement of the modern and rational subject be more receptive to the nation’s economic development in the liberal market. Faced with the challenge of creating a nation in the aftermath of the Korean War, the postwar regime and Korean nationalists elaborated and intensified the territorial model of the nation-state, which granted equal citizenship to all its inhabitants while imposing pedagogies and instructions upon the population. Ideas of the new nation-state underlay the state’s aggressive promotion of anti-communist ideology, which forged a narrative of potential threats from the communist North and authorized ethnocentric nationalism, ultimately legitimating a centralizing, developmental state.

It is particularly important to understand how the developmental state, or the state’s developmentalism, came to play a dominant role in postwar Korea. The idea of each nation-state as a sovereign and rational entity, able to control its progress and development, remained central to developmentalism. However, it should be also noted that developmentalism naturalized the needs of the developing nations that were attempting to catch up with more developed, modern, industrialized nations in the capitalist economy. It did so by inventing an underdeveloped, underproductive subject to be named, located, studied, and ultimately policed through development policy and projects. As Arturo Escobar succinctly states, "development proceeded by creating abnormalities ('the poor,' 'the malnourished,' 'the illiterate,' etc.) which it would then treat or reform."[13] Once located, these subjects could presumably benefit from development projects imparted from above by governments under the direction of international agencies. This teleology of progress not only provided an alibi for imperialism's role in forging the conditions in which new decolonizing nations found themselves, it also provided the conditions for development first and democracy later. The promise of development was to bring the benighted subjects of the decolonizing countries into the history of the modern nation, with rights and privileges to be available to the productive citizens of an international family of nations. Throughout this dissertation, I will discuss the different forms of this promise, including, the promise of "development," a term that was often interchangeable with "modernity" and "modernization" in the context of South Korea. This promise most explicitly replicated in Park Chung Hee regime's slogan "Let's Live Well," and remained central to the formation of the authoritarian state and dissenting subjects. In imposing this promise of full productivity, political evolution, and development upon population, both state and nationalist elites developed a new salience to ideas of culture and national unity. While they both recognized cinema as a modality of the country's development, their diverging views of how to achieve it created the rift between them. The state prioritized economic development over political development, which worked with its attempted production of a homogenized people meant to create the conditions for domestic growth and international competitiveness. Here, cinema needed to be pedagogical on the levels of both production and exhibition in order to transform the population into active members of the developmental nation-state. With the reform of cinema in both corporate and non-corporate contexts, as seen in the implementation of the Film Law and the installment of the National Film Production Center in the early 1960s, the state's regulating role became more dominant.

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[13] Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 41.

Yet the promise of development in the course of decolonization also created different ideas and voices in the cultural sphere. While humanistic ideals and modern citizenship were not evoked on a large scale in the nationalist, anti-imperial movement in South Korea at that time, these principles were pronounced to varying degrees in the field of culture: the elite's audiovisual education initiative, the film industry's vision for a public-domain film library, and film historians' articulation of "Korean Cinema" (*Han'guk yŏnghwa*).[14] Despite their implicit or explicit embrace of the state's developmentalism, as we will see in the last three chapters of this dissertation, these elites, film directors, and critics also called into question the dominant position of foregrounding the film's didactic function, bringing other values of cinema to the fore, such as the artistic, the educational, and the historical.

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[14] Theodore Hughes provides an important discussion on the anti-authoritarian National Literature Movement that grounded a critical condition of intellectual circle in the 1970s and the 1980s. Theodore Hughes, *Literature and Film in Cold War South Korea Freedom's Frontier* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012). For a diverse social activism that in part aligned with the increasing intellectual discourse on new subjectivities through the articulation of "minjung" from the 1970s to the 1980s, see Namhee Lee, *The Making of Minjung: Democracy and the Politics of Representation in South Korea* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).

While the state assumed the key role of regulating the field of cultural production, the fissure between the state and local actors was one strand in the formation in the mid-1970s of a new preservation institution, the Korean Film Preservation Center (KFPC); it also contributed to the KFPC's inability to become viable in the ensuing decade. This dissertation analyzes another factor crucial to the KFPC's formation: the state's backlash against communist North Korea. The unforeseen installment of the KFPC had more to do with the South Korean state's fears—predicated by North Korea's involvement in the global film preservation network (FIAF)—than with a generally felt need to preserve film for future use. While the postwar regime long highlighted the danger and threat of North Korea and the need for unity under authoritarian leadership, North Korea's visibility as a member of the international society called for an immediate plan for South Korea to also become part of FIAF. As we will see, the political regime's understanding of film preservation as simply an institution, without either specific practice or a specific plan for conservation, ultimately hindered the KFPC's application to FIAF and led to its dormancy in the following decade.

CONCEPT, OBJECTIVES, AND INTERVENTION

Archives and the Archive

The word "archive" has come to imply a number of things: from simple repositories referred to by archivists in the plural as "archives" to complex notions of cognition and memory, where "the archive" in the singular connotes its conceptual elements. The most conventional understanding of an archive would describe it as a body of records generated by the activities of a specific individual or organization and located, albeit not always, in a repository or an institution. The U.S. National Archives in Washington hold essential records of the modern American state. The

China Film Archive keeps “Chinese” film prints in various formats, such as negative and positive, along with other important records relating to them. The relationship between the individual or institution and an archive is what might be called an “organic” or “natural” one: archives reflect, and should reflect, in their holdings the evolving nature of an organization, or in the case of an individual, his or her personal records.

In recent decades, “archive” has become a regular topic of scholarly analysis. Not surprisingly, much of this interest has come from the disciplines of history and anthropology, which examine the social production of the past as well as political struggles over the control and definition of historical knowledge. In particular, many of the cues for my research have been drawn from a growing body of research in postcolonial studies and historical anthropology.[15] While Hayden White locates the historical product—historiography—at the center of critical historical reflection, newer studies in historical anthropology have increasingly focused on the conditions of historical production. White asserts that political forces external to historical reference largely determined the historical texts and their “truth,” giving rigor to the importance of inquiry into the power/knowledge nexus of nation and empire in which historiography occupies a central place.[16] However, as Michel-Rolph Trouillot points out, in much critical history, "narratives are occasionally evoked as illustrations, or at best, deciphered as texts, but the process of their production rarely constitutes the object of study."[17] Keeping distance from both positivism and constructivism at extreme, Trouillot emphasizes the importance of attending to the "historicity" of historical narration itself; for him, analyzing the historicity allows us to figure out how a particular historical narrative becomes "authoritative" and "dominant" while silencing other voices in the historical records, voices of those who does not have equal access to the means of historical production. Trouillet's intervention thus invites us to consider how silences also play a role in the process of historical production at critical moments, such as those of archive-making and source creation.

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[15] For important work on historiography by scholars associated with the Subaltern Studies Collective, see Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Spivak, eds., *Selected Subaltern Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Post-Colonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Ranajit Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000). For scholarship on the intersection of history and anthropology, see Bernard Cohn, “History and Anthropology: The State of Play,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22, no. 2 (1995): 198-221; Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995); Frederick Cooper and Ann Stoler, eds. *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Ann Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). Also, a few cross-disciplinary works have brought multiple notions and approaches to the archive, suggesting the archive as both historical subject and even “full-fledged actor.” Antoinette Burton ed., *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Francis X. Blouin and William G. Rosenberg, eds., *Archives, Documentation, and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007).

Building upon these concerns, scholars working in the interstices of history and anthropology have paid special attention to the archive. Mapping out a new interdisciplinary interest in archives as subjects, not just sources, for research, Ann Stoler suggests that we think of an "archival turn" as a logical extension of the "historical turn" in the humanities and social sciences, as scholars have started to approach archives "not as sites of knowledge retrieval but knowledge production."[18] Thinking of the archive as a "process whereby texts are written" rather than as a mere "accumulation" of documents opens up the possibility of writing the "biography" or "ethnography" of the archive, expanding the focus of inquiry to understudied territories such as the social and political relationships of archival constructs, as well as their conditions and components.[19]

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[16] Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination of Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).

[17] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 22.

[18] Ann Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance: On the Content in the Form," In *Refiguring the Archive*, ed. Carolyn Hamilton et al. (Capetown: David Philip, 2002).

Although my usage of the term “archive” at the most general level is built upon the scholarship that defines archive as socially and culturally constructed discourse and practice, it is also necessary for the sake of clarity to note how I approach the relationship between “archives” and “the archive.” Archivists and scholars have recently criticized that the term is still used in a very loose sense, without careful consideration of the divide between archive(s) and the archive existing in the media studies and the humanities in general.[20] For instance, in the 2016 MLA Roundtable on “Archival Practices,” scholars and archivists attempted to bridge the gap between the practical and theoretical archive. American archivist Rick Prelinger points out the existing divide between archives and the archive; if archives are “organizations, collectivities or arrangements, either established or outsider, within which collecting, preservation, access and archival labor occur,” the archive is an umbrella term for “conceptual, philosophical, artistic, literary, psychoanalytic constructs centered around collections and/or archival process.”[21] What Prelinger does here is to avoid collapsing the two, because both practical and conceptual archives can be thought as rigorously as possible. But what also needs to be stressed is his redefinition of the practical archive as the site where archival practice (such as collecting, preservation, access) and archival labor occur. His insight is helpful to illuminate a range of practice and labor outside archives as established buildings or institutions—and this range of practice and labor is central to my analysis. In this dissertation, I give equal weight to archival practice and labor that took place beyond or prior to the site of the archival institution and the making of official archives.

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[19] Roberto Gonzalez Echevarria, *Myth and Archive: A Theory of Latin American Narrative* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998). See also, Ann Stoler, “In Cold Blood: Hierarchies of Credibility and the Politics of Colonial Narratives,” *Representations* 37 (1992): 157-89; Nicholas Dirks, “Colonial Histories and Native Informants: Biography of an Archive,” in *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia*, ed. Carol Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).

[20] For instance, see Craig Robertson ed., *Media History and Archive* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

[21] I thank Rick Prelinger for allowing me to use his articulation of the divide. The session “Archival Practices,” organized by Anne Donlon, with seven speakers including Rick Prelinger, took place on January 10, 2016 in Austin, Texas during the 2016 MLA convention. For the description of the roundtable, see https://apps.mla.org/program_details?prog_id=709&year=2016

Ephemera

Along with the archive and archives, "ephemera" is the other notion on which I have relied in this study to rethink the value and meaning of cinema, moving away from naturalizing or essentializing an object's "worthiness" of preservation. I take up ephemera as a heuristic device in order to discuss a dominant disposition of cinema based on the medium's utility and efficiency. Archivists often define ephemera as print documents, but the term has also been expanded to a broader theoretical term or a keyword in the humanities.[22] In particular, beyond the general definition of "things that exist or are used or enjoyed for only a short time," there is a growing acknowledgement of ephemera as objects in a range of media that do not fit easily into conventional archives and as a term for that which is not archivable.[23]

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[22] Performance studies, in particular, has theorized the ephemeral (or ephemerality) to describe that which escapes the archive. Borrowing the concept of "structures of feeling" from Raymond Williams, performance theorist José Muñoz described ephemera as "including traces of lived experience and performances of lived experience, maintaining experiential politics and urgencies long after these structures of feeling have been lived." José Esteban Muñoz, "Ephemera as Evidence: Introductory Notes to Queer Acts," *Women & Performance: a journal of feminist theory* 8, no. 2 (1996): 5-16. For more recent works, see Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: the Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: New York University Press, 2009).

[23] In film and media studies, ephemera (or the ephemeral, ephemerality) often broadly refers to a film's particular condition (i.e. footage that has been lost and then rediscovered) or a specific context of neglected genres or collections. For example, Zoë Druick and Gerda Cammaersee coin the term "ephemeral cinema" to particularly articulate those neglected genres and collections, as well as to broadly define the general condition of film culture in Canada. See, Zoë Druick, Gerda Cammaersee eds., *Cinephemera: Archives, Ephemeral Cinema, and New Screen Histories in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2014). Another recent discussion has been initiated by The Ephemera Project, a research project developed by Tani Barlow and Steven Lewis at Rice University. It has not only

Drawing from a wider sense of ephemera, I call into question how cinema was decoded, assessed, and handled in a way that hampered the practical realization of conservation for a long time. On one level, I use the term ephemera to discuss the question of an object's value. That which is valued tends to be saved, while everything else is left to entropy, deterioration, and other forms of degradation and loss. However, value is not fixed to an object by nature; it is rather changeable and discursive. If some factors determine whether objects are valuable—and archivable—we can ask what possible factors are involved in the process and when and how potential artifacts go from ephemeral to worthy of archiving. On another level, I also approach ephemera as a domain and a desire—the possibility of knowing and capturing that ever-elusive concept of everyday life—the lived reality of people. Here, I speak not only the everyday life registered on celluloid, but also of a range of relevant film materials such as pamphlets, stills, posters, and even memories of moviegoers. The category thus allows us to open up previously underexplored areas of inquiry that converge under the broader rubric's of cinema's meaning and function, its practice and labor, as well as discourse and technology over the long middle period of film history, roughly from the 1930s to the 1980s.

Objectives and Intervention

By framing archives and ephemera in this way, this dissertation prioritizes three goals. First, I define cinema not as a mere object or technology that attains its value by nature but rather as a medium that is formed in a struggle of dynamic actors and their powers. Building upon what constitutes cinema, I then seek to locate the formation of archive(s) in a larger and longer

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collected a large amount of ephemera as historical source materials but also raise conceptual problems revolving around archiving, categorizing, and evaluating ephemera. (http://chaocenter.rice.edu/ephemera) process, not one that simply culminates in the triumphal establishment of an archival institution. Rethinking the archives in this way is linked to my third goal: a reevaluation of archiving and the history-writing under specific geopolitical conditions in South Korea that were significantly built and transformed by imperial powers.

Cinema and Field of Struggle

Central to this dissertation is the definition of cinema. In terms of defining cinema, I discuss a struggle over its meaning that has been intimately linked to relations of power, particularly those between the state and the people, as well as between different states. In order to do this, I pay attention to precisely what constitutes cinema and its network: the resources, technologies, ideas, labor, and relations that are required to shape, energize, and sustain the medium.[24] As media theorist Lisa Gitelman points out, we exist in a context of socially, economically, technologically, and culturally sanctioned protocols for practice and intermedia relations; rather than naturalizing media as unchanging objects "with given, self-defining properties," we should approach media as "very particular sites for very particular, importantly social as well as historically and culturally specific experiences of meaning."[25]

For my analysis of the specificity of such a medium, particularly the question of how diverse factors and elements have constructed cinema's meaning and value, Pierre Bourdieu's work on "the field of cultural production" is particularly significant. For Bourdieu, the field of cultural production, like other social and political fields, is a site of struggle. The field is characterized by competition between participants to define and accumulate "cultural capital," the form of capital which comes from being acknowledged as a great artist, or having "artistic taste," or otherwise having power within the cultural sphere. What constitutes cultural capital, for Bourdieu, is arbitrary: there is nothing inherent in cultural products that allow us to determine their value, and cultural tastes differ widely. Rather, what is considered cultural capital is a social production, the result of struggles between different players in the field to determine cultural value. Thus the cultural tastes of the most powerful individuals within the field, those who already have the greatest accumulation of cultural capital, tend to prevail.[26]

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[24] In my usage, film refers to one popular kind of art and mass entertainment at the most general level. In many places when I focus on the medium's material, physical characteristic, a film is interchangeable with a motion picture or a moving image. Cinema is used in most cases that I emphasize its specificities as medium and its context, and consists of a dispersed body of films and technologies, forms of knowledge, discourse, and social organization.

[25] Lisa Gitelman, *Always Already New: Media, History, and the Data of Culture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006), 8. She borrows "objects with given, self-defining properties" from James Lastra, *Sound Technology and the American Cinema: Perception, Representation, Modernity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 13.

Then in the Korean context, how does looking at the field of cinema as a site of struggle reveal the historical networks that shaped film's value and the key players' interests in film? This dissertation will demonstrate the dynamics among individual, institutional, and governmental interests by analyzing their contestation and negotiation in construing the field of cinema. I trace how ideas about cinema lead us to see different values, roles, and ideals discussed by governments, educationalists, entrepreneurs, and film practitioners. Recent discussion on cinema and its utility and functionality has expanded our thinking of "useful" cinema, which is defined more by functionality than beauty. Focusing on cinema's wide range of cultural and institutional functions beyond the boundary of modern art and mass entertainment, scholars conceptualize "useful cinema" as "a body of films and technologies that perform tasks and serve as instruments in an ongoing struggle for aesthetic, social, and political capital."[27] Newer research in film studies has shown that it is important to illuminate how film works in terms of its institutional practices, its relation to owners, sponsors, and viewers, and its widely perceived meanings and functions.[28] Although these scholars tend to focus on specific genre categories (i.e. educational film, industrial film, or amateur film), I do not limit my discussion of the utility of cinema to the field of non-theatrical film, because in the Korean context, ideas about the efficiency of cinema were not limited to a particular genre category or institutional practice. Governments, practitioners, and elites developed a particular framing of cinema—as well as its relation to its viewers—by building upon their shared assumption of film's usefulness as an instrument to transform people in a certain way. Therefore, throughout this study, I will address a broad conceptualization of the relations among film form, a range of film practitioners and institutions, as well as their approaches to the medium and audiences.

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[26] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, trans. Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

Another key concern in this study is the examination of the state's dominant (and often unilateral) power in the field of cinema. As Bourdieu argues, because the dynamics of the field of cultural production are influenced by those at work in other fields, and in particular by the economy, the state's cultural capital—based on its political authority and prestige—had an overwhelmingly powerful role. The state's power over the cultural sector often overwhelmed other non-state actors, such as film practitioners, critics, and, more importantly, ordinary viewers. In many places, the ideas about audiences and the effects of film embodied developmental logic, itself a reconfiguration of the colonial, for these ideas were based on the belief that subjects would be profoundly influenced by media. To better achieve its influence over the populace, the governing body in Korea often elaborated and intensified new methods of distribution and theatrical and non-theatrical exhibitions. For example, legislation was passed that for a period ensured short non-theatrical films would be shown in theaters before theatrical films. Meanwhile, mobile cinema units were constructed with equipment such as 16mm film and portable projection, which greatly increased cinema's transportability. These mobile cinema vans circulated widely in remote areas, presenting films. The efforts to utilize film to the project of colonialism or postcolonial nation-building were also predicated on beliefs about the necessity of ideals to sustain the government's rule. Through an analysis of film discourse (statistics, reports, and the censors' journal) as well as institutions (film policies and the law), I will trace the ways that ideas about film's efficacy were at the core of the elaboration of film and its infrastructures, and how these ideas shaped and reshaped the dynamics between the state, the film business, and the audience. At the same time, I contextualize the idea of "useful cinema" and the state's promotion of such idea in a broader transnational, global Cold War discourse. Equally important to the state's key role in regulating the field of cinema was the nation-centered notion of culture, one that was globally endorsed and sanctioned by postwar international organizations such as UNESCO. As I discuss in Chapter 3 and 5, these agencies emphasized the "essential" connection between nation-state and culture, reinforcing the hierarchical relationship between nation-states based on their level of cultural development, which adopted the Cold War logic that incorporated them into as a homogenized world, such as the so-called "free world."

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[27] Charles R. Acland and Haidee Wasson, *Useful Cinema* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 3.

[28] *Mining the Home Movie: Excavations in Histories and Memories*, eds. Karen L. Ishizuka, Patricia Rodden Zimmermann (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Vinzenz Hediger, Patrick Vonderau, *Films that Work: Industrial Film and the Productivity of Media* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009); *Learning with the Lights Off: Educational Film in the United States*, eds. Devin Orgeron, Marsha Orgeron, and Dan Streible (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Locating the Archive in Discourse

In addition to locating cinema within the complex dynamics of the colonial, occupation-era, and then post-colonial Korean state, this study creates a discursive history of a variety of actors and institutions involved in the archival imagination and practice. In contrast to existing accounts of Korean film archives, which tend to overlook everything before the establishment of the film preservation facility in the mid-1970s, I trace different existences of the archive. These different existences include one that appears on the level of discourse alone, one that disengages with the general imperative of preservation, and one that overturns the assumption of archives' duties and roles in preserving national culture. Rather than relying on the universal notion of archive, which serves to store anything about a particular group, in this study, I suggest shifting a focus to looking at archiving in a society from which "primary" sources— for example, film prints, scripts, production and exhibition records, and relevant sources—have long been overused, removed, or lost. In doing so, I ultimately aim to push history further by seeing the archive as process, rather than as institution, critically stretching the scope of the archive in ways that redefine what kinds of discourse and practice are socially constructed as well as historically relevant in the field of cinema.

Despite the broad scope of the aforementioned "archival turn" in the humanities, there has been little direct engagement with archives of moving image in the fields of film and media studies. While many people who identify as media and film historians recognize the limitations of the archive either in their research process or theoretical discussion, the implications of this observation for research and writing are marginalized and not considered an object of study. In the North American context, one response to the realization of the fragility of archiving in a broader audiovisual history has been the emergence of the concept of "orphan films."[29] Borrowing from the legal concept of "orphaned work," an orphan film is a work considered abandoned by its owner or creator, or whose provenance cannot be determined. Emily Cohen notes that "people who struggle to preserve and make available forgotten films that are decaying in archives, garages, and basements call these dying films 'orphans.' As an orphanage, the film archive is transformed into a place of forgotten, abandoned images and text."[30] Adopting the metaphor of the orphanage used by film preservation activists, Cohen contends that this term has expanded the types of films that gain public attention and are deemed worthy of preservation. While the activism that this orphan film movement motivates is inspiring, it is also triumphal in its patriarchal agency to save and redeem. In other words, the idea of film archive as orphanage not only assumes that orphan films must be saved and are indeed worthy of saving, but also naturalizes the existence and development of an archival institution that can powerfully incorporate the abandoned into contemporary life.

The assumptions of the orphan film movement can be also seen in the discourse of film preservation outside the North American context. In the case of Korea, it is in some respects related to the field's traditional tenet: "preservation" and "archiving" as the profession's core value and task. Given the "lack" of archival facilities, pioneering archivists or studio film vaults for more than the first half of twentieth century Korea, there is a sense that there would be not enough material to do justice to the history of the Korean moving image's archive.[31] On another level, the significant loss of film prints and source materials has been identified as the biggest challenge for writing a coherent narrative of film's history.[32] It is thus not surprising to see that there has been a feverish quest to recover what has been buried (and still has a chance of survival). This quest has resulted in numerous attempts during the past decade to "unearth" new evidence (i.e. film prints outside Korea) and "supplementary" sources (i.e. film stills, posters, and scenarios).[33]

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[29] In 1999, Dan Streible organized the first Orphan Film Symposium, then at the University of South Carolina and currently at New York University; most symposia have followed biannually, each one bigger and more successful than the last. Gradually this gathering of archivists, scholars, collectors, and media experts who come together to study and screen neglected moving images has become a movement with connections around the globe.

[30] Emily Cohen, "The Orphanista Manifesto: Orphan Films and the Politics of Reproduction," *American Anthropologist* 106, no. 4 (2004): 722. The same logic that Cohen develops here is also found in Paolo Cherchi Usai, "What is an Orphan Film? Definition, Rationale, Controversy" (paper delivered at the symposium "Orphans of the Strom: Saving Orphan Films in the Digital Age." University of South Carolina, September 23, 1999). Transcript available at http://www.sc.edu/filmsymposium/archive/orphans2001/usai.html

What can be found in both scholarship and the quest to recover film materials is what I call the "archive complex," that is, an unconscious obsession with and attachment to the survivals and the losses described by scholars. The archive complex is based on principles of historical positivism, and it questions what "survivals" of an earlier period of history are available, if buried, and how those fragments might be made whole through historical reassembly. Assuming the total archive as a desirable condition of historical writing, scholars willingly or unwillingly affirm the positivist approach to total history, particularly in their attempt to restore pre-1945 film culture through micro-analysis of new evidence captured in their encounters with archives.[34] While there is great virtue in scholars' archeological quest for films and sources that have been believed to be lost, the symptoms of archive complex are associated with a particular way of looking at the archive; archives are understood by definition as repositories of essential records and hence authentic fragments of the past. Despite the wide visibility of archives of moving images, attempts at defining what is currently understood as an "archive" remains remarkably absent, with scholars and practitioners alike relying upon popular notions of archival roles and duties.

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[31] In the field of Korean history, recent scholarship—largely from history and sociology—has paid attention to the moving image as historical record and evidence and its archive. One of the notable examples was initiated by the History-Film Integrated Research Team at Korea University. In a 2014 conference titled "New Approaches to History through the Visual Media," scholars in the humanities and social sciences legitimated the moving image as a valuable historical source rather than a supplement to traditional textual evidence, opening up the possibility of writing history through multimedia sources, and of approaching archival practices such as collection, appraisal, and preservation as substantial to keep historical sources viable and available to the public. The conference took place on July 4-5, 2014 in Seoul, South Korea.

[32] As we will see in Chapter 4, even before Yi Yŏngil's (1969) *A Comprehensive History of Korean Cinema*, critics often complained that the significant loss of film prints, scripts, and stills provided a greatest source of frustration. It is hard to find historical writing that does not point to the "lack of historical source" or "meager archival structure" as the primary obstacle in writing a pre-1945 history as rigorously as required. It is impossible to list all published historical accounts on Korean cinema, so I name a few recent, book-length publications. Korean Film Archive, ed., *Han'guk yŏnghwasa kongbu* [*Study of Korean Film History*] (Seoul: KOFA, 2004); Kim Yŏsil, *T'usa hanŭn cheguk t'uyŏng hanŭn singminji* [*Empire's Projection, Colony Being Projected*] (Seoul: Samin, 2006); Kim Mihyŏn ed., *Han'guk yŏnghwasa* [*Korean Film History*] (Seoul: Communication Books, 2006).

[33] For the critical contextualization of the archive's quest, see Steven Chung, "Visibility, Nationality, Archive," *Journal of Korean Studies* 16, no. 2 (2011): 193-211.

However, I suggest that the history of film preservation cannot be fully grasped using only the traditional understanding of archives as repositories and institutions for material produced or generated by organizations such as governments, corporations, or individuals. This understanding does not allow us to grapple with the diverse discourses of preservation, and more importantly, the archives that have not yet achieved a concrete existence but instead persist at the threshold of possibility. I claim the possibility of writing a discursive history of archives that builds upon Michel Foucault's critical work on the archive. For Foucault, the archive represents not what has been said by a particular society, but what *can* be said: the archive defines the mode of occurrence of discourses as well as the principle of their differentiation. He argues "if there are things said—and those only—one should seek the immediate reason for them in the things that were said not in them, nor in the men that said them, but in the system of discursivity, in the enunciative possibilities and impossibilities that it lays down."[35] Instead of the traditional categories of intellectual history such as the "author" and the "work" as key to the study of texts, Foucault centers on what makes it possible or impossible for texts to take shape. What is most germane to my analysis is the potentiality of looking into the very basis of discursive formations. If we take up potentiality, then the absence of archive-building prior to the Korean Film Preservation Center does not prohibit us from writing a history of archives, but rather allows us to pay more attention to the discursive basis on which they would have been created, understood, and discussed. Where we can benefit from Foucault's definition of discourses is, moreover, that discourse should be understood as "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" rather than simply "groups of signs." Foucault notes, "Of course, discourses are composed of signs; but what they do is more than use these signs to designate things. It is this *more* that renders them irreducible to the language and to speech. It is this 'more' that we must reveal."[36] I focus on not just the objects that discourse describes but also the fundamental conditions and practices of grounding such discourse that shape objects of understanding and knowledge. To do so, this study is specifically concerned with discourse embodied in speech and writing that appeared in newspapers, magazines, legal regulations, government documents, and oral testimony that was spoken or written by institutions such as the film industry, the print media, domestic and foreign political authorities, and national and international organizations.

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[34] Only a few scholars have intervened in what I call the archive complex. For instance, Kim Soyoung provides a powerful critique of the scholarly impulse toward the restoration of "invisible films" and recuperation of "empty archives." Kim Soyoung, *Kŭndaeŭi wŏnch'ogyŏng* [*A Primal Scene of the Modern*] (Seoul: Hyunshilbooks, 2010); Although her focus remains on the relationship between the nation and the historiography of film in this short essay, Lee Hwajin carefully criticizes the positivist tendency of scholarship in the intersection of colonial studies and film studies. Lee Hwajin, "'Hankukyŏnghwachŏnsa,' kŭ ihu: ch'oekŭn sikminchi malki yŏnghwa yŏnkuŭi sŏngkwawa hankye [After *A Comprehensive History of Korean Cinema*: Accomplishments and Confinements of the Recent Study of Late Colonial Cinema]," *Sai* 11 (2011): 239-261.

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[35] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon, 1972), 128.

[36] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 49.

When incorporating these different sources in each chapter, I will discuss how imaginations of, and actions for, archives took shape at particular moments and for particular reasons over the course of each period.

Denaturalizing the Notion of Progress

Last but not least, I demonstrate that geopolitical relations and power asymmetries in Korea's decolonization can be studied in unexpected ways: not just in historical writings, but also in the absence and destruction of archives, as well as in films and documents lost, disappeared, or distributed beyond the national boundary. I suggest that all the repetitive discourse of "lack" or "belatedness" surrounding Korean archives (and history) should probably not be taken at face value. Also not to be taken at face value is the way that Korean history has been described as a delayed development of society and culture, the culmination of Korean history as a story of Japanese annexation, compressed modernization, political authoritarianism and weak civil society. As scholars of the Subaltern Studies Collective have stressed, such accounts of national "incompleteness" speak to Western historiography's success in establishing Euro-American centric history as the objective standard for global history.[37] Pointing to the ways that the discipline of history is powerfully structured by concepts that derive from Euro-American centric thought and experience, Dipesh Charkrabarty argues that even in postcolonial attempts to present an alternative history of non-European societies, the employment of the very categories of historical analysis and inquiry has the effect of affirming that Europe remains the "sovereign subject" of all histories.[38] Charkrabarty suggests embracing the difficulty and complexity of the production of postcolonial histories; acknowledging that the constitution of Europe as sovereign subject of history and exemplar of modernity does not represent the natural outcome of national and domestic histories, but instead represents a global history that centrally includes the colonizing enterprise. As he notes, there must be an "understanding that this equating of a certain version of Europe with 'modernity' is not the work of the European alone; third-world nationalisms, as modernizing ideologies par excellence, have been equal partners in the process."[39]

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[37] Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony*, 3.

[38] Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 27-34.

From this perspective, then, the analysis of the conceptual and practical understanding of cinema as ephemera, the examination of archival discourse and practices, and the investigation of historical writing in Korea's decolonization presented in this dissertation can be seen to represent a global struggle, one filled with discourses of capitalist modernity and the nation-state, as well as the legacies of the coloniality itself. In order to better map out relevant approaches to cinema, archival discourse and practice, and historical writing within the changing geopolitics surrounding Korea, I also reframe decolonization by approaching it not solely as a historical epoch or event, but, as Frederick Cooper and Prasenjit Duara suggest, as a long process. That is, decolonization is the process of disentanglement from formal colonial relations to become part of a much wider trend of rethinking and reordering societies.[40] What Cooper calls a "light-switch view" of decolonization—the political transition from colonial to postcolonial rule—tends to reduce decolonization to "a singular phenomenon with certain determinant effects."[41] What is more useful than a strictly political sense of decolonization is the revelation of the complex experiences of peoples and institutions involved in decolonization, especially those experiences that do not fall into the "temporal dichotomy of a before and after."[42] Crucial to this complexity in the case of Korea is what might be called the third-party decolonization, that is, the United States and Soviet intervention in the post-1945 process, not only during the military occupation (1945–1948) but also the ensuing decades. It was not only the fact of colonialism but also the geopolitical changes imposed upon the peninsula that shaped the possibilities and constraints of the "after." This includes the partitioning of Korea into mutually hostile and temporally de-synchronized zones in the post-World War II era, the responses of the postcolonial state to those changes, and the hopes and anxieties unleashed in the process of the decolonization.

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[39] Charkrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 45-46.

[40] Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); *Citizenship between Empire and Nation: Remaking France and French Africa, 1945-1960* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014); Prasenjit Duara, *Decolonization: Perspectives from Now and Then* (London: Routledge, 2004).

[41] Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 19.

While my discussion of decolonization is limited to in the case of South Korea, through this reframing of decolonization, this project contributes to the existing discussion of post-1945 global history with respect to lingering imperial impacts in postcolonial societies.[43] In my analysis of the changing yet strikingly similar approach to cinema's utility under different political regimes—Japanese rule, the U.S. occupation, and the South Korean state— this study demonstrates that it is more logical to consider the post-1945 period in terms of a long process of shaping and reshaping Korea rather than a clearly demarcated period of a colonial endgame.

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[42] Cooper, *Colonialism in Question,* 19.

[43] For recent scholars' work focusing on the nature of the Cold War from the angle of the Third World's decolonization process, see Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Christopher Lee, *Making a World After Empire: The Bandung Moment and its Political Afterlives* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010); Raben Remco and Els Bogaerts, *Beyond Empire and Nation: The Decolonization of African and Asian Societies, 1930s-1960s* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2012). A recent increase in studies on the Cold War in other disciplines such as anthropology and cultural studies broadens our understanding of the Cold War and decolonization. For instance, Kuan-Hsing Chen, *Asia as Method: Toward Deimperialization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010); Jodi Kim, *Ends of Empire: Asian American Critique and the Cold War* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Heonik Kwon, *The Other Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).

Rethinking the “post”-1945 era in this way thus advances our thinking of what imperial powers meant to postcolonial societies even after the collapse of empires.

ROADMAP TO THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation is largely based on archival research in different places, including South Korea, the United States, France and Belgium. Most sources and examples drawn upon in this dissertation are culled from archives of states, international organizations, and film preservation organizations. Among English-language sources, for the U.S. foreign relations and policy relating to Korea and East Asia analyzed mostly in Chapter 2 and 3, I rely on the collections of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) in the College Park, Maryland.[44] I specifically analyze Record Groups of the State Department, War Department, and the occupation authorities in Japan and Southern Korea. While, as I will discuss in Chapter 2, scholarship of history in the field of the Cold War and East Asia has been attentive to these collections, only few scholars have dealt with the set of materials related to the film policy and program in Korea. The scholarly attention to UNESCO and FIAF is also fairly new, particularly in Asian and Korean context, and I bring materials from these two organizations to the fore of Chapter 3 and 5. An extensive volume of UNESCO materials is accessible through its online archive; these sources, including annual session reports, specialist reports, and major publications on media and literacy are analyzed in Chapter 3. Some individual notes and speech transcripts, as well as early postwar reports are located in the UNESCO archives in Paris.

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[44] To note, my early research benefitted from the outcome of the Korean Film Archive’s 2011 preliminary research on the film policy in the U.S. occupation; in particular, one of the primary sources that I analyzed in Chapter 2 (Record Group 165) was made available through the Archive and its visiting researcher’s hard work searching for and collecting the film policy source originally stored in NARA. I am appreciative of both Park Hyeyoung at KOFA and visiting researcher Lee Kilsŏng for allowing me to access the source.

Meanwhile, although FIAF has not published its important records, including the congressional reports and executive committee records that I analyze in Chapter 5, it has housed and categorized its materials, which are accessible with permission in the FIAF headquarters in Brussels.

For the Korean-language sources, in addition to newspapers and magazines, I examined a large number of legal and administrative records stored in the National Archives of Korea in Daejeon and Seoul. In particular, most textual sources on the Korean film policy and program analyzed are missives and reports that passed up and down the bureaucratic ladder between the Office of Public Information (later the Ministry of Public Information and then Ministry of Culture and Public Information) and its divisions and agencies, including the National Film Production Center, Film Promotion Agency, and Korean Film Preservation Center. In addition, I also rely on the source on the audiovisual education classified under several governmental agencies such as the Office of Education and Seoul Metropolitan Education Office, as well as the Office of Public Information. Lastly, a significant portion of materials to be discussed includes the Korean Film Archive's oral history research and its publications. Since 2005, the Archive has published nearly annual interviews with senior film practitioners. Among these publications, particularly most relevant to this dissertation was research published in 2009 and 2012 on film directors and commissioners who worked for the NFPC or were involved the production of cultural film, a particular genre of film that sought to agitate and instruct the audience.

This dissertation is organized into five chapters. Each focuses on film's discursive and institutional disposition, as well as its relation to the idea or practice of film preservation in a particular period. Chapter 1 gives an overview of the colonial period (1910–1945); Chapter 2 examines the U.S. occupation era (1945–1948) and its prolonged impact; Chapter 3 examines the early postwar decade (1953–1963), Chapter 4 the 1960s, and Chapter 5 the 1970s and 1980s. This organization allows for analyses of the most important historical developments in South Korea while providing the reader with a clear sense of when and where they stand at any moment in this long span of history.

Taking a 1938 Korean film festival as a critical moment where film loss was first acknowledged and articulated, Chapter 1 traces the ecology of the colonial Korean film industry in order to ask what practical and conceptual issues significantly impacted film's longevity. As will be shown in the discussion of the disputes among the governing powers over film's value, film discourse at this moment in time captured film's egalitarian potential. This period is notable not only for the growth of economic activity in urban areas that began in the 1920s, but also for a new surge of local film production that emerged along with the increasing circulation of global cinema under the limited condition of "Cultural Rule." Despite both imperial and Korean actors' articulation of film's positive impact in colonial society, infrastructure conditions severely limited films' chance of survival. I show how a short and disorganized cycle of production, distribution and exhibition contributed to the significant loss of film prints. Just as important as the infrastructure issues that complicated film conservation on every level was the imperial power's epistemology of the medium, that is, its articulation of cinema strictly in terms of its usefulness. For the state power, a key question was what cinema could do in the service of the governing power. Toward the end of the 1930s, this reframed the role of the colonial film business, and resulted in a series of rules that completely consolidate it into a single imperial film business. Beginning with the contextualizing perspective of governing rule, I analyze how the imperial state's policy worked to manage films' cycle to maximize the number of screenings in diverse cultural mandates during wartime mobilization. Both the practical and conceptual conditions of film's ecology in colonial Korea combined to shape the ephemeral materiality of cinema, rather than the alternate view of film as an artifact that should be cared for and preserved for the future.

Chapter 2 considers American exceptionalism and its relationships to the U.S. film program in the South and its redefinition of cinema as a tool of liberal democracy in the occupied area. Moving away from scholarship that often overemphasizes the USAMGIK film policy imposed during the occupation period (1945–1948), I map out the how the U.S. administration and Hollywood cooperated in integrating previously unreachable film markets in Germany, Austria, Japan, and Korea into U.S. hegemony. In doing so, I pay attention to two fissures in the U.S. disposition of cinema and liberal democracy. The first fissure emerges from the fact that, "democracy" was not an enlightened pluralistic philosophy so much as a homogenizing force under the U.S. occupation, despite the democratic ideals being spread throughout the occupied area via cinema. Toward the end of the occupation period, there was a growing concern that U.S. films that were designed to promote democracy were not in fact well received by the Korean audience. However, neither Washington nor the local authorities attempted to improve the film program. The second fissure can be seen in the analysis of the U.S. plan to integrate Japan as its junior capitalist partner in Asia. In fact, the Southern half of Korea was built upon active maintenance of Japanese cultural practice as well as social infrastructure, despite U.S. claims that its occupation was different from Japan's totalitarian rule. Their mutual assumptions and protocols, in turn, enabled the U.S. occupation force to practice a top-down approach in propagating their messages to the target audiences, all the while considering cinema to be just a temporary tool.

It was not only the United States, but also postwar international organizations, most notably UNESCO, that endeavored to redefine cinema as an effective tool in the making of a democratic and cooperative world. In Chapter 3, I examine UNESCO's articulation of development-oriented discourse, specifically its links to audiovisual education, and reveal how this discourse was implemented in South Korea. My goal in this chapter is to consider how South Korean political and cultural authorities—the state and the elite—worked towards modernization through their promotion of cinema's expansion sites of learning in postwar Korea. I focus on the ways in which both the state and the elite approached cinema's instructional potential within a larger global endorsement of film's importance in decolonization. Analyzing their articulation of cinema's value in the process of citizen-making, I claim that both the state and the elite invented a particular modality, the "pedagogical mode," which can be seen in two specific junctures: audiovisual education initiatives and the installation of the National Film Production Center. Through an examination of the pedagogical mode and its implications in these two cases, both state and elites are seen to locate the audience within their discourse of modernization and democracy, with a practice that both resembled and differed from the practices of the previous imperial powers.

Chapter 4 looks at 1960s historical practices regarding film, which were formed in relation to representations of the colonial past and in relation to rationales for building a coherent, linear history of the nation-state. I focus on two particularly important history-writing projects, An Chonghwa's (1962) book *The Bypaths and Hidden History of Korean Cinema* and Yi Yŏngil's (1969) *A Comprehensive History of Korean Cinema*. Analyzing these two works helps illuminate, on one level, Korean film culture's attempts to compensate for the loss of films, particularly those made in the 1920s and 1930s, through their practices of writing and archiving as a mode of record-making. These authors made it their project to salvage documents and objects that were either endangered by neglect or simply not recognized by others as of historical value. On another level, these practices centered not on highlighting stunning moments of rupture, but in marking routes of continuity among the practices of members and groups of the Korean film industry—this continuity could be seen as the basis for the ultimate claim to the postcolonial Korean nation's legitimacy. By locating these works in the larger historiographical turn, I discuss the specific concerns that worked to create a counter-approach to cinema's pervasive disposition, which had previously been closely tied to its usefulness. Building upon an emerging attention to cinema's other values, such as the historical and the artistic, I reveal how the authors of these histories constitute unexpected generative sites for the study of the cultural politics of historical production and archives in postcolonial Korea.

Chapter 5 unpacks the continuous tension between the statist and dissenting positions through the case of the 1970s Korean film preservation plan. While film critics, directors, and audiences developed the ideas for a film library that would enable them to access old films based on their awareness of different models of film archives around the world, the state was not engaged with their ideas until North Korea became visible in the International Federation of Film Archives (FIAF). By tracing different motivations and rationales behind the appearance of the archival plan, I consider the relationship between FIAF's preservation standard, the discourse of development, and Cold War logic. In so doing, this chapter shows how the global discourse of film preservation challenged South Korea's lack of sustainable film preservation plans, while pushing the country to recognize the importance of saving film under UNESCO and FIAF's larger heritage campaign for the so-called "Third World."

The dissertation concludes by returning to the recent shift in the pleas for film preservation—from ephemera to heritage—initiated in this introduction. Through an examination of the country’s socio-political transformation and its impact since the 1990s on cultural industries, I reflect on the conditions of, and rationales for, film archive in the contemporary global context.

CHAPTER 1

Where Have Old Films Gone?: The Ecology of the Film Business in Colonial Korea

In 1938, the major newspaper *Chosun Ilbo* began organizing the first-ever Korean film festival. Yet many of the films the festival organizers hoped to show were unavailable. Their search for copies of these films resulted in an announcement on the precarious condition of silent Korean films, which they had discovered were either missing or in serious threat of decomposition even though they were made in the 1920s. The organizers compiled a list of "lost films," which included dozens of silent films from the prior decade. Among them were many well-known titles that are still believed to be lost, such as *The Vow Made below the Moon* (*Wŏlhaŭi Maengsŏ*, 1923), *Fool* (*Mŏngt'ŏngkuri*, 1926), and *When the Sun Rises* (*Mŏndongi t'ŭlttae*, 1927).[1] While both film directors and critics were thrilled to make the country's first film festival possible, the limited availability of film prints and sources was a serious obstacle, one that rendered their attempt to unpack the "total property of Korean cinema" impossible. The acknowledgement of the loss of these important films meant that the festival organizers needed to come up with a solution immediately. The organizers called on movie fans for their help in collecting materials for the festival, explaining: "up to this date, the number of Korean films has reached about a hundred, but some have been lost and some have been destroyed, because film deteriorates with age, and wears out with use."[2] With this acute presentation of the scarcity of material, the organizers mobilized moviegoers to send them materials related to Korean film.

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[1] "Yŏnghwaaehokae koham [To Movie Fans]," *Chosun Ilbo,* November 11, 1938.

[2] "To Movie Fans."

Although its implications are often neglected, the 1938 film festival, organized by a dozen leaders of the film industry and sponsored by *Chosun Ilbo*, provides a vantage point from which to investigate the ruptures in history writing and archives that allow us to reconsider the ecology of cinema in the colonial period. The festival exposed the loss of old films as a critical issue for the first time to the general public while also collectively framing the historical trajectory of Korean film as a memorable object. The recognition of loss appearing here also acknowledges the materiality of nitrate films, which demanded specific protection: fire and deterioration had already begun the process of destroying films. While the festival organizers did not discuss much about the further protection of films, we can take this opportunity to look into the specific environmental conditions that had caused film loss and damage up to the time of the 1938 festival by examining the conditions of a film print's life—from its creation to the end of its commercial cycle.

This chapter traces the specific factors significantly impacting film's longevity during the colonial period (1910–1945). In particular, I focus on the structural, conceptual, and political issues that gave rise to a particular way of understanding and utilizing films over the decades. First, I will take a close look at how infrastructure—the resources, technologies, labor, and relations required to form and sustain the distribution of cinema on local and national scales—shaped a film's materiality in the cycle of production, distribution, and exhibition. Second, I will demonstrate that film was defined by the imperial power as an efficient and useful tool of assimilation, despite its different colonial-era roles and values, which were widely discussed throughout the colonial era, as indicated by the 1938 film festival. Finally, building upon these structural and conceptual issues, this chapter places wartime reform of the film industry as a culminating point at which film's value was predominantly defined in its immediate effect on the colonial populace. Through an analysis of these three different yet interconnected issues, this chapter demonstrates how coloniality shaped a particular way of seeing cinema that confined its potential to the state's utilitarian approach, rendering its materiality ephemeral and disposable.

Articulating the Meanings of Cinema in the Silent Era

Cinema Studies has expanded the scope of inquiry beyond a story of the historical development of forms and politics of representation to include cinema's inscription in society and cultural activity. This expansion is based on the assumption that most audiences construe their relationship to cinema not through particular film texts and their meanings but through the social experience of moviegoing. Consequently, scholars have turned their attention to the particular histories and phenomenology of moviegoing in different local contexts and examined how diverse modes of distribution and exhibition have conditioned both the production and reception of cinema.[3] For instance, Miriam Hansen, in the context of early American cinema, has shown how this new art form was enthusiastically embraced by disenfranchised populations.[4] If the camera became the emblem of cinema as a machine art, film's nature as a product of mechanical reproduction allowed it to become the first truly mass art; its popularity and portability not only attracted an audience of working-class patrons unable to afford other forms of commercial entertainment, but allowed it to spill across borders and create a new international audience. In the Japanese context, Aaron Gerow has also demonstrated how cinema was the focus of furious debate beginning in the early 1900s. Journalists, police, and educators discussed whether it was entertainment or an educational tool, whether it should be shown for profit or for the good of society, and what the place of the image should be in contemporary education. The Japanese definition of the cinematic, and local struggles over how to create new forms of social relations, subjectivities, identities, and cultures, revolved around this new "problem."[5]

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[3] A few examples are: Yuri Tsivian, *Early Cinema in Russia and its Cultural Reception*, trans. Alan Bodger, ed. Richard Taylor (New York: Routledge, 1994), Richard Able, *The Ciné Goes to Town: French Cinema, 1896-1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), Zhang Zhen, *An Amorous History of the Silver Screen: Shanghai Cinema, 1896-1937* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

[4] Miriam Hansen demonstrates that the use of the universal language metaphor intensified in the mid-1910s during the consolidation of what has become known as the classical Hollywood style. The "classical Hollywood style" refers to the replacement of the heterogeneous modes of address found in pre-Hollywood film with an institutionally codified system of representation directed toward a singular, ideal spectator. Moreover, for Hansen, the universal language metaphor ultimately served the economic ambition of Hollywood big business. "The universal language metaphor," she concludes, "in effect became a code word for broadening the mass cultural base of motion pictures in accordance with middle-class values and sensibilities." Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 77-78.

Rather than assuming cinema as a universal language, the scholarly interest in cinema's meaning and place in the society moves to examine a certain process of decoding cinema and its potentials, especially before affecting people on a mass scale. Scholarship has discussed how cinema was first seen as strikingly modern in its capability to transport people's imaginations and transform local identities. These attributes also materialized the conditions that (dis)enabled an increasing awareness of public space and its egalitarian meaning; the cinema could play a more assertive role in fostering group identities, while it often challenged the existing hierarchies of public space that segregated genders, classes, and ages.[6] And unlike the novel, the cinema was not premised on literacy; as popular entertainment, it was more accessible than literature. These cinema's potentials historicized the conditions in which government officers, policy-makers, film practitioners, and audiences debated the definition of cinema. These debates particularly revolved around such poles as education versus entertainment and propaganda versus pleasure.

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[5] Aaron Gerow, *Visions of Japanese Modernity: Articulations of Cinema, Nation, and Spectatorship 1895-1925* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 40-65.

[6] Scholars have written about the formation of the audience and theaters as public spaces in the different parts of the world in the early twentieth century. A nice overview of scholarship on this issue, see *Silent Cinema and the Politics of Space*, eds. Jennifer M. Bean, Laura Horak, Anupama Kapse (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014).

The debates on the question of what cinema does (and can do) also appeared in early twentieth-century Korea. By the 1920s, Koreans in large cities were increasingly exposed to a new cultural experience of modernity through the big screen—encountering a variety of narrative themes, filmic images, and the customs and manners of a disparate crew of fictional and nonfictional characters. In particular, Western films opened new windows onto the world, in many cases localized by a live narrator, called *pyon'sa*. Western entrepreneurs such as George R. Allen and J. H. Morris had participated actively since the early 1900s in the establishment of Korea's exhibition market by forming direct links with American studios such as Paramount and Universal. However, cinema as popular entertainment only really began to spread under colonial rule once the major Japanese film studios embarked on constructing and running new cinemas, in addition to American studios running new cinemas and setting up distribution deals with Japanese film studios such as Nikkatsu, Shochiku and Teikine.[7] Local newspapers, which were under the censorship and control of the Japanese colonial government, also played a key role in the spread of cinema culture, whether their readers ventured out to the cinema or not. They published articles about the film industry, providing background information about Western filmmaking and acting techniques. Responding to public interest in the industry, newspapers reported on backstage of studio production, such as how to build life-size studio sets, miniature models, and natural locations, as well as on European and American silent stars. [8]

As well as promoting local and foreign film culture, the editors of local newspapers continued to publish emotional reader responses to local film screenings and their potential harm to society. Even in the late 1910s, newspapers were still printing stories that moving pictures incited crimes in direct and indirect ways. One article summarizes it nicely: "Only in 1918, it has been reported that many legal cases occurred in theaters, including 37 pickpocketing, 1 theft, 110 sexual molestations, 2 enticements of illegal prostitution, 58disturbances, 8 cases of drunkenness, and 198 other cases of offences against public morality. Among them, 139 cases turn out to be inspired by moving pictures."[9] The reporter argues here that moving images were responsible for the increasing rate of crimes in Kyŏngsŏng. By giving a recent case of a young movie fan who stole money by imitating a movie character, the article claimed that moving pictures could be harmful to young people and that the colonial state should regulate movie theaters.

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[7] Gerow, *Japanese Modernity*, 41-50.

[8] Nikkatsu was the first studio to set up its branch office in 1918, followed by Shochiku in 1920, and Teikine in 1921. Michael Baskett, *The Attractive Empire: Transnational Film Culture in Imperial Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 21.

Based on this presumed link between film and urban crime, a few provinces began to enforce their own regulations with regard to the cinema. The earliest case appeared in January 1919 in South Pyongan province, where the provincial governor banned works that were feared to "induce the methods of crime," "threaten moral codes and customs," and "be seriously sarcastic about current affairs."[10] These guidelines, in addition to specifying health and safety requirements for the theater as in Japan, gave police the right to demand that men and women be seated in separate areas. Moving pictures were thus becoming subject to specific regulation by police—if only out of fear that movie theaters were dens of sexual vice and hotbeds of crime. For instance, Gyŏnggi province also issued its own Moving Picture Regulations in April 1923. Although its regulation emphasized that a permitted film could be banned, all that was required to receive permission to exhibit a film, according to Article 1, was to submit detailed information on the theater, screening times, the genres and narratives of the film, and the performers. These early regulations covered a range of performances, including moving pictures, theatrical performances, dance, singing, and attractions that were shown to the public. Similarly, most provinces continued to leave censorship up to the local police station. As a result, police and other officials looked on motion pictures as potential threats to society that required strict regulation.

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[9] "Hwaldongsajinkwa pomch'oe [Moving Picture and Crime]," *Maeilsinbo*, January 7, 1919.

[10] "Local Office Document: Government-General Report. No. 2861," February 28, 1922. Local regulations cited in this paragraph are reprinted in *Singminji Sidaeŭi Yŏnghwa Kŏmyŏl 1910-1934* [*Film Censorship in Colonial Period, 1930-1934*] (Seoul: Korean Film Archive, 2009), 56-70.

As a response to the increasing influence of cinema in society, the colonial government decided to centralize the procedure of censorship, giving the Book Department of the Police Bureau control over the press, records, and moving images. Effective 1926, the Motion Picture Film Censorship and Regulation Act (No. 59) mandated that copyrighters and exhibitors submit all films to a censorship board, which would determine whether the films could be screened in public. The 1926 Act regulated not only the film print but also the narrator's performance script; two copies of the script of each film and one print had to be lodged with the Book Department. Once films and scripts received the government's official permission, they could be screened up to three years from the approval date. The board of censors reserved the right to re-censor the film and script, or ban the exhibition of a film, even if the film passed censorship earlier.[11] The 1926 Act proved to be a means by which motion pictures assumed a prominent place in the public eye. Treating motion pictures as a special object in the eyes of the law, one requiring its own regulations, was an essential step in molding cinema into an important and unique object.

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[11] *Film Censorship in Colonial Period 1930-1934*, 127-130.

In practice, the 1926 Act was more or less an extension of previous regulations in the provinces, except for three significant articles. First, while previous local regulations were concerned exclusively with commercial film, the 1926 Act extended the scope of regulation to all types of moving picture that were screened in public. Any moving image, such as a short or newsreel, exhibited at schools, churches, city halls, or clubs was subject to censorship. Second, it mandated that anyone who would like to screen a film in public submit a film print and two copies of the script along with an application fee. Application fees varied depending on the subject of the film. All films submitted to the censorship board would be charged at a rate of five *sen* per three meters.[12] A set of particular short films, such as films on rituals, sports contests, or current affairs, could be submitted to the provincial governor or the local police chief instead; in this case, the censorship fee was one *sen* three meters. Lastly, it was now officially required that a police officer or censor be present in the place of exhibition. A police officer or censor could also inspect the performance's script anytime during the exhibition, in order to ensure that the censored version of film content was the version actually presented. In this light, although the 1926 Act represented the main attempt to standardize a censorship procedure, it still relied on the provincial governments and local police forces. While the colonial government published a bi-weekly censorship report disseminated to local offices to maintain a thorough standard of censorship, the practice of censorship was always completed by local police forces at the site where the film was screened.

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[12] I use *sen* to denote the currency used in colonial Korea, although most Korean sources use the term *chŏn*. Currency was issued by the Bank of Chōsen in *yen* denominations, while Korean people read the Chinese character as *wŏn.* 100 *sen* was equivalent to 1 *wŏn*. For instance, a silent feature film consisting of 5 reels was approximately 1,000 meters and was charged 5 *yen* as a censorship fee.

In his 1928 article, Kou Yasuhiko, a Book Department officer involved in making the 1926 code, discussed the power of moving pictures in Korea in two ways. On the one hand, its entertaining aspect was universal and responded to global audiences' need; cinema entertained all audiences without regard to gender, age, literacy, or class. Its affordability compared to other entertainments allowed moving pictures to quickly become very popular in Korea. On the other hand, moving pictures also "absorbed" the masses by presenting actual social affairs and spreading news to audiences more effectively than radio and newspapers. Based on the recent surge of moving pictures' popularity in Korea, he doubted whether the colonial government properly understood the power of cinema. Just as the Japanese government found educational potential for children in film, Yasuhiko suggested that colonial government should also use cinema more aggressively right away.[13]

Of course, Yasuhiko was not the only one who perceived the potential of moving pictures in Korea. A Police Department chief also noted in the report, "[The] moving picture is now more than entertainment in Korea; it has quickly become well-received by the Korean audience in theaters, and is even a useful tool for spreading government policy on education, hygiene, and industry." He warned, however, that moving images would become more widely used in the labor movement, public demonstrations, and other Korean political actions.[14] By the late 1920s, there were plentiful reports and advertisements showing how different social groups used moving pictures to their own ends. Student associations and women's clubs often provided moving image exhibitions as a way to support members' learning processes or to instruct them in new ideas and skills. These exhibition formats, in turn, often helped create an egalitarian space full of both potential and peril.

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[13] Kou, "P'illŭmkŏmyŏlchapkwan [A Few Thoughts on Film Censorship]," Originally published in *Chosŏn*, no. 124, February 1928 and reprinted in *Film Censorship in Colonial Period 1930-1934*, 307-313.

[14] "Hwaltongsajinp'illŭmgŏmnyŏlgaeyo [A Summary of Moving Picture Censorship, From August of 1926 to July of 1927]," Police Department, reprinted in *Film Censorship in Colonial Period 1930-1934*, 159-161.

This potential and peril were part of the particular environment of theatrical presentation at that time. Film as a "king of mass entertainment" often offered more than a screening of moving pictures. Back in late 1920s, moviegoers did not exhibit the rapt silence cultivated at today's multiplex. Conversation, dialogue, singing, and laughter animated the scene. When the projectionist changed reels, the audience chatted back and forth, and if a song was in the mix, everyone who knew the words joined in. What was happening in the seats was as significant as what was unfolding on the screen. Culture could be offered at prices cheap enough and in showings frequent enough to invite the participation of workers after the factory in the evening, middle-class women during the day, and students whenever school was not in session (and even when it was). The very architecture of film exhibition, at least in urban areas, meant that the upper classes would have to share space with the whistling, cheering, and chatting crowds. As soon as Korean-owned or -managed theaters appeared in the early 1920s that catered exclusively to Korean audiences, urban theaters in the Kyŏngsŏng area (which would later become Seoul), such as Tansŏng Theater and Chosŏn Theater, became most popular with Koreans.[15] Although the architectural form varied, the architecture of single-screen theaters—where these different populations could attend movies together—was intimately linked to the hopes and anxieties surrounding moviegoing as a democratizing experience. Movie theaters engendered community and conviviality, as the heterogeneous audiences often made a mess of traditional class, ethnic, and gender divisions. One report expresses the writer's excitement about moviegoing:

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[15] For example, see Lee Sangwoo, ed., *Wŏlgyŏnghanŭn kŭkchangdŭl: tongasia kŭndae kŭkchangkwa yesulsaŭi pyŏndong* [*Crossing the Borders of East Asian Theaters: The Change of Art History and the Modern Theaters in East Asia*] (Seoul: Somyŏng Ch'ulp'an, 2013).

> Around 9 p.m., varied audiences of all genders and ages fill the movie theater. Students, workers, white-collar workers, female entertainers (*kisaeng*), vagabonds, educators, the wealthy and the poor, all different classes of people are crowded. These moviegoers mostly came to have fun, to pleasurably mingle with people, and finally to escape from their dry daily lives and find more comfort.[16]

In addition, the movie theater was, at least up to a certain point, one of few legitimate egalitarian spaces under Japanese rule that served a place for various political and social activities. For instance, local entrepreneurs in Hamgyŏng Province built up a new kind of multi-purpose space called a "public hall," including Tongmyŏng Theater, Kongnakgwan, and Wŏnsan'gwan. From the late 1920s to the early 1930s, these theaters held many social and intellectual events that were organized by working-class and farmers' unions, youth groups, and student clubs.[17] Operated as a site of collectivity, these theaters offered a place where people came to gain a sense of other fellow Koreans and feel affinity with them, while their way of seeing and interpreting films was individual.

From the 1920s onward, the egalitarian potential of the physical space of theaters fascinated many Korean filmmakers, critics, and entrepreneurs. Once cinema became an object of state regulation through the 1926 Film Act, Korean critics and filmmakers participated in creating a critical discourse on the social impact of cinema, paying attention to public taste and the perception of Korean film. Although this discourse derived in part from the larger background of ongoing ideological conflicts among leftist critics, popular filmmakers, and elites, it also generated a keen attention to the frequent moviegoers of Korean cinema for the first time. Criticizing the popular Korean films and their makers, the Korean Artists Proletarian Federation

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[16] "Kŭkchange pami omyŏn [When the Night Comes in Theaters]," *Maeilsinbo,* April 4, 1930.

[17] Lee Seunghee, "Kŭntae mitiŏlosŏŭi kŭkchangkwa sikminchisitae munhak changŭi tonghak [Theater as Modern Media and Dynamics in the Field of Literature]," *Daedongmunhwayeon'gu,* no. 69 (2010): 219-259.

(KAPF), a group of leftist critics, argued in 1928 that these popular pictures were too “petty bourgeois,” alienating the audience from their reality, while mimicking American films.[18] In response to these criticisms, filmmakers such as Sim Hun and Yi P’iru first defended themselves, focusing on the hardship of film production, such as harsh censorship and a serious lack of financial and technical support.[19] These filmmakers also questioned what Korean audiences would expect to watch in theaters. Sim Hun asked:

> What kind of films do our people [*minjung*] truly want to see? In other words, why do all movie fans rush to theaters and pay for pricey tickets every night? We often use terms such as ‘masses,’ or ‘people’ in our writings, but they are too vague and broad. They refer to all people across gender and class. But it is essential to figure out who those film fans really are and where they belong in terms of their class background.[20]

Criticizing the critics and filmmakers, including himself, for their vague understanding of the audience coming to theaters, Sim pointed out that spectators were urbanites in large cities, not those living in small- or mid-size towns. In other words, Sim understood that the moviegoing experience was restricted to the “elites, petty bourgeois, and students.” Building upon this limited spectrum of the audience, he criticized the unrealistic claim of leftist critics, because no Korean theater was open to the “people” or “proletariat.” He wrote, “Film palaces are fully occupied by audiences that have nothing to do with the ‘people’ or ‘proletariat.’”[21] While Sim Hun valued leftist critics’ notion of film as an effective medium for ideological battles, he defined film as providing “comfort” for the audience in colonial Korea, where most moviegoers expected affordable entertainment from cinema. As a response to Sim’s critique, critic Im Hwa delimited the meaning of cinema to the Korean audience, asking “who is the content of film told for?” and “which class does film belong to?” Endorsing the possibility that film’s artistic value could awake the people’s consciousness in their daily life, Im argued that film should be a vehicle of the “proletariat”—the majority of the Korean population, according to Im Hwa—the largest portion of the Korean population—through which they could “oppose the dominant class.”[22]

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[18] Im Hwa, “Chosŏnnyŏnghwagakajin pandongjŏk soshiminsŏngŭi malsal [Erasure of Counteractive Petty-Bourgeosie in Korean Film],” *Chungoeilbo,* July 28, 1928.

[19] Sim Hun, “Uri minjungŭn ŏttŏn yŏnghwarŭl yoguhanŭn’garŭl nonhayŏ. mannyŏnsŏl kunege [What Kind of Films Do Our People Want to See: A Response to Mannyŏnsŏl],” *Chungoeilbo,* July 29, 1928.

[20] Sim, “What Kind of Films.”

[21] Sim, “What Kind of Films.”

These diverging definitions of film and its social impact reached their peak when *A Sequel of Arirang* was released in 1930. Na Unkyu, one of the most popular film stars, aimed to sweep the box office again with a sequel to his successful silent feature *Arirang* (1926). The sequel, however, faced harsh criticism. Leftist critics such as Sŏ Kwangche and Yun Kichŏng claimed that *A Sequel of Arirang* represented a world that was far from the “miserable conflicts in society,” while “poorly mimicking” American film.[23] To those who stressed the potential of film’s effect on working-class people and peasants, films such as *A Sequel of Arirang* were seen as simply luring people in with an unreasonable depiction of the “cheap” romance of the poor and young. Yi P’iru, in his defense of Na Unkyu, tackled “dogmatic theory and elitisms” of these critics, challenging their ignorance of how much the Korean audience loved Arirang and its sequel, which offered both comfort and entertainment.[24] Na Unkyu also noted: “We are making film not in Japan, but in Korea, where neither a full studio system nor [a full-fledged] film industry is yet shaped.”[25]

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[22] Im Hwa, “Chosŏnnyŏnghwagakajin pandongjŏk soshiminsŏngŭi malsal [Erasure of Counteractive Petty-Bourgeosie in Korean Film],” *Chungoeilbo,* August 4, 1928.

[23] Sŏ Kwangche, “Yŏnghwapip’yŏng alilanghupyŏn [Film Review: *Arirang Sequel*],” *Chosun Ilbo,* February 20-22, 1930; “Sinchosŏnyŏnghwa kŭp alilang p’yŏngŭi pip’yŏnge tapham [New Film Movement and Response to Criticism],” *Chosun Ilbo,* March 4-7, 1930; Yun Kichŏng, “Chosŏnyŏnghwaŭi chechak kyunghyang [A Tendency of Korean Film Production],” *Chungoeilbo*, serialized in May 7, 9, and 11, 1930.

These debates allow us to see how cinema was perceived, along with different understandings of both its spectators and society. On the one hand, critics and filmmakers agreed that cinema had a positive impact—whether the impact was bringing comfort to audience or awakening their social consciousness. Although the rhetoric of critics embodied elitism to a certain extent, the hope was that spectators would dutifully absorb beneficial or meaningful messages. On the other hand, cinema’s usefulness was predicated on a new vision of the theater-going public. Previous public discourse had focused more on the masses as relatively heterogeneous, and undefined, and as a little-understood form of collectivity. Lacking the coherence and familiarity of a traditional community, filmmakers and critics now encountered movie audiences, formed primarily of strangers defined by the terms of publicness. Moviegoers gathered at the motion picture shows as spectators, engaging in relatively anonymous, yet collective, acts of reception. Both critics and filmmakers understood the audience not as a mass but as a specific group of subjects that possessed its own taste.

During the silent era, from roughly the early 1900s to the early 1930s, filmmakers, critics, moviegoers, and state officials shaped film’s role and meaning by projecting a mixed vision of moving pictures, not only as art and mass entertainment, but also as a useful medium for specific ends, such as governance, education, or social movement. While centralizing the regulation of film, the colonial state also invested in film production as a way to strengthen the impact of colonial governance. Meanwhile, Korean filmmakers and critics saw cinema's various capacities in Korean society; the task was now to distill this egalitarian potential and capture it for public use. However, if they found film so important in offering an egalitarian space or enlightening the audience, why is it that many of the silent films had already been lost or abandoned to natural deterioration by the time of the 1938 film festival? None of the silent features was found until the discovery in 2008 of *Crossroad of Youth*, the 1934 silent film currently considered the country's oldest surviving feature. This scarcity of silent features continues to provide a challenge in studying 1920s and 1930s film culture. What would account for the disappearance of a large portion of the films that were made under Japanese rule? Did neither film studios nor theaters recognize that future opportunities for exploiting old films might lie beyond the movie theaters? If not, why?

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[24] Lee P’iru, “Yŏnghwagyerŭl Nonhanŭn Mangsangbaedŭrege–Chejakcharosŏŭi Irŏn [To Those Dreamers Talking About the Film Culture–A Suggestion from A Film Producer],” *Chungoeilbo,* March 24, 1930.

[25] Na Unkyu, “Hyŏnshirŭl Manggak’an Yŏnghwap’yŏngjadŭrege Tap’am [A Response to Unrealistic Critics],” *Chungoeilbo,* May 13, 1930.

Problems in the Film Infrastructure

Popular movies, such as *Hugo* (2011), show how old films were destroyed. In the earlier days, this destruction happened globally, and most producers could earn money by recycling old positive prints that were worn out or no longer needed. Producers and theater owners also depreciated films as assets within months of release. In addition, some producers considered the underlying negatives of their old films to be worthless, especially if the films lacked stars or production value. However, these facts do not necessarily mean that silent-era producers never valued their old films. As Caroline Frick says of the U.S. context: "Although apocryphal narratives of film preservation depict an easy villain in the studio decisions and policies that purposefully destroyed superfluous reels of film to reclaim silver before 1927, the full story of how many films remain from cinema's first decades is much more complicated and difficult to piece together."[26]

The explanation of how films were largely uncared for and eventually lost in the context of colonial Korea is quite complex, requiring us to consider the film business and its infrastructure, among other things. Three issues were most central in shaping the overall condition of Korea's film business. First, the lack of copyright protections, at least in practice, provided a fundamental challenge for most small film production companies. Second, the diversified and largely unorganized network of film distribution and exhibition posed significant difficulties for tracking down the number and route of circulated film prints. Lastly, the colonial state's reform of the extant film business toward the end of 1930s yielded a particular way of seeing film and its impact upon the populace, leading the film practitioners to exploit film prints.

First, an absence of copyright regulations marked the film industry during the colonial era. This does not mean that producers did not want any legal protection for their own films. The trouble was that nothing like a Motion Picture Copyright existed in practice. In theory, the right to make copies from a film negative was legally protectable under the Japanese Copyright Act, which was applied to Korea beginning in 1911.[27] Japan established its Copyright Act in 1899, following its participation in the Berne Convention, which mandated that all signatory countries recognize the copyright of works from other signatory countries as well as those of their own nationals. Until its revision in 1952, the Japanese Copyright Act provided legal protection of the author's rights for thirty years (Articles 3-5), and under the Copyright Act, copyright owners could also transfer or sell their rights to the work (Article 2). On paper, as for other mechanically reproduced works such as publication and music, film studios had ownership of the works their employees created, and subsequently, retained the exclusive rights to exploit those works for a potential thirty years.

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[26] Caroline Frick, *Saving Cinema: The Politics of Preservation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 64-65.

[27] "Meeting Note," A Record of the Privy Council of Japan, August 12, 1910, (Daejeon: National Archives of Korea).

But in reality, Korean creators and copyright holders did not receive legal protection, because without an official registration that would grant copyright protection to the author's work, no one could claim their rights in court. In order to register, producers were supposed to contact the local office, but producers were rarely informed about how to process the registration. Local police mostly took charge of copyright claims, as when the United Artists Office in Tokyo tried to file a lawsuit against distributors and theaters in Korea that exhibited unauthorized film prints of Buster Keaton. However, the Police Bureau failed to solve most cases and did not even provided the film industry with further information on how to claim the authors' rights against copying, stealing, or adaptation of their work.[28] While members of the film industry anticipated that the existing copyright policy would be revised and continued to participate in meetings with officials in the mid-1930s, they did not see any significant changes.[29]

In addition to the contradictory operation of the Copyright Act, the lack of integration in the film distribution network dramatically increased difficulties in tracking records of screenings across the peninsula. On the most fundamental level, in order to be shown to audiences, films needed to pass through the censorship process and then be circulated through local networks of distributors and exhibitors. The network was largely disorganized, and different actors worked through different protocols. The most widely accepted model in large cities such as Kyŏngsŏng and Pyongyang was direct distribution. Film studios rented their original or positive prints to theaters for a designated time, usually for a few days or a week. Compared to other models, this direct distribution was manageable for both ends in renting films, obtaining a chunk of the earnings, and maintaining a level of quality control in theatrical programs. But this model was limited to a handful of large theaters trusted by film studios, although it provided stability for the burgeoning film business and enabled the rapid expansion of movie theaters in the 1920s and 1930s. Licensee theaters could count on a dependable supply of one-reel films to fill their variety programs, which they changed daily and which generally consisted of three to four reels of different genres, interspersed with some song slides and live entertainment.

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[28] "Yŏnghwachŏchakkwŏnch'imhaekoso [Filing a Lawsuit for Claiming a Copyright of Film]," *Donga Ilbo*, March 11, 1927.

[29] "Yŏnghwapŏpchechŏngŭi yepilo yŏnghwachŏchakkwŏn kŏmt'o [Consideration of Film Copyright Prior to the Establishment of Film Law]," *Donga Ilbo*, September 17, 1937.

On the other hand, in small- and mid-size towns, screenings took place under a different distribution model and network, the mobile film unit (*sunŏp*). Different film practitioners were involved in the local networks, including film companies, independent exhibitors, theaters, and non-corporate organizations that operated their own mobile film units. After an initial release in major theaters in urban areas, film producers would then often travel with their own film prints. For instance, after his huge success with *Arirang* in Kyŏngsŏng, Na Unkyu took the film to the Southern provinces, exhibiting it in small and mid- size local theaters.[30] Film studios or theaters often rented the films to small-size exhibitors, who frequently booked mixed programs—mingling not simply genres (one comedy, one chase, one melodrama) but also ages (a new release, a one-month-old reel, and a film in release longer than thirty days). Im Suho was one of the well-known distributors who often exhibited a set of silent films, traveling the urban and the rural areas.[31] Theaters also operated their own units; most notably, Tansŏng Theater was popular for bringing Korean films to people in the countryside.[32]

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[30] "Ponpotokchautae: chosŏnk'inemasunŏppusŏ [For Readers Only: Chosŏn Kinema Company]," *Donga Ilbo,* November 9, 1927.

Under these varying forms of distribution, the power dynamics among producers, distributors, and exhibitors were far from balanced. The profits for film distributors frequently far outpaced those of films' producers, often resulting in producers going broke after their first feature productions. Distributors and exhibitors purchased prints directly from the producers, so once they had the right to circulate and show prints, they were able to operate profitably. To maximize profits, prints were shown until they literally fell apart or turned "rainy" (industry jargon for badly scratched films). Given the limited supplies of film stock, most film producers generated only film negatives. Even the few producers who could invest the significant money required to produce additional film negatives, did not do so. Exhibitors themselves often duplicated films that were already in circulation or purchased another exhibitor's old prints.

Under these circumstances, the film business was best for those exhibitors who owned large theaters, which could seat more than one hundred audience members and were able to offer the most popular and newest pictures with the best music. Small theaters, however, with their relatively small capacity and modest socio-economic demographics, found it difficult to afford the best feature films.[33] Their screening programs would include features from cheap suppliers or discount big distributors, especially films previously screened in the bigger theaters. To deal with the limited range of choices, some small theaters would show a star's old films, and would charge less money than the large theaters, and advertise old films as if they were new.

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[31] "P'ohangchikukŭi tokchawian sŏnghwang hwaltongsachin kit'alossŏ [For Readers in P'ohang: Moving Picture Screenings]," *Donga Ilbo*, April 18, 1928.

[32] "Chosŏnyŏnghwamanŭl kachiko taninŭn tansŏngsa chipang sunŏptae [Screening Exclusively Korean Films: Tansŏngsa Mobile Film Unit]," *Donga Ilbo*, October 27, 1930. A detailed account of Tansŏngsa and its film program, see, Lee Soonjin, *Chosŏninkŭkchang Tansŏngsa* [Korean-owned Theater, Tansŏngsa] (Seoul: Korean Film Archive, 2011).

[33] "Hwaltongsajini sŭk'ŭrine pich'igikkaji [The Backdrop of Screening Motion Pictures] 3," *Donga Ilbo*, December 6, 1929.

The overall infrastructure of distribution, built around the needs of the theaters and exchanges rather than the producers, limited the amount that any film could gross and the returns that producers would see. The general assumption within the film business was that films had a short life-span, and film studios or theaters instituted little rigor in keeping records of feature and short-subject films. Since exhibitors often held a popular film for only a few days and the print needed to be delivered to another nearby theater, the returns to producers were possible only if the distribution system permitted them. In theory, because they were able to control both copyrights and negatives, distributors and exhibitors could exploit films any way they chose.[34]

Therefore, it was necessary for producers to set up a new distribution system, one that enabled them to receive a greater share of revenue and exert more control over circulation. As one way to respond to producers' complaints and lessen the tension between distributors and exhibitors, the Government-General of Korea assembled forty-five existing distributors into the Korean Film Distributor Guild, which would presumably enable distributors to build a better network across the country and improve their relationship with both producers and theaters. However, the Guild, organized one month prior to the announcement of a new film policy in colonial Korea in 1934, did not function as it was expected to by members of film industry. It turned out to be a mere registration of these distributors to suit the government's own interest:

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[34] "Hwaltongsajini sŭk'ŭrine pich'igikkaji [The backdrop of Screening Motion Pictures] 1, *Donga Ilbo*, December 4, 1929.

promoting domestic—both Japanese and Korean—films over foreign ones, both American and European, at the box office.

The distribution network remained troubled, while in 1934 a new Act, the Regulation of Moving Picture and Its Performance (Act no. 82), transformed the film industry and market to a certain degree. The new policy mandated that all film exhibitors and theater owners report a monthly summary of box office proceeds to the provincial governor, including the profile of every exhibited film and its country of origin. In this way, the colonial government managed to watch over the imports of foreign film effectively. The 1934 Act detailed that each film theater should devote less than 75 percent of screenings to foreign films by the end of 1935; in 1936, it should be less than 66 percent; and after 1937, it should be less than 50 percent (Article 7). The 1934 regulation was successful in controlling the import and exhibition of foreign films while increasing the quota of domestic films, including both Japanese and Korean films. At the time, equally important was the new regulation's promotion of non-fictional cinema, including short-subject and documentary. In particular, non-fictional cinema was defined as films that served the purpose of "social instruction" specifically by deploying "civil affairs, scholarly research, and industrial development" and were pre-approved by the Government-General of Korea.[35] The new regulation allowed any non-fiction film approved by the government to be shown anywhere at any time.

In sum, unlike the 1926 Act, the 1934 Act gave the government a strong authority to control the film business, which optimized one of the existing values of film: an effective medium of instruction. As Lee Hwajin claims, the 1934 regulation represents the state's reprioritizing of what should be delivered to local audiences rather than controlling the content of film through censorship.[36] It preceded a dramatic shift of Japanese film policy that followed the China Incident in July 1937; at the time, the Japanese government ensured that the war reached into the daily lives of citizens everywhere in the territories by increasingly controlling behavior and drawing on young men for cannon fodder. Simultaneously, the government placed elaborate restrictions on filmmaking, ranging from intricate censorship mechanisms to "nationalizing" entire sectors of the industry, which soon overshadowed the Korean film industry.

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[35] *Film Censorship in Colonial Period 1930-1934*, 155-160.

At the Threshold of War: The Past That Has to Be Remembered

From the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Korean filmmakers envisioned both the possibilities and the constraints of the local film industry. Sensitive to news from the Japanese film industry and facing the implementation of the new film law, Korean filmmakers anticipated that changes would lead to growth for their business: the Korean film market reached a wider population than other territories of the Japanese Empire.[37] At the same time, film studios struggled with financial problems, as talkie films had increased production costs that they did not earn back.[38] Beginning with the success of the first Korean talkie film, *A Tale of Chunhyang*

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[36] Lee Hwajin makes an important point: the 1934 Act was related to national film policy in the metropole in the early 1930s, although it was designed particularly for the film market in colonial Korea, not derivative from Japanese film policy. Lee Hwajin, "Tu chekuk sai p'illŭm chŏnchaengŭi chŏnya: ilponŭi yŏnghwa chekuk kihoekkwa sikminchi chosŏnŭi sŭk'ŭlink'wŏt'ŏche [A Night Before the Film War Between Two Empires: Japan's Film Empire Plan and Screen Quota in Colonial Korea]," *Sai*, no. 15 (2013): 47-83.

[37] For a few recent works, see the special issue of *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review,* no. 5, (2012), edited by Takashi Fujitani and Aimee Kwon; Yi Yŏngjae, *Korean Cinema of Japanese Empire*; KOFA ed. *Koryŏ Film Company.*

[38] For instance, the number of moviegoers exceeded five million in 1930, when the talkie film began to screen in theaters; in a 1935 survey, one third of the Korean population went to movie theaters from time to time. "Chosŏnyŏnghwap'aenŭi chŭngka: chŏnchosŏn inkuŭi sampunŭi ilŭn yŏnghwalŭl ponta," *Chosŏnyŏnghwa,* no. 1, October, 1936, 156.

(*Chunhyangchŏn,* 1935), producers believed that talkie films would be a new goldmine.[39] Meanwhile, distributors and exhibitors were not entirely optimistic about the future of Korean talkies, because Korean audiences were already too fond of "well-made Western films," and the government's regulation of foreign film would not be able to "fix the taste of people."[40] On top of these issues, what appeared to be most frustrating for the members of the film industry was the death of Na Unkyu in 1937.[41] Due to his widespread popularity in Korea, his death meant more than the loss of one talented film star, even though his later films were not received as well as his earlier great hits, such as *Arirang* (1926) and *Field Mouse* (1927).

These circumstances, in turn, led members of the film industry to be more conscious about how they authorized their past as the history of Korean cinema, culminating in the organization of the Korean film festival in 1938. Prior to the drastic reform of the film business under the state at the height of the Pacific War, the film festival sought to shift the cultural and social value of Korean film from ephemeral entertainment to enduring cultural monument. It did so by historicizing a chronological narrative of the previous two decades of the Korean film industry and inviting ordinary audiences to construct this narrative and canon of Korean cinema.

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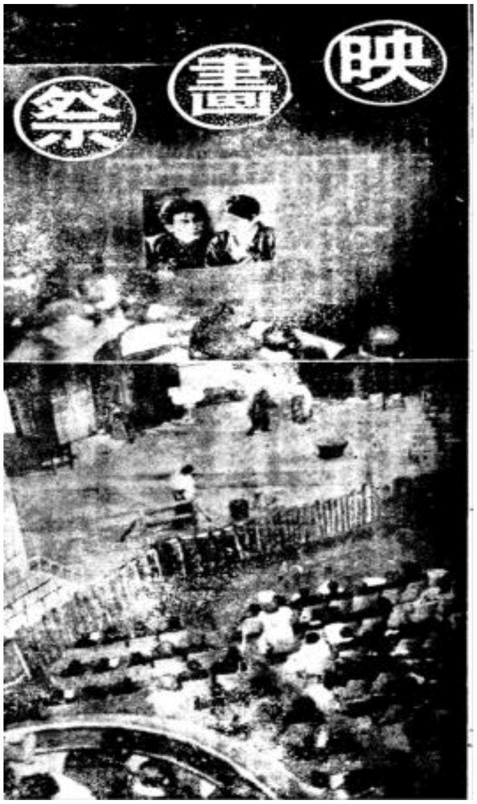
[39] For a thorough discussion of the transitional period of the sound film in Korea, see Lee Hwajin, *Chosŏnyŏnghwa, Soriŭi toipesŏ ch'inil yŏnghwakkaji* [*Korean Cinema: From Adaption of Sound Technology to Pro-Japanese Film*], (Seoul: Ch'aeksesang, 2005).

[40] *Chosŏnyŏnghwa,* 156.

[41] Film personnel paid a tribute to Na Unkyu through newspapers and magazines. For example, see, Sŏ Kwangche, "Ko Na Unkyussiŭi saengaewa yesul [The Late Na Unkyu's Life and Art]," *Chokwang*, no. 24, October 1937; Kim T'aechin, "Yŏnghwakyeŭi p'unguna ko Na Unkyulŭl nonham [On Na Unkyu: A Vagabond of Film Business]," *Donga Ilbo*, August 10-11, 1939; Yun Pongch'un, "NaUnkyuiltaeki [A Life of Na Unkyu]," *Yŏnghwayŏnkŭk,* no. 1, November 1939.

Figure 1.1: A festival image published in *Chosun Ilbo*, November 27, 1938.



Members of the film industry anticipated that the film festival would be a "good opportunity for historical investigation" to trace the past in "blood and tears through the sacrifices and dedication of a few film pioneers."[42] They developed both a particular form of film history and a particular historical content in order to record the earlier moments of the local film industry. This process shows how festival organizers created their own narrative, how it was necessary for them to become storytellers, and in what language they made this narrative tangible and visible. Of particular interest are the examples of two newspaper features titled "Romance Hidden in Great Movies" and "A Biography of the Film Festival," specifically written for the purpose of telling the history of Korean cinema. During the two weeks prior to the festival, these serialized features crafted a chronological, anecdotal history of the previous two decades.

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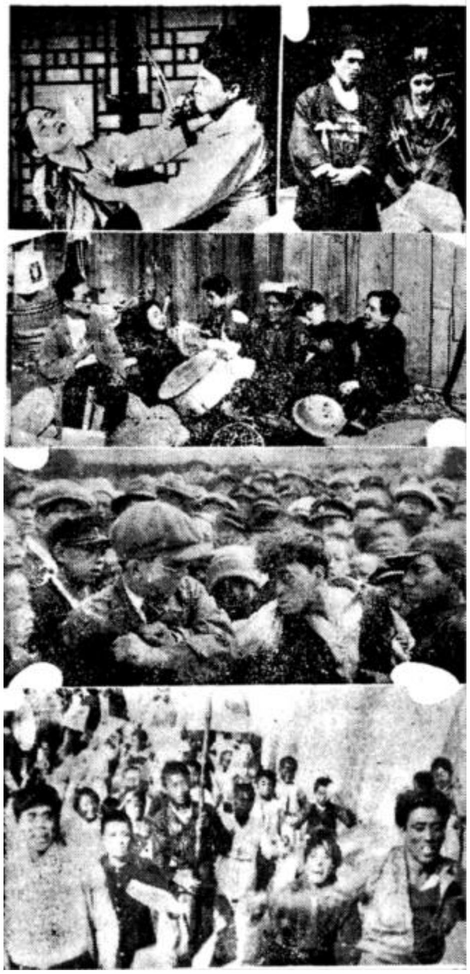
[42] "Yŏnghwachechunp'i [Our Preparations for the Film Festival]," *Chosun Ilbo*, November 10, 1938.

Figure 1.2: A tribute page for Na Unkyu (1902-1937), director of *Arirang* (1926)
"Those friends who passed away are still with us in spirit," in *Chosun Ilbo,* November 16, 1938.



The writers of "Romance Hidden in Great Movies" carefully assembled the stories of every well-known silent and talkie film, interweaving captivating anecdotal moments of filmmaking into the larger context of the uneven development of cinema in Korea. For instance, describing what happened in the shooting of a crowd scene of *Arirang* (1926), the writer looked back on the tough—yet hilarious—moment in production when all of the extras in the scene got drunk in order to brave the cold. One writer says that, although the final scene did not depict this moment, it still lingered in the memories of those who had participated in the production. In the serialized column, the writer incorporates all those moments from the past into the present not simply by recalling the memory as abstract, but also by rather engagingly capturing and reactivating what had happened. By identifying what happened while shooting or screening films, the writer took those anecdotes as both the raw material of memory and the cultural product. The historical accounts crafted through the film festival in this way operated as retrospectives that were based upon the "collective memory" of Korean film personnel. Here it is useful to consider the construction and function of collective memory. While early writers on in the social role of memory—Henri Bergson, for example—regarded it as the genuine, organic recollection of those who had experienced a common past, the scholar Maurice Halbwachs was concerned with the constructedness of collective memory and its orientation toward the present rather than the past. He viewed collective memory as an "instrument of reconfiguration" of the past rather than some sort of retrieval.[43] To explain the function of collective memory, Halbwachs drew on the social theory of Emile Durkheim, proposing that the constructed memory of the past provided a tool for integrating the various parts of society into a coherent whole.

The other newspaper feature, "A Biography of the Film Festival," brings together a chronological form of written history, which demonstrates the self-narrative of the Korean film industry. The author, An Chonghwa (1902–1966), does not demonstrate an elaborated conceptualization of history in comparison with his contemporary, critic Im Hwa, whose historiography a few years later was more broadly situated.[44] Here, An Chonghwa traces the footsteps of Korean cinema, as other kinds of accounts did, by bringing together the beginning of Korean cinema, the challenges it faced, and its developments, while developing an intimacy with and affection toward the past of Korean film. Calling colonial film history "tear-shaped," he demands that moviegoers acknowledge the pioneers' hard work, because, according to him, "without their vigorous efforts, it would not be possible for us to look back on twenty years of history."[45] In his view, the struggles and difficulties of the film industry need to be remembered by honoring the members of the film industry and their films, because otherwise these memories would remain unfamiliar to the general public. Serving as a representative of Korean film personnel here, he himself does not describe a teleological account of Korean history in general; his attempt stops at expressing both sorrow and gratitude toward the pioneers of the film industry and his fellow filmmakers.

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[43] Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, trans. Francis J Ditter and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper and Row), 33.

One might claim that An's writing is an initial form of history that has been reiterated throughout many versions of Korean cinema history for many decades, in that history-writing resurrected and authorized both what happened and that which is said to have happened in the past.[46] However, what distinguishes An's account from other writings is his relation to the different temporalities. What is at stake is a certain way of telling the story about the past and present, and more importantly, how and to what extent the form and narrative of film history signaled the very conditions of colonial politics. An's story does not culminate in a celebration of the growth and success of Korean film. The article is subtler since, unlike a usual teleological history, An neither begins from the desire to simply salute the present moment, nor does he celebrate the present moment by acknowledging its evolutionary indispensability to a future teleological moment. Instead, his language is intimately connected to the object of his writing when it comes to laying out his deep affection for those who ventured into the unstable territory of Korean cinema for the previous two decades. "While one might underestimate the full dedication of the pioneers, I tip my hat to their hard work with a tearful eye. Those friends who passed away are still with us in spirit," An writes.[47]

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[44] Im Hwa aimed to move beyond the typical chronological and anecdotal historiography that dominated the film scene until the early 1940s. In creating a new form and content of historiography, he pushed the idea of industrialization and anesthetization of Korean cinema under the Japanese imperial canopy from the vantage point of materialism. His writing also attempted to find a proper and prospective position for Korean cinema within a broader map of the Greater East-Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. Im Hwa, "Chosŏnyŏnghwapaltalsosa [A Short History of Korean Film's Development]," *Samcholli*, June 1941.

[45] An Chonghwa, "Yŏnghwachechŏnki: Isibnyŏnkot'uŭi hyŏngkŭgro (1) [A Biography of the Film Festival: A Thorny Path in Twenty Years (1)]," *Chosun Ilbo*, November 20, 1938.

[46] History-writing as commemoration appeared in every decade, particularly in the form of celebrations of the anniversary of Korean cinema along the line of various national ceremonies. For instance, the 30th anniversary of

Beyond his desire to tell the past in a particular way, what remains unclear is how the future would follow from all of the past and present moments he discusses.[48] While hoping for a better future, An could have marked every cornerstone of Korean cinema, making each stage visible, from the "advent" of cinema in Korea to the very first production of Korean film to the development of the Korean talkie. Instead, having witnessed the epoch of hardship and struggle within the film industry, he does not respond to a potential future moment in Korean film history.

Korean cinema followed the establishment of the Republic of Korea in 1948; in 1964, public media widely celebrated the 20th anniversary of "national liberation" with a few events such as film screenings and special reports on liberation and film history in newspapers and journals. Those renderings of history overlapped with An Chonghwa's writing to a great degree. As I will discuss in Chapter 4, even An repeated himself in his book on Korean film history published in 1962, which initially aimed to celebrate the 40th anniversary of Korean cinema.

[47] "A Biography."

[48] Janet Poole provides an important discussion on the literary production in the late colonial Korea in terms of the writers' representation of the disrupted temporality "with no promise of a future." See Janet Poole, *When the Future Disappears: The Modernist Imagination in Late Colonial Korea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

At the beginning of the war, it was hard for people in the film business to anticipate what would happen even in the near future, although we now know that the Korean nation had a future beyond the colonial period. This is the point where An stops moving forward; he is not able to project a future either for himself or his readers beyond their present, nor indeed beyond any given present. An simply acts as a witness to the conditions of his epoch; he places far more weight on these past conditions than on his own existence at the present moment. His language engages heavily with narrating the obstacles that Korean film had gone through, while it is extremely cautious when it comes to the conditions of film making such as unstable film policy and censorship under Japanese rule.[49]

This caution, or the lack of teleology, is precisely where colonial history-writing could diverge from, and perhaps be incompatible with, imperial history-writing. Eric Cazdyn nicely argues that a teleological historiography is associated with "the logic of colonialism" in the context of the Japanese empire; the impetus for telling a story about the film's past within a linear timeline in a way that could be "heralded as a story of success, progress, and natural development" is consistent with the ideological story of the nation. In his reading of particular historiographies written in the metropole, Cazdyn reveals how those texts represent Japan as the "telos": "not only the point to which everything points, but also the point from which everything is set in motion" as "the colonial center of Asia."[50] This critical interrogation is useful in finding an intrinsic logic that might be shared by a teleological history-writing and the logic of colonialism. However, it is important not only to inquire into the relation between the form and the content of historical discourse, but also to understand how different stories organize the relation between past, present, and future differently. While historiographies of Empire, written from within the temporality of the nation's anticipation of sovereignty, had a clearly conceived standpoint from which to imagine what was coming next, An was writing from a different position as the colonized, and therefore never retained a similar standpoint. For example, the contemporary history of cinema in the metropole was written from the point of view that consolidating the colonial film industries into a larger, government-sanctioned institution was absolutely essential, as the colony was a constituent of the imperial territory. From An's angle (and that of the festival organizers), the historical narrative of colonial cinema does not possess a positionality that takes Korea and its sovereignty for granted. Instead, the history represented through the festival creates a sense of intimacy with the past—a past that was embedded in the present and represented constraints more than potential when looking for the future.

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[49] Other festival organizers also acknowledged to a certain extent that it was impossible to anticipate any kind of future action without the colonial state's "moral support," "financial investment," and "proper equipment and skills." To them, the lack of systematic support for Korean film production was the biggest source of frustration, and it had weakened the potential growth of the colonial film industry. "Yŏnghwache kaech'oeŭi ŭiŭi [A Significance of the Film Festival]," *Chosun Ilbo*, November 10, 1938.

[50] Eric Cazdyn, *The Flash of Capital: Film and Geopolitics in Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 61. To reveal how imperial Japan imagined its own history of film and positioned itself as a center of Asia, Cazdyn offers an interesting analysis of the form of histories of Japanese film, such as *Eiga to shihon-shugi* (*Film and Capitalism*, 1931) by Iwasaki Akira and *Nihon eiga-shi* (*Japanese Film History*, 1941) by the Shinko Film

In addition to placing Korean cinema under Japanese rule as an intimate object, what strengthened the creation of collective memory was the integration of audience participation into the act of commemoration. For instance, organizers invited audiences to assist in the selection of films played during the festival. Moviegoers were encouraged to participate in a poll of the best Korean films, with the top three films in each of the silent and talkie categories to be screened.

Corporation and Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Although Iwasaki Akira's book came out earlier than *Nihon eiga-shi*, his account was developed to a certain extent by his yearning for a strong, powerful empire of cinema. Cazdyn did not mention it in his book, but Ichigawa Sai also generated a critical example of history-writing at the same time, drawing a blueprint of empire of cinema predicated on the idea of the Greater East-Asian Sphere, which would eventually counter European and American cinema. For Ichigawa Sai and his blueprint of the empire of cinema, see Markus Nornes, "The Creation and Construction of Asian Cinema Redux," *Film History: An International Journal* 25, no.1 (2013): 175-187.

While a number of older silent films were excluded from the list because of their loss or deterioration, Koreans were excited about the creation of their own cultural venue and also the chance to watch older films that were no longer available in theaters.[51]

The participatory mode can be also found in the ways the organizers designed their exhibit on the history of cinema. To meet the demand of locating necessary materials within a historical narrative to be presented in the exhibition room, they called on audiences to collect film posters, stills, and any miscellaneous materials on the Korean film. This collection turned out to be a success, and organizers expressed their gratitude to those "nationwide supporters," who "painstakingly submitted all pieces for the exhibition."[52] With bountiful materials from movie fans across the country, the organizers reported that the exhibit succeeded in showing the past of Korean cinema and in offering some historicity to both members of the film industry and movie fans.[53]

Taken together, writings, screenings, and the exhibit played a significant role in rendering cinema as a historical artifact, one that could be remembered after its short commercial life. The film festival stands as the very first juncture in Korea that endorsed cinema's virtue differently by claiming its historical value, bringing forgotten and soon-to-be-forgotten films to the audience. On one conceptual level, the festival organizers developed an intimate relation between the source and historical-writing practice by acknowledging in the process of representing a history of cinema that raw materials did not simply exist; instead, organizers needed to locate, capture, and engage with materials. Writers' and organizers' encounters with the paucity of films and relevant materials initiated a moment of recognition that anchored them to materials. Beyond the question of whether the loss would initiate future action for conservation or not, the festival was an outcome of its participants' intimacy with the past reflected in the films.

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[51] "P'aeneke kuhanŭn yŏnghwache [Calling Movie Fans]," *Chosun Ilbo*, November 11, 1938.

[52] "Chŏnchosŏnchŏkinkichipchungŭi che1hoe yŏnghwache [First Film Festival in Demand]," *Chosun Ilbo,* November 15, 1938.

[53] "Yŏnghwache che2il inkinŭn chŏlchŏnge [Film Festival at the Peak]," *Chosun Ilbo,* November 28, 1938.

On another level, examining the festival allows us to consider once again the Korean network of distribution and exhibition. In the festival, the theatrical presentation of old films took the form of revivals initiated by the exhibitor: an exhibitor usually contacted film studios and distributors and inquired whether they still possessed a print of a particular old film, and the festival organizers did just that. The most popular silent and talkie features were available to be shown at that time, except for those on the list of "lost films," while film prints were circulated through the troubled network of distribution and exhibition. Then, what happened to these available films in following years? And what could account for the greater loss of the films made in the wartime, which have mostly been located, as noted in the Introduction, in national archives outside the peninsula?

Cinema in the Wartime Period and After

Soon after the festival, the Korean film business began gradually merging into the Japanese film industry. Longstanding arguments about the deficiencies of Korean film, put forward by Japanese elites and colonial officials, laid the foundation for government-led structural reform of the film business in Korea, which reduced the number of film studios from eight to one between 1940 and 1941. Wartime censor Shimizu Shōzo noted that the Pacific War provided "a decisive chance" for the Korean film industry to shift its direction toward "nationalizing" cinema, promising a chance of improvement in the quality of films and infrastructure alike.[54] With the implementation of the Regulations of Film Ordinance in August 1940, the governments in Japan and Korea together formed the Association of Chosŏn Film Producers—which included the organizers of the 1938 film festival—under the supervision of governmental officials. Likewise, in May 1941 they merged all existing distributors under one umbrella, the Chosŏn Film Distribution Agency, which was placed in charge of nation-wide distribution of short-subject and feature films beginning in 1942. "A singular, powerful organization" was needed in order to "maximize the power of enlightenment and propaganda in cinema."[55] The new distribution agency took charge of improving mobile exhibitions in small- and mid-size towns in rural areas, establishing a nurturing entertainment, and supporting the governance of local offices and public organizations in attempts to operate mobile film units. The governments' intention was to reorganize the film business in Korea so that it could be quickly adapted to the new ecology of the film industry and aid the governments' mobilization of the entire population in the Japanese territories—cinema as an effective and useful medium in transforming Koreans into loyal imperial citizens.

What followed the reform of the local production was its complete dissolution into a single imperial institution, the Chosŏn Film Production Company, in 1942. The new institution, consisted of film specialists in both Japan and Korea and set policies that applied to both territories, aiming to provide a more stable and more regulatory system given the medium's importance in wartime. Soon after the birth of the new institution, in January 1943, the Home

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[54] Takashima Kinji, *Chōsen Eiga Tōseishi* [*A History of Regulation of Korean Cinema*]. Originally published by Chōsen Eiga Bunka Kenkyūjo, 1943, republished in the series of Nihon Eigaron Gensetsu Taikei: Senjika no eiga tōseiki, no. 9 (Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 2003), 327.

[55] *A History of Regulation of Korean Cinema*, 320.

Ministry announced a general reduction in the number of films each company in Japan and Korea would be allowed to make. For the Chosŏn Film Production Company, the number of feature films diminished from 6 to 4 and cultural films (a categorized genre of film that attempts to instruct the audience a wide range of themes) from 5 to 4, while the number of newsreels remained as same as before, 12. With the decrease in the number of new productions, how was the Company to meet the overwhelming demand for film prints in theaters and mobile exhibitions at the height of the war?

In the process of establishing a single film production and distribution agency, policy-makers and critics were often concerned about the existing gaps in theatrical infrastructure between urban and rural areas. Takashima Kinji, a member of the Executive Committee of the Chosŏn Film Production Company, reports that there were about 140 commercial theaters in Korea in 1941 and film audiences numbered merely 20 million, while over two thousand theaters existed in Japan.[56] Due to the lower number of theaters in Korea, the Information Bureau in Japan centralized the distribution network, and established a special organization under the Government-General in order to maximize the operation of mobile film units nationwide. The newly decreased number of film prints was not perceived as an obstacle. Rather, it provided more intense exploitation of existing film prints. With the cut-off of the raw film stock provided to Korea, the Chosŏn Film Distribution Agency noted that a film print could be screened up to 600 times; 500 screenings at commercial theaters, 50 at mobile units, and another 50 rentals for non-commercial organizations.[57] It is difficult to find the total number of nationwide screenings, but the operation of the Chosŏn Film Distribution Agency's own mobile film unit hints that each film print was screened nearly three hundred times per month (See Table 1). Moreover, the number of screening in the table does not count numerous screenings of short-subjects and cultural films in military camps and war fronts.

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[56] *A History of Regulation of Korean Cinema*, 267-268.

[57] "An Overview of the Chosŏn Film Production Company," *Eiga Junpo* (July 11, 1943): 34; cited from *Ilbonŏ chapchiropon Chosŏn yŏnghwa* vol. 4, ed. Korean Film Archive (Korean Film Archive, 2013), 144.

Table 1: An Example of the Chosŏn Film Distribution Agency's Mobile Unit Activity

Screening Days (per film)		Numbers of Screenings		Number of Viewers	
December, 1942	206	December, 1942	224	December, 1942	152,209
January, 1943	264	January, 1943	287	January, 1943	164,003
February, 1943	246	February, 1943	298	February, 1943	221,182
March, 1943	275	March, 1943	300	March, 1943	270,263
Total	991	Total	1,109	Total	807,657

With the curtailment of the raw film stock offered to the Korean film industry in January 1943, studios were allowed to generate up to 5 screening prints per feature or cultural film, and 6 film prints per newsreel. These limited numbers of film prints catered to audiences in theaters, exhibition spaces, and outdoor screenings across the nation until the end of War. It should be noted that the Table 1 only includes the number of screenings that took place outside commercial theaters, which were the most popular exhibition space in most urban areas. If we include all possible exhibition spaces, we can imagine a large number of screenings within the given maximum number of screening up to 600 times; each print was used to the point of physical deterioration. Considering that only five prints were made for each film and all of them were distributed immediately, there would be no prints left in a few months. If the governments and the Chosŏn Film Distribution Agency planned to keep films, then they would make more prints and store some at the point when prints were used up and literally torn out.

This excessive use of each film print tells us that the government prioritized film's immediate political effect; it indicates that they did not recognize, or even consider, that opportunities for exploiting old films might lie beyond the wartime period. Needless to say, the overuse of individual prints has to do with their utilitarian approach to film's role as a tool of enlightenment and political mobilization. Although a general ambivalence about film as a "weapon" of war seemed to have been spreading through government circles since the mid-point of the Pacific War, policy-makers and practitioners still claimed that motion pictures were a powerful tool of propaganda as well as a vital component of national repositories. Moreover, on February 28, 1944, the promulgation of new "Decisive War Emergency Measures" significantly confined the role of cinema to the State's service. Following that, the existing Company was soon reorganized into the Chosŏn Film Company [*Chosen Eigasha*] in April 1944 under the Home Ministry and Information Bureau's control.[58] Effective until the end of the Pacific War, the Chosŏn Film Company monopolized the network so as to extend the power of cinema to those in rural areas in cultivating the total war spirit and establishing wholesome entertainment in those areas.

Since a single state institution controlled the entire process of film production and distribution, one might assume that films made during the late wartime, from 1943 to 1945, would have a better chance of survival than those made before. This turns out to be partly true, because some of those films made in major studios, such as Toho and Shochiku, happened to survive, and they were discovered in film vaults in different locations. For instance, in 1989, a Korean senior film technician, Im Pyŏngho, found three co-produced films after his long search for wartime films in Japan. Of eight wartime features, three films—*Portrait of Youth* (Toyota

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[58] *A History of Regulation of Korean Cinema*, 267-268.

Shiro, 1943), *Suicide Squad of the Watchtower* (Imai Tadashi, 1943), and *Vow of Love* (Choi Inkyu, 1945)—had been held in Toho's film vault up to that point.

In 2004 and 2005, a handful of wartime films were also discovered in various locations within the postcolonial borders of the former imperial formation of Japan. The Korean Film Archive found four of the films in the China Film Archive, presumably collected from the previous vault of the Manchukuo Film Association, which dissolved into the Chinese Film Archive with the collapse of the Japanese Empire in 1945. Several others were found in the National Film Foundation of the Russian Federation. These wartime features, such as *Military Train* (1938), *Fisherman's Fire* (1939), *Volunteer* (1941), and *Homeless Angels* (1941), were considered to be the Archive's first pre-liberation holdings at that time. In the following years, two additional wartime features were found and added to the collection of the Korean Film Archive. Believed to be lost for a long time, *Straits of Chosŏn* (1943) and *Dear Soldier* (1944) were rediscovered in the China Film Archive in 2006 and 2009 respectively.

The fact that every acquisition of Korean wartime films has been located within the former Japanese empire might be quite self-explanatory. With the diverse formats of travel circuits—both theatrical distributions and mobile film units—throughout the territories of the wartime Japanese Empire, it makes sense that the films were rediscovered in the former territories and borders of the Japanese Empire. Particularly during the Pacific War, features and shorts were brought to the colonial audience not only in the centers of each colonial state but also in the peripheries and hinterlands in Manchukuo, Japan, Taiwan, and the Pacific Islands. Still, one may wonder why none of these wartime films have been found within the Korean peninsula, given that the largest number of prints was circulated through the local distribution network and screened across colonial Korea, where most of the Korean population resided. The extraterritorial discovery asks us to consider another possible factor that could have lowered the chance of survival of pre-1945 Korean films within the peninsula, which requires us to look deeper into the years following the end of Japanese imperialism in August 1945.

In the months following "liberation" in August 1945, the members of the film industry aggressively planned the new direction of Korean cinema, with an emphasis on building a "national" film industry even while demanding a fresh start.[59] Many of them were significantly imbued with sympathetic affection toward the past; as well-known writer An Sŏkchu (1901–1950) claimed, thanks to the pioneering efforts and passions of the early generation of filmmakers, film culture should now turn toward making a "new national culture."[60] Meanwhile, a few leftist critics and film crews contended that self-critique had to precede a fresh start for the film industry, calling for the expulsion of "pro-Japanese" critics and crews.[61] Yet with the moral agility typical of the critics and film professionals who had collaborated with the wartime propaganda, they instantly switched sides and began thinking up projects in tune with the coming era of democracy. With strong sympathy for the filmmakers "forced to make filthy propaganda films" under Japanese imperialism, most writers emphasized that the moment of "national independence" now invigorated all Koreans to establish a "genuine national culture" and

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[59] An Chonghwa was one of the active members of The Headquarters of Construction for Korean Cinema (*Chosŏn yŏnghwa kŏnsŏl p'onbu*), initiated several days after Japan's surrender.

[60] Notable examples are: An Sŏkchu, "Yŏnghwanŭn minjokkwa hamkke [Cinema, Being with Nation]," *Chungangsinmun*, January 21-23, 1946; Sŏ Kwangche, "Kŏngugkwa chosŏnyŏnghwa [Nation-Building and Korean Cinema]," *Seoulsinmun*, May 26, 1946.

[61] As for the leftist discourse on self-criticism, or "declarations of conscience," that appeared in a variety of publications after 1945, see Henry Em, *The Great Enterprise: Sovereignty and Historiography in Modern Korea* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 138-149.

"democratic culture" while immediately moving away from both their individual and collective past.[62]

As Theodore Hughes demonstrates, this postcolonial reaction to the Japanese colonial past was aligned with a "selective remembering of the colonial."[63] Such selective memory took place particularly through the vindication or silencing of the colonial past that was presented by the films themselves. Because film was regarded as a crucial medium to persuade the people to participate in nation building, a particular group of films was exposed to harsh criticism. While virtually none of the members of the film industry could be entirely free from collaboration, at least to some degree, they kept a clear distance from wartime films. Sŏ Kwangche, An Chŏlyŏng, Kim Chŏnghyŏk, and others confessed their own participation in wartime film production, justifying its inevitability due to the imperial power's violence, while excluding wartime films—even their own films—from the historical accounts they published in newspapers and magazines. An Chŏlyŏng, for example, called wartime film a "child out of wedlock" that did not properly depict the suffering and daily struggles of ordinary people during the war.[64] In another column, Kim Chŏnghyŏk claimed that "every single film made in Korea is precious only if we would remove the latest several films [made under a close tie with Japanese rule]."[65]

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[62] An Sŏkchu, "Yŏnghwanŭn minjokkwa hamke [Cinema is with Nation]," *Chungangsinmun*, January 21, 1946.

[63] Hughes, *Literature and Film in Cold War South Korea*, 17.

[64] An Chŏlyŏng, "Chosŏnyŏnghwa samsipnyŏnŭl hoegohamyŏ [Looking Back upon Korean Cinema in Thirty Years]," *Seoulsinmun*, May 26, 1946.

[65] Kim Chŏnghyŏk, "Myŏngch'ak chuŏk: Arirang yurang tŭngdŭng [Memories of Masterpiece: *Arirang, Yurang*, etc.]," *Seoulsinmun*, May 26, 1946.

What most fueled debate on wartime films and their position within the “liberation” of Korea was revivals of wartime films, especially those that were deliberately reedited for theatrical presentation. Revivals of films made during the wartime occurred sporadically in theaters in 1946, and they became quite acceptable as theaters ran out of film prints for screening in the aftermath of the War. However, revivals of wartime films were less acceptable. The most notable case happened in March 1946, when a few theaters in Seoul exhibited *Military Train* (*Kunyon yŏlcha*, 1938) with a different title, *The Young in the Setting Sun* (*Nakyangŭi cholmŭni*). Theater owners assumed that audiences would not recognize it as *Military Train*, but it was soon caught by a few audience members who had seen the film before. The case of *Military Train* stoked a burgeoning repulsion —especially among film directors and critics—against “profiteers” who “deceived” the people with a wartime film reissued as a new title.[66] The furious response to “profiteers” tells us that wartime films were not acceptable for public viewing; they were considered a remnant of Japanese colonial rule, which needed to be discarded immediately.

For instance, in the public hearing following the *Military Train* case, leaders of the film industry strongly demanded that theater owners and distributors self-criticize their purposeful revival exhibition, and even to destroy wartime films right away.[67] Their discussions on revivals of *Military Train* strongly advocates erasing the wartime films from public memory, so as to legitimate the urgent need for building a new national cinema. By extension, film professionals who had previously been involved in this “unpleasant business with the Japanese bastards” were required to be silent about the time when they were involved in the state-led practice of film production. Calling the colonial past something that happened "due to circumstances beyond our control," those people not only vindicated their years of collaboration but also exonerated the "colonial remnants" that still lingered.[68]

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[66] “Ilcheŭi kukchaeckyŏnghwa kiman sangyŏngŭiro moli [Pro-Japanese Wartime Propaganda Film Blearing the Eyes of the World],” *Seoulsinmun*, March 4, 1946.

[67] “Pro-Japanese Wartime Propaganda Film.” This roundtable featured Kim Chin (Representative of Associations of Theater), Im Hwa (Critic), Chu Min (Chief Secretary of Yŏnghwa Tongmaeng [Allied Associations of Film]), Sŏng Tongho (Staff of Chosŏn Film Company), and Yi Kisŏng (Staff of Seoul Kino Company).

The inevitable negation of the colonial past induced film crews and critics to vanish films without a trace, though it is hard to track back how they would physically destroy films. Considering that film's future value had been neglected in earlier decades, the idea of destroying film prints was nothing new. In particular, films without future opportunities for exhibition would not be regarded as worthy of preservation. What strongly backed up the idea of destroying film prints was the rationale for doing so as a way to build authentic national culture that would be distinct from Japanese or other national cultures. Imagining the position of Korea and its status in the aftermath of the War required the film critics and elites to clarify their relationship to the former imperial authority, Japan. However, they also had to recalibrate the capacity of the local film industry given possible "cooperation" with the Military Governments, the Soviet in the Northern Korea and the United States in the Southern Korea, which will be discussed at length in the next chapter.

In order to explain what has led to the paucity of pre-1945 Korean films, this chapter has traced different vectors, including the perception of film's social impact, the uncontrolled networks of film distribution and exhibition, the structural issue of over-exploiting film prints, and the shifting position of wartime films in the early postcolonial era. By mapping out a broad context of the film business's ecology during the colonial period, I argue that film's role had been delimited explicitly during the colonial period to its instant effects without consideration of its future use. We will see how the definition of film's social role lingered in the U.S. Occupation period, which further complicated the growth of film conservation on both the discursive and the practical level.

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[68] All quotes come from "Pro-Japanese Wartime Propaganda Film."

Contrary to the Soviet Civilian Government in North Korea, which quickly authorized the local film industry as a "national" enterprise in 1946, the U.S. Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK, 1945-1948) was not interested in reconstructing the film industry in the southern part of Korea (now known as South Korea). While filmmakers, in common with other cultural critics, generally expressed their deep concern over Americanization in Korean society after 1945, both Hollywood films and documentaries distributed through the Occupation force propagated the idea that the occupation authority would help Southern Korea to rebuild its culture and reverse four decades of Japanese influence. These American films provided Korean audiences with a sense of "liberty" and "democracy" through the daily lives of Americans.[69] Unlike the image and rhetoric of liberty and democracy through films, the occupation force did not develop a set of cultural policies for the local film business, nor was it in practice independent from the definitive command of General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP, 1945–1951) in Japan. The next chapter will locate USAMGIK film policy within a larger U.S. government plan for the occupied theaters, which distanced itself from the former authoritarian powers such as Japan and Germany, repeating yet reshaping the existing discourse of cinema’s social value.

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[69] Charles Armstrong, Brian Yecies, and Ae-Gyung Shim have explored the impact of Hollywood film and U.S. cultural diplomacy in early post-liberation Korea, but further interrogation is needed with particular respect to the complex relations between Japan, Korea, and the United States. Charles Armstrong, "The Cultural Cold War in Korea, 1945-1950," *Journal of Asian Studies*, no. 621 (2003): 71-99; Brian Yecies and Ae-Gyung Shim, *Korea's Occupied Cinemas 1893-1948* (New York: Routledge, 2011): 141-160.

CHAPTER 2

Liberation's Contradiction: Cinema under the U.S. Occupation

An Chŏlyŏng, a former Director of Art in the Ministry of Culture and Education of the United States Army Military Government in Korea (hereafter USAMGIK), published a travel account of Hollywood after his return to South Korea in January 1949. In his travelogue, which included an in-depth exploration of Hollywood's dynamics, he noted that the goal of his travel in 1947 was not only to learn from major American film studios, but also, as a governmental official and filmmaker, to build networks among government officials, film educators, and entrepreneurs that could lead to the direct import of raw stocks and film supplies.[1] Otherwise, according to An, local film producers would not be able to make or exhibit features in Southern Korea. By early 1947, many intellectuals and filmmakers had already headed up to Northern Korea for more viable opportunities, which, in turn, gave another rationale for An and other filmmakers in Southern Korea to be more conscious about how to revitalize local production. However, what frustrated them most was USANGIK's lack of concern about reconstruction of local culture in "liberated" Korea. While the official purpose of the occupation was to reorient and democratize southern Korea, USAMGIK's policies, especially in the cultural domain, were often exposed to local criticism that the occupying authority more or less shut down possibilities for reconstructing the cultural realm.

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[1] An Chŏlyŏng, *Sŏngnimgihaeng* [*A Travelogue to Hollywood*] (Seoul: Sudomunhwasa, 1949). For an important discussion of An Chŏlyŏng's perception of Hollywood, see Sim Hyekyŏng, "An ch'ŏlyŏngŭi sŏnglimkihaengesŏŭi halliutŭ kŭliko chosŏnyŏnghwa [Hollywood and 'Chosŏn Cinema' in A Travelogue to Hollywood]," *Hankuk ŏmunhakyŏnku*, no. 62 (2014): 385-419.

Although An's exposure to Hollywood and its close tie to the U.S. government gave him a good sense of how a new postcolonial state might rebuild its film industry, the reality of developing a film industry below the 38th parallel under U.S. military occupation proved difficult.[2] Although USAMGIK's official statements often declared that the U.S. would aid Southern Korea's reorientation as a democratic and independent country, USAMGIK's internal structure often confused Koreans. Since the USAMGIK was composed of both U.S. tactical forces and civil affairs units, strategic perspectives on Southern Korea were often conflicting. The fact that USAMGIK was under the supervision of the Supreme Commander for Allied Powers (hereafter SCAP) in Japan also contributed to confusion among both officials and Koreans. The SCAP explained the reason for its control of USAMGIK as "the almost complete lack of qualified Korean administrators untainted by Japanese collaboration," and noted that "the absence of any political party truly representative of the people made necessary either the continuance of the Japanese administration or the establishment of some measure of direct Military Government."[3] Far from the declared objective of the U.S. occupation force that it would assist Koreans "to liquidate the Japanese influence in its zone," the U.S. local post, the USAMGIK, was rather weak in terms of state autonomy—the government's capability to formulate and pursue independent economic policies regardless of foreign or social demands. Indeed, the U.S. government had no ready policies for Korean civil affairs in the beginning stage, due to the earlier-than-expected Japanese surrender and the rushed occupation. Thus the

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[2] An, *A Travelogue to Hollywood*, 115.

[3] A proclamation by General MacArthur (September 7, 1945) announced the establishment of control and the assumption of all governmental authority in Southern Korea and appointed a U.S. Military Governor. "Monthly Summary of Non-Military Activities in the Administration of Civil Affairs in Korea," September-October, 1945, GH-SCAP File, Monthly Summary, no. 1, Record Group 165: The War Department General and Special Staffs (hereafter cited as CAD Records), National Archives, College Park (NACP).

USAMGIK had no established guidelines for local film production or distribution, not to mention complete control over film policy.

Through an examination of film materials discovered in U.S. military government archives, this chapter considers the ways in which the U.S. occupation era (1945–1948) legitimated and culturally sustained the transfer of imperial power from Japan to the U.S. by reframing the idea of film's utility in Southern Korea. Specifically, the U.S. film program aligned cinema's meaning with the United States' larger geopolitical maneuvering. As we shall see in this chapter, in the context of U.S. foreign policy, cinema served a broad range of cultural and institutional functions, from transforming mass education to fortifying democratic ideals. The governmental agencies invested in celluloid and its diverse family of technologies in order to instruct and to make, or remake, Korean citizens. Cinema under U.S. hegemony appeared to be an effective and powerful medium of education and political mobilization, as it had been under Japanese rule, while its disposition became even more complicated than before.

The first part of this chapter tracks how and to what ends American films were selected for political modeling in the occupied areas. Claiming the right of the United States to lead the "free world," American policy-makers attempted to ensure that the West had privileged access to the world's markets. With Washington's strong support, Hollywood, as an industry and signifying system, was held up as a model of liberal capitalism, aiming to reintegrate previously blocked German, Austrian, Japanese, and Korean film markets into U.S. hegemony. Building upon an analysis of cooperation and tensions among corporate and political authorities, I suggest that, while distinguishing itself from previous authoritarian imperial powers, the U.S. film program revealed the limits of American exceptionalism by collapsing democracy with liberal markets. This suggestion is supported by my analysis of U.S. reintegration of East Asia and its film market, which consists of the second part of this chapter. In order to trace the condition under which Japan and its former colonies were successfully transformed under the U.S. hegemony, I pay special attention to how a particular episteme of cinema based on its utility was articulated, duplicated, or transmitted at the time. A recurring pattern of using, discarding, or losing film print demonstrates that the U.S. film program was built upon the enduring protocol and infrastructure of the Japanese imperial power in the south half of Korea, which complicated the status of postliberation Korea.

Totalitarianism vs. American Democracy

U.S. foreign policy underlay the nationalist narrative of the United States: American exceptionalism. It was through the prism of this teleological narrative of destiny and progress, that Americans—both leaders and the broad public—understood their nation's ascendancy to power and a global role. The exceptionalist narrative particularly undermined U.S. commitment to democracy and self-determination for the "Others," while legitimating the military occupation as spreading the "blessings of our liberty."[4]

To understand how the United States became entangled in exceptionalism, it is worth outlining strategies that sought to distinguish the United States from colonial powers.[5] Throughout the early Cold War, U.S. officials drew a "stark distinction" between totalitarian

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[4] Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Makings of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 39.

[5] For policy-makers attempting to distinguish the United States from European imperial powers, see Penny Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

"propaganda," characterized by falsehoods, and democratic "information," marked by honesty.[6] Right after the end of World War II, U.S. President Harry S. Truman declared "information activities abroad as an integral part of the conduct of our foreign affairs."[7] Through the restructuring of wartime information agencies, policy-makers presented a clear vision of the role of propaganda as a tool of foreign policy. Arguing that international information programs provided a relatively "inexpensive" way to defuse fears of American military power, William B. Benton, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, claimed, "A good many people in other countries think of us as the nation with the atom bomb, the B-29 planes, the huge navy and air forces. This impression is liable to give rise to misunderstanding, fear, and hatred if we don't make our aims clear, and convince people that ours is a peaceful way of life."[8] Loy Henderson, the Director of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, viewed U.S. information activities as effective tools to fix foreigners' stereotypes of American society and culture. He noted that other nations were more familiar with "American gangsters of the 1920s" than "American educational system of the 1940s" because of Axis propaganda during the wartime, and felt that "too many of them still think we are a rich, tawdry, jazz-loving, unscrupulous lot."[9] Despite the prevalence of false impressions, leaders maintained that American information experts would not resort to distortion in explaining the U.S. to foreign audiences. As Benton added, for most of them, “The best propaganda in the world is truth.”[10]

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[6] Frank A Ninkovich, *The Diplomacy of Ideas: U.S. Foreign Policy and Cultural Relations, 1938-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 40.

[7] Harry S. Truman, "Termination of OWI and Disposition of Certain Functions of OIAA," *Department of State Bulletin 13*, September 2 (1945): 306-7.

[8] "Our International Information Policy," *Department of State Bulletin 13*, December 16 (1945): 948.

[9] "Our International Information Policy," 950.

The tactic of contrasting totalitarian “propaganda” and American “truth” enabled American policy-makers to present the United States as the country of pluralism and freedom. While bipartisan conservatives assailed information activities as elitist, leftist, and fiscally unsound, once the U.S.-Soviet alliance crumbled, information leaders in both Washington and the occupied areas further stressed the pressing need to respond to the communists’ “distorted” propaganda on the United States.[11] The state-controlled Soviet press, radio, and film, one information leader warned, excluded mention of positive events in America and focused on “strikes, unemployment and institutional strife, racial discrimination and crime.” He concluded: “The only practicable alternative at this state is a vigorous and intelligent American information program designed to bring somewhat into balance [the] picture of [the] USA available to [the] Soviet public.”[12] Policy-makers declared the U.S. information program “essential” in maintaining world peace, publicizing how the Axis Powers had distorted the “truth” about America during the war. Because of U.S. dominance of industry, trade, and science, the policy-makers claimed that it was imperative that foreign peoples have “accurate information” about “how we live, what we do affect[s] everyone.”[13]

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[10] “Our International Information Policy,” 950.

[11] Ninkovich, *The Diplomacy of Ideas*, 121-2; “State Department Hit on News Plan,” *The New York Times*, February 15, 1946.

[12] “Harriman to the Secretary of State,” January 20, 1946, *FRUS*, 6, 676-78.

[13] “Understanding among Peoples,” *Department of State Bulletin 14*, March 17 (1946): 409-10.

Deciding to adopt a tougher posture toward Soviet expansionism, on March 12, 1947, Truman proclaimed, “Nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life.” That is:

> One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, [and] guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression. The second way of life is based upon the minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.[14]

Without mentioning the Soviet Union, Truman juxtaposed democracy and communism in a fashion that would infuse American propaganda.[15] As the political conflict between the U.S. and the USSR continued to sharpen, on October 5, the Soviet Union announced the creation of the Cominform (Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers’ Parties) to fight against the American “dollar imperialism” of the Marshall Plan.[16] Spurred by the Communist information strategy, American policy makers called for a continuation of “factual, truthful, and forceful presentation of US foreign policy and American ways of living.”[17]

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[14] For the text of Truman’s speech, see *The New York Times,* March 13, 1947.

[15] For more on the Truman Doctrine speech, see Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 141-144.

[16] Sydney Gruson, “New Information Bureau Will Seek to Unify Strategy of Reds,” *The New York Times,* October 6, 1947. On Cominform and its relationship to Soviet foreign policy, see Vladislav Zubok and Konstantin Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin’s Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996).

[17] “U.S. Information with regard to Anti-American Propaganda,” Files of William T. Stone, December 1, 1947, Box 3, Lot 53D47, Record Group 59 (hereafter cited as State Dept. Records), NACP. The State Department sent these guidelines to American embassies worldwide. See dispatch by Acting Secretary of State Robert Lovett, *FRUS*, 1947, 4: 630-33. The National Security Council also called for a stronger, more coordinated response to Soviet propaganda.

This complex rationale for public information—as against totalitarian propaganda—was ingrained and sanctioned in the film program of the occupation authorities under the name of democracy. As Jennifer Fay elaborates the ideology of the film program as "reflexive democracy," American policy-makers believed that democracy was not something gained from conceptual understanding but rather "acquired through mechanistic repetition of the body's hardwired response to the state."[18] To American policy-makers, this vision of democracy could be achieved through cinema that could teach particular behaviors and modes to the occupied populations in Germany, Austria, Japan, and Korea. Once settled, officials and advisors in the occupied areas soon faced issues with using film as American propaganda because the Axis's authoritarian governments had used media to spread both domestic and international propaganda. For instance, in the case of Southern Korea, U.S. political advisors reported to Washington that they urgently needed to eliminate leftover messages from the Japanese wartime government and, at the same time, they faced a public wary of political persuasion in the media.[19] Occupation authorities moved quickly to police films, newspapers, books, magazines, and radio to ensure that the media helped in the effort of remaking the occupied areas into democratic countries.

In particular, the Civil Affairs Division (hereafter CAD) played the most crucial role in forming the certain belief that America could reorient and democratize the peoples of the occupied areas, and in laying out the overseas film program during the early postwar years. CAD's Motion Picture Section operated as part of the Reorientation Branch of the Army, which aimed to demilitarize and democratize the occupied areas through the use of effective films. The initial purpose of the reorientation plan was to “expose the essential falsity and depravity of police state ideology; to mirror for our audiences the catastrophic results of this ideology for all mankind; and to rekindle a sense of moral responsibility in the occupied peoples.” In doing so, CAD specifically aimed to “prepare the occupied peoples to use the tools of democracy in government, national life, and in their relations with all peoples.” Perceiving people in the occupied area as “cut off from the democratic world for more than a decade,” the policy-makers in CAD expected that it would be extremely difficult to convey “the ways in which democracy actually functions” to people in the occupied theaters. For instance, a Chief of CAD was concerned about whether “abstractions and general statements about democracy” would mean much to them. Because of this difficulty, “the use of films” was regarded as imperative; CAD firmly believed that “the occupied people c[ould] see for themselves the democratic processes at work.” Owing to the “visual factor,” films could be “more directly and immediate effective than any other media of expression.” Leaders of CAD anticipated that film could “override the lack of education,” for it could be understood by “people without much formal education.” More importantly, film could “interest” people in the occupied area while at the same time it “instructed” them and made a lasting impression.[20]

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[18] Jennifer Fay, *Theaters of Occupation*: *Hollywood and the Reeducation of Postwar Germany* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), xvi.

[19] "Conditions in Korea," September 24, 1945, Adjunct General File, General Correspondence File, Entry A-1 1378, Lot 58D776, Record Group 554: Records of General Headquarters, Far East Command, Supreme Commander Allied Powers, and United Nations Command, 1945-1960 (hereafter cited as SCAP Records), NACP.

In order to perform a crucial role in the reorientation plan, cinema, particularly the preferred category of non-fiction film, needed to be redefined and strategically developed. CAD thus invested in the production and exhibition of non-fiction films in the early phrase of occupation. For instance, it produced original documentaries (two to three reels per week), newsreels (one to two reels per week), and edited documentaries (two reels per week) right after the end of World War II. Beyond the arrangement of different categories of non-fiction cinema in the occupied areas, CAD soon expanded its non-fiction film program in an attempt to increase film distribution and generally improve the film program for the occupied areas.[21]

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[20] All quotes come from “A Statement of Policy,” Box 182, CAD Records, NACP.

With regard to the mission of reorienting the occupied areas through cinema, CAD acknowledged two specific concerns that required their immediate attention. First, CAD wanted to reach "a large and varied public in the occupied areas," whether the pictures they made were of general interest or specialized interest. Because the audiences would be made up of tens of millions of people whose curiosity about the United States was vast but had limited access to information, CAD believed that films must provide them with precise, detailed information. In light of this, CAD saw more potential in non-fiction film, including educational films, documentaries, and newsreels. With their films, CAD expected to "activate" their audiences, treating them as "thinking people, willing to accept an active role."[22] CAD also understood the variety of audience in each occupied country, in terms of their class, education level, gender, and literacy. This led the policy-makers in CAD to stress a broad appeal of non-fiction films, without angling to any particular country. For instance, they encouraged film writers to consider the film's audiences, speaking a variety of languages within different contexts. This multi-regional targeting explains why CAD did not recommend using "synchronized dialogue" in the film print, but rather dubbing.[23]

Second, CAD distinguished their program from wartime propaganda through strong control of the content and tone of their films. Since the peoples of the occupied areas had long been "indoctrinated with the conflicts and imperfections existing in democracies," CAD's policy-makers believed that suppressing evidence of these conflicts and imperfections would be certain to arouse the suspicion and hostility of the target audience towards the films and towards the U.S.'s major objective. CAD was conscious not to convey a false impression of democracy itself; while stating the positive achievements of democracy, it sought to convince the target audience that American democracy had been built upon tensions and problems, while the process of resolving them also constituted the current agenda of American democracy. Their notion of democracy included democracy's demands for continuing responsibility and hard work in facing, rather than avoiding, current problems. Stating that the concept of democracy was "foreign" to peoples of "totalitarian states," they noted that that it would be of the utmost importance to emphasize it in every way. As a way to make an American film distinct from the "propaganda machine," CAD emphasized that materials for film should be treated in a "factual and straightforward manner," without editorializing. This was, from their perspective, necessary in order to "avoid the flavor of propaganda," which would immediately "destroy the credibility of the story they wish[ed] to tell."[24]

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[21] "Visit to Film and Theater Section, CAD, NY Field Office," October 28, 1946, Box 251, CAD 045.2, Section 1, CAD Records, NACP.

[22] "Visit to Film and Theater Section."

[23] "Visit to Film and Theater Section."

Figure 2.1: *Fury in the Pacific* (1945)

FURY IN THE PACIFIC

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[24] "Visit to Film and Theater Section."

Table 2.1: USAMGIK Screening Program during May–August, 1946 [25]

Month	Title	Country of production	Note
May	*Fury in the Pacific*	USA	Exhibited in theater, Mobile Units for Education. Korean subtitled
	Freedom of Education	USA	Mobile Units. Korean subtitled
June	*Control of Flies and Mosquitos*	USA	Educational film
	Disinfection of Surgeries in Hospitals	USA	Educational film
	Surgery Dressings	USA	Educational film
	The Battle of Iwo Jima	USA	Mobile units
July	*Good Government*	USA	Visual-Aural Education film
	Improved Farming	USA	Visual-Aural Education film
	Justice	USA	Visual-Aural Education film
August	*Korean White Angel*	Korea, USAMGIK	Educational film

Table 2.2: CAD's documentary films shipped to Korea (November 1946-September 1947) [26]

Date		Title	CAD Category
1946	November 27	*The Cummington Story*	America–our people, War refugees' new lives
		Library of Congress	America–our democracy, Library of congress
		Champion Maker	America–our democracy
		Alaska Tour	America–our land
		The Mint	America–our land
		Western Wonderland	America–our land
		The Storm	Educational Films
		Blue Winners	America–our land
		Out Fishing	America–our land
		Rhythm of Wheels	America–our industry
		On Point	America–our industry
		Mirror of Submarine Life	America–our industry
		Jefferson of Monticello	America–our democracy
	December 31	*Power Unlimited*	America–our industry
		Northern Ramparts	America–our industry
		Brazil Today	Foreign Lands
		Great Lakes	America–our land
		Port of New York	America–our land
		A City Reborn	America–our industry
		Winning Against Odds	America–our industry

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[25] "Summation of the USAMG Activities in Korea May–August 1946," Box 3653, Policy and Management Group, Policy Branch File, Record Group 331: Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, NACP.

[26] "First Quarterly Report on Documentary Films," Box 251, CAD 045.2, Section 1, CAD Records, NACP.

		Out of the Ruins	Educational Films, World War II
1947	January 2	*The New West*	America–our land
	January 3	*Americans*	America–our people
	January 4	*Power Valley*	America–our industry
	January 15	*Lessons in Living*	Educational Films
		Peoples Bank	Educational Films
		Toronto Symphony 1	Music and Art
	February 22	*World Food Problems*	Educational Films, International Relations
	March 12	*Western Stockbuyer*	America–our industry
		The Nation's Capital	America–our democracy
		New England	Foreign Lands
		Canada	Foreign Lands
		Texas	America–our land
	June 25	*Story of the Lincoln Tunnel*	America–our industry
		Assignment Tomorrow	America–our land
		How A Bill Becomes A Law	America–our democracy
	June 30	*Freedom to Learn*	America–our democracy
		Play is our Business	community resources
		Film Tactics	Educational Films
		Seeds of Destiny	World War II
		Peru	Foreign Lands, International Relations
		Argentine Primer	Foreign Lands
	August 1	*Journey into Medicine*	Educational Films
		The School	Educational Films
		Young Uruguay	Foreign Lands, International Relations
		High Plain	America–our industry
		Columbia Crossroads	America–our land
	August 13	*The Teacher as Observer*	community resources
		Pennsylvania Local Government In Action	America–our democracy
		Atomic Power	Educational Films
		Medicine	Educational Films
		The New South	America–our land
		Geography from the Air	America–our land
	September 16	*Country Agent*	America–our democracy
		The Philippine Republic	Educational Films, International Relations
		Music in America	Music and Art
		Near Home	America–our people
		The Great Circle	community resources
		New of Tomorrow	America–our people
	September 26	*College Climbers*	America–our people
		Queens of the Court	America–our people
		Feminine Class	Educational Films, community resources

		Tuesday in November	America–our democracy

More specifically, juxtaposing the two sets of films screened in Korea (Tables 2.1, 2.2) can illuminate what exactly Americans hoped Koreans would learn from them. For instance, the films exhibited in Southern Korea (See Table 2.2) earlier in 1946 show a limited diversity in their contents such as war representation and hygiene, while another set of films screened later indicates a shift to instruction and education of specific skills and knowledge about America more exclusively. In Table 2.2, a few films made in 1945 demonstrate that CAD aimed to emphasize the American victory over totalitarian Japan that had brought peace and freedom to Korea. Among them, for instance, *Fury in the Pacific* screened widely and consistently during the first year of occupation. Showing a pair of World War II battles in the Pacific and detailed depictions of those battles, the film clearly represents how the U.S. Army put effort into leading the war's end and bringing peace to the world. CAD primarily shipped films that could propagate the ideals of democratic government such as freedom and liberty, with an emphasis on the peaceful world that America brought about after World War II.

However, from the second fiscal year of occupation, CAD became more self-conscious about the topics of the films selected for the occupied areas. For instance, beginning in September 1946, CAD categorized documentaries according to specific labels that reflected the topic of the film, as seen in Table 2.2: America (our democracy, our people, our land, our industry), Community Resources, International Relations, Music and Art, Foreign Lands, World War II, Miscellaneous, and Educational Films for Adult or Classroom. Among the films on American democracy, *Tuesday in November* (1945) specifically shows how the representative system works.[27] "For three months all through the late summer and fall, wherever people come together issues and men are discussed and argued about. Some feel that this isn't altogether a good thing—that a lot of time and energy are wasted this way. It may be, but that's the way Americans like to do it," the narrator of the film describes. Travelling from a voting booth in small-town California to a victory celebration in Times Square, the film represents American democracy in action. The U.S. Office of War Information produced the film in 1945, drawing on a dramatization of the voting process and archival footage of the 1944 presidential race. The narrator explains, "All over America tonight, the people are waiting to learn whom they have chosen to govern them for the next four years. Toward midnight, the final results are announced. A nation of a hundred and forty million has elected a government." While this film is idealizing the reality of American life, its understated narration and many of the montages intends to dictate its message more effectively to the non-English speaking audience. It should be also noted that *Tuesday in November* not only explains how American representative system works, but also places ordinary people in the center of its narrative.

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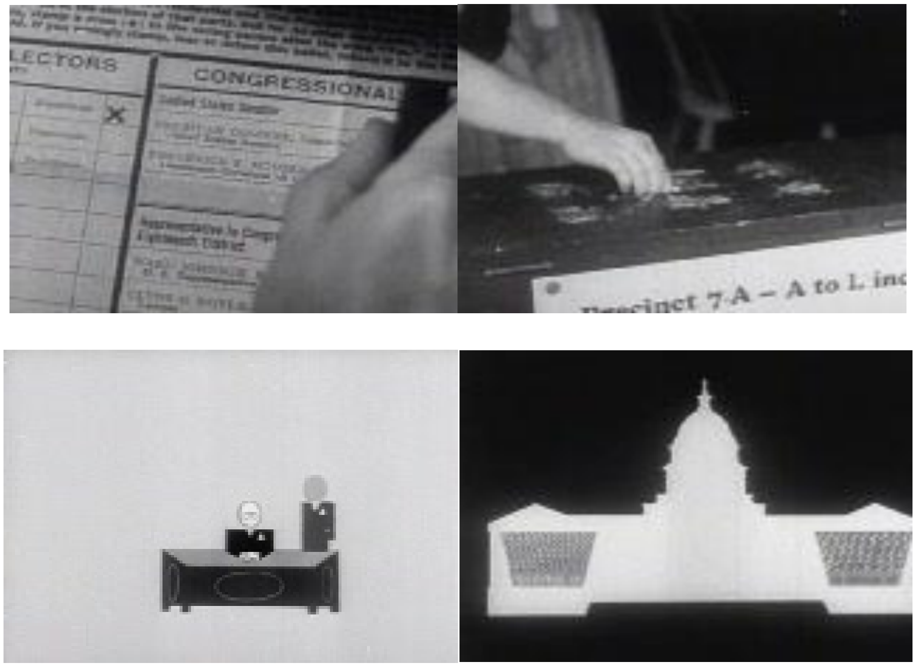
[27] *Tuesday in November*, as among other collections of Prelinger Archive, is available online. https://archive.org/details/Tuesdayi1945 (last accessed in April 22, 2016)

Figure 2.2: *Tuesday in November* (1944)



CAD's documentary films gradually shifted to depict the life of ordinary Americans in both cities and rural areas. The series *The City* aimed to show the everyday life of the average American citizen— "his home, his job, his family, his recreations, his associates and community interests."[28] Focusing on the modern, rational, and even happy life of American citizens everywhere, CAD sought to broadcast the great virtue of liberty, freedom, and democracy to the occupied theaters. As a plan for fiscal year 1948 indicates, CAD-proposed productions for the occupied areas included, for example, *Freedom of the Press*, which "shows how a free and uncensored press functions and how it is concerned with accurate reporting, instead of propaganda or slanted selection of news stories." Another film in production titled *Adult Education* aimed to show that "education in the U.S. does not stop when people reach a certain age or educative grade, regardless of their economic status."[29]

Overall, the general assumption of cinema's effective power for political reorientation in the occupied theater provided a strong rationale for CAD's involvement in the overseas film program. Back in the interwar period, U.S. policy-makers and analysts had attempted to reshape the meaning and function of film as producing democratic ideals in the world, as opposed to the film practices of the Axis powers. However, in the wake of World War II, they needed to recreate the democratic self in a careful conceptualization of the democratic individual who "would be free to invent himself in spontaneous interaction within a field of others."[30] The atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki caused both U.S. and foreign citizens to doubt the United States as the very democratic country that so many had promoted as the key to wartime morale. In this light, the redefinition of democracy was essential not only to American citizens, but also to populations in the occupied areas. CAD's investment in making the pedagogical rationales for bringing American films to the occupied areas, therefore, was a logical outcome, yet it could not be achieved without close ties between the American film industry and the administration.

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[28] "First Quarterly Report on Documentary Films," October 3, 1947, Box 254, WDSCA 062.2 Section 7, CAD Records, NACP.

[29] "Progress Report of Motion Picture Section for the Fiscal Year 1948," November 24, 1947, Box 254, WDSCA 062.2 Section 8, CAD Records, NACP.

[30] Fred Turner, *The Democratic Surround: Multimedia & American Liberalism from World War II to the Psychedelic Sixties* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 153.

The Alliance between Industry and Political Powers

Understanding how the U.S. government strategically integrated the American film business into its foreign policy necessitates a close look at their cooperation dating back to the war. Hollywood maximized its extensive patriotic service during World War II, when the industry's commercial objectives complemented Washington's geopolitical agenda and established the foundation for a corporatist partnership.[31] Corporatism provided an increasing opportunity for collaboration between public and private sectors so as to promote domestic economic growth and overseas market expansion. It operated at certain nodes of contact between the public and private spheres, including the trade association of major studios, the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA), and the MPPDA's Foreign Department; it also offered elites to move easily between Washington and Hollywood. As Thomas Doherty notes, the "alliance" between Washington and Hollywood created not only new kinds of feature films, but a new attitude toward them: “Hereafter, popular art and cultural meaning, mass communications, and national politics, would be intimately aligned and commonly acknowledged in American culture.”[32]

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[31] On Hollywood's transnational expansion and corporatism, see M. Tony Bennett, *One World, Big Screen: Hollywood, the Allies, and World War II* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

Through suggestions, threats, appeals to patriotism, and friendship, the Office of War Information (hereafter OWI) particularly influenced film content. The ideals set forth by the OWI in its wartime dealings with the Hollywood film industry continued to inform the ways that Occupation forces thought about and chose American popular entertainment to present to people in the occupied areas. Once the occupation commenced, the details of the film program moved to the hands of a complicated military administration. Initial selections and deletions of films were made by CAD in cooperation with the Information Control Division of each military government in the occupied areas. New films were chosen from a list provided by the Motion Picture Export Association (hereafter MPEA), who had the exclusive right to distribute their wares in the U.S. occupied territories. The MPEA, under its parent organization the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA), included major American motion picture studios such as Columbia Pictures, Paramount International, 20th Century-Fox International, and Warner Brothers. These Hollywood studios believed that the occupied areas could become an outlet for American films, a recipient of American financing, and a borrower of American cinematic expertise. Because the occupied areas had closed their doors to Hollywood imports during the Pacific War, the MPEA also expected to collect revenue from the reissue of wartime Hollywood features to occupied areas. It meant the MPEA could generate positive prints for the occupied areas at no extra cost, since they could reuse available exhibition prints in film vaults of Hollywood studios.[33]

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[32] Thomas Doherty, *Projections of War: Hollywood, American Culture, and World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 6.

[33] For the postwar reissue of Hollywood films in domestic and international markets, see Eric Hoyt, *Hollywood Vault: Film Libraries before Home Video* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 106-140.

However, a larger issue soon troubled the long alliance between Hollywood and Washington. The industry's expansion in the previous decade had led to troubles involving foreign markets, labor unions, and antitrust actions, all of which resurfaced right after the end of the war. In the meantime, England and much of Western Europe, recovering from the war, established stricter screen quotas, tariffs, and exportable fund limits to bolster their national industries and avoid a flood of currency leaving the nation. In order to enjoy the exclusive right to import to the occupied areas, Hollywood studios needed stronger support from Washington so they could pay back their debts.

Contrary to Hollywood's optimistic anticipation, the alliance between film industry and the government faced significant challenges in the occupied areas. To the Hollywood studios under the MPEA, it was essential to intervene in the process in which Hollywood films were brought to the local population in order to increase their influence over the film markets in Japan and Korea. CAD stressed the pedagogical rationales for bringing Hollywood films to these areas, without giving a clearer sense of the benefits to the studios. In the meantime, even though the occupation forces operated under Washington, and they would initially value the potential of Hollywood film that could promote American ideals, their top priority remained in the local society's reorientation. Local bureaucrats in the occupied areas often complained about the ways in which films were selected and distributed, as one of them grumbled that what the MPEA and CAD planned for the occupied areas was "not clearly outlined or understood."[34]

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[34] "Visit to Film and Theater Section."

Different priorities among Hollywood, Washington, and the occupation governments led to conflict, particularly in the process of film selection.[35] From the standpoint of Hollywood Studios, Francis Harmon appealed for the MPEA, of which he was vice-president, to have a greater voice in decision-making, which the occupation governments and CAD had overwhelmingly dominated. For instance, he criticized that the occupation authorities took too much time making selections. He also specifically noted that the authorities wanted to receive "too many dramatic films and too few light films" without representing member studios equally. Harmon thus looked for the possibility of rearranging the film selection process, which had been dominated thus far by Washington and the occupation governments.[36] Suggesting the need for a better relationship between the MPEA representatives in each occupied area and the local governments' officers, Harmon claimed that they should be "in consultation with each other" with respect to the required number of pictures, the criteria for selection, and the reasons for rejection of pre-selected films in each area.[37]

The MPEA also claimed that occupation forces privileged local film production over Hollywood imports. The trouble emerged in late 1946, when the occupation government in Germany allotted much more raw film stock to German film producers than to creating screening copies of Hollywood features. While Hollywood leaders were upset about this, from the viewpoint of the occupation force in Germany, German features and non-fiction films were more effective than Hollywood films in persuading German audiences. Once this problem escalated the existing tension, the MPEA refused to do any additional work for the U.S. government. For instance, Harmon, in his letter to CAD, wrote that the MPEA could no longer pay out dollars for raw film stocks because the government requested too much film stock without supporting the MPEA's hard work, that is, Hollywood films. For Harmon, it was indispensable to reach a bargain that would be better for both sides, because the manner in which CAD and the occupation forces treated the MPEA was beyond understanding. He pointed out that it was "not good business sense" for any U.S. film studio to subsidize the revival of feature production in Germany by spending the MPEA's dollars for raw stock, arguing that German features should be made with the raw film stock produced in Germany. Feeling betrayed, Harmon complained that "representatives of our Government [would] ask or expect that MPEA becomes a subsidy to the rehabilitation of German feature film production."[38]

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[35] In his case study of Japan under the U.S. occupation, Kitamura Hiroshi rigorously demonstrates that Hollywood's ties to Washington and SCAP was "fragile" in constructing what he calls the "transpacific apparatus" based on corporatism. While his analysis of the comparatist tension adds a new dimension to our understanding of the U.S. film program in the occupied Japan, I claim that the tension needs to be considered in the broader context of occupied theaters. He also focuses on the financial trouble between SCAP and Hollywood that occurred toward the end of the U.S. occupation in 1949, but it is important to note that this trouble had been visible much earlier in 1947, along with other issues such as film selection and censorship that he also discusses. Kitamura Hiroshi, *Screening Enlightenment: Hollywood and the Cultural Reconstruction of Defeated Japan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010): 62-86.

[36] "A Letter to Major General Daniel Noce," March 11, 1947, Box 253, WDSCA 062.2 Section 4, CAD Records, NACP.

[37] "A Letter to Major General Daniel Noce."

Harmon pursued a resettlement of the market privilege that was currently given to German features over American ones for another critical reason. From the commencement of the occupation, Hollywood studios under the MPEA agreed to absorb the cost of striking prints, subtitling, and dubbing films for the occupied territories and suffer short-term net losses, expecting that they would have unregulated access to the occupied markets and govern the structures of the postwar film industry in the occupied areas as they transitioned from a military to a commercial enterprise. Beside their investment in the film program, the MPEA had a fundamental difficulty in collecting their revenues from the occupied areas. Since American film companies faced “an extremely critical situation as a direct result of the dollar crisis abroad,” an urgent plan needed to be effectuated quickly under which the MPEA could, “at least, recoup dollars spent to date and be assured of repayment of future dollar expenditures for raw stock and similar items.”[39] In order to continue to purchase raw film stock for the occupied areas and to maintain a close corporate cooperation, the MPEA pushed the U.S. government harder to solve the problem. Without the government’s action, there was no way for the MPEA to spend more dollars for the release of pictures in the occupied areas, for which they had received no dollars whatsoever in return.

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[38] "A Letter from Harmon to Major General O.P. Echols, a Chief of CAD," June 24, 1946, Box 183, WDSCA 091.33, CAD Records, NACP.

At the same time, the MPEA also began pressing the occupation forces in Japan and Korea that, unless the Military Governments would recoup their dollars as soon as possible, they would stop sending raw stocks and feature films. Harmon expressed his concern over the film policy in the occupied areas, as the revenue from the rental of features and short subjects had been “under Military Government control.” He claimed that an enormous amount of money—$150,000,000 in Japan and $8,000,000 in Germany— was blocked, and continued to criticize:

> On several occasions officers and other representatives of the MPEA have discussed with you and other officials in Washington and overseas the increasingly important question of repayment to MPEA of its dollar expenditures. Each time we have been accorded a sympathetic hearing but to date we have not been permitted to recoup any dollars for our outlays, totaling $426,952.73, and which now average $14,450 per month in Japan and Korea and $17,600 per month in Germany.[40]

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[39] “A letter from Harmon to General Draper, CAD,” October 8, 1947, Box 278, WDSCA 091.31, Section 33, CAD Records, NACP.

[40] “A Letter from Harmon to General Draper, CAD.” Originally, Harman noted that SCAP had blocked three hundred million yen in Japan and eighty million marks. My understanding is that the exchange rate was set at 15 yen per 1 dollar in the early postwar period, and the inflation led to a rate change to 50 yen to dollar in 1947. Meanwhile, the Allies in Germany introduced a military rate of 10 marks per 1 dollar. This continued until the currency reform and the introduction of the Deutschemark in 1948.

However, Harmon's message arrived at the wrong place. In theory, SCAP had neither the right to recoup Hollywood's revenues, nor reasons for doing so. While the U.S. features were "essential" to their reorientation program, because the films "give Japanese an opportunity to become familiar with the history, institutions, culture and the accomplishments of the democracies," it did not mean that these films topped SCAP's other priorities.[41] SCAP, as other occupation forces did, resisted returning the profit made from Hollywood imports at the Japanese box office, because the profit was theoretically allotted for the political reorientation of the local population. CAD finally stepped into the conversation, justifying the position of the MPEA's financial situation" that would lead to "discontinue furnishing any raw stock for feature films." Advising SCAP to consider the impact on U.S. pictures, CAD convinced SCAP to recoup the "frozen fund" that consisted of profits from box offices and the raw stock market in local areas.[42]

On the one hand, to policy-makers in CAD, this negotiation was inevitable, or else the U.S. film program for the occupied areas would crumble soon, which would significantly impact the larger reorientation plan. On the other hand, SCAP thought that the MPEA would need to figure out a better solution for its own market crisis instead of ceasing to supply raw film stock for the occupied areas. If the MPEA discontinued its services, SCAP warned them that "British, French, and Soviet commercial films would fill the void."[43] With a caution that the MPEA would ultimately lose its privilege in Japanese and Korean markets, SCAP strongly suggested that CAD should renegotiate with the MPEA, while simultaneously asking the Department of the Army to be prepared to supply additional funds for these requests from the MPEA, so that SCAP would not need to curtail any other projects of the film program for the occupied area.[44]

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[41] "A Letter from SCAP to Department of the Army for CSCAD," December 18, 1947, Box 285, WDSCA 091.33, CAD Records, NACP.

[42] "A Letter from Finance Section of CAD to CINCFE Tokyo," December 9, 1947, Box 283, WDSCA 091.31, Section 43, CAD Records, NACP.

[43] "Purchase of Raw Film Stock for MPEA, A Letter from General Eberle, Deputy Chief of CAD, to SCAP," December 23, 1947, Box 284, CSCAD 091.31, CAD Records, NACP.

As soon as SCAP decided to secure the profit from Hollywood imports for their reorientation program—not only in the Japanese market, but also the Korean markets under the control of USAMGIK—Hollywood studios finally decided to stop the shipment of new film prints and raw stock in June 1948, the end of the U.S. fiscal year.[45] The MPEA had also stopped purchasing and shipping raw film stocks to Japan or Germany in March as a reaction to the undesirable result of their petition. The MPEA's bold action impelled CAD to renegotiate with Hollywood's leaders. A few weeks later, CAD persuaded occupation authorities and Washington to return at least some portion of the profit from Hollywood imports, notifying the MPEA that the allocation for them could be considerably less than was anticipated. Eventually, CAD managed to secure that 50 percent of the frozen fund would be returned to the MPEA under the agreement of both SCAP and the MPEA.[46]

Changes and Challenges to the East Asian Film Market

Mapping out the broader context of conflicts between occupation forces, Hollywood, and Washington also necessitates looking closely into the specific outcomes of their cooperation in the East Asian market in general, and the Korean market in particular. The MPEA installed the Central Motion Picture Exchange (hereafter CMPE), the U.S. film industry's East Asian outpost, which spread American movie culture across Japan and Korea.[47] Michael M. Bergher, a former Far Eastern representative of Columbia Pictures, was appointed to launch the CMPE in Tokyo in February 1946. Shortly after the launch of the CMPE in Japan, Bergher set up a Korean branch under the wing of the Department of Public Information of the USAMGIK. It was the time before the treaty of commerce was settled, and theaters were still in the hands of the USAMGIK as vested property. Once Korean film industry leaders learned about a new Hollywood agency, the CMPE, they began to be concerned about the degree to which Hollywood features would sweep the local market. They also feared the extent of USAMGIK involvement in the CMPE's business, given that the Korean branch was installed in the USAMGIK building. In response to suspicions about his ties with the occupation force in Southern Korea, Bergher claimed as justification that the CMPE office simply served a total of 96 theaters in Southern Korea, and that nothing else was behind it. He stressed that his mission was to "provide more entertainment to Koreans and to help nurture Korean culture."[48]

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[44] "Purchase of Raw Film Stock for MPEA."

[45] "A Letter from Vice-President of MPEA to Secretary of the Army Kenneth C Royall," June 13, 1948, Box 409, CSCAD 014, Section 3, CAD Records, NACP.

[46] "A Letter from Secretary of the Army to Mr. Harmon," July 26, 1948, Box 428, CSCAD 091.31, Section 25, CAD Records, NACP.

The CMPE's strategy in the Japanese and Korean film markets turned out to be more aggressive than expected by local entrepreneurs and film producers.[49] Relying on the CMPE's bargaining power as the sole handler of American products, Bergher imposed higher rental costs on local exhibitors and theaters. Traditionally, the rental fee of a Hollywood movie was 15 to 25 percent of its box office return at the local market. However, the CMPE mandated a blanket 50 percent rental fee for all exhibitors—a rate that, even in the U.S., was set only for special road-show screenings for prestige films such as *Gone with the Wind* (1939). Alongside these unreasonable rental fees, the CMPE sold packages of twenty-six or fifty-two films without granting local exhibitors the right to choose the specific titles that they would like to screen. This system of block booking and blind buying enabled the MPEA to reissue old Hollywood features to the occupied areas in order to get studios out of debt after the end of war. While the potential wealth of the reissue market became evident in the industry's prosperous wartime years, as Thomas Schatz points out, the booming business for reissues was "a major development in the postwar movie industry."[50] As the decade continued, the quantity of reissues swelled, and the trades reported that each season had broken the record: 67 reissues in the 1946–47 season, 105 in 1948, and 102 or 136 in 1949.[51]

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[47] On the formation of CMPE, for instance, see Hiroshi, *Screening Enlightenment*, 33-41, 90-94.

[48] "Mikukyŏnghwa yŏn paekp'yŏn paekŭp [100 Hollywood Films Distributed in One Year]," *Hansŏngilbo,* April 12, 1946.

[49] Lee Myŏngja, "Miso Kunjŏnggi (1945-1948) sŏulgwa p'yŏngyangŭi kŭkchangyŏngu [A Study on Theater in Seoul and Pyongyang during the US-Soviet Military Occupation]," *T'ongilgwa P'yŏnghwa* (2009):199; Cho Hyejŏng, "Migunjŏnggi kŭkchangsanŏp hyŏnhwangyŏn'gu [A Study on the Theater Industry under the US Occupation]," *Yŏnghwayŏn'gu* (1998): 487-524.

More importantly, the CMPE had different goals for Japan and Korea; their goal in Korea was to make as much money as possible rather than to meet Korean demand. Even though the Hollywood imports were distributed through a singular protocol, the CMPE released different sets of revivals to theaters in Japan and Korea. While the CMPE often sold postwar Hollywood features to Japanese theaters so as to meet popular demand, the theaters in Southern Korea received revivals mostly from the interwar period (See Table 2.3). Except for one feature released later in 1948, the CMPE's film distribution to Korea was limited exclusively to accumulating profits from old Hollywood prints in the Korean market during the U.S. occupation period. Not only were they the largest portion of reissues, but the CMPE also mandated 90–day rentals of Hollywood features that required those films to be shown at least 52 days in Korean theaters. This meant to theater owners and exhibitors that CMPE's selected films literally dominated the screens, even if some of their films were not popular enough to pay back the rental fees. CMPE also distributed Japanese-subtitled films to Korea, which were mostly recycles of film prints that had been screened in Japan. What frustrated the Korean film leaders and audiences even more was that the CMPE justified their maneuver by saying that Korean audiences were "more capable of reading Japanese subtitles than Korean subtitles."[52]

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[50] Thomas Schatz, *Boom and Bust: The American Cinema in the 1940s* (New York: Scribner, 1997), 292.

[51] "Seven Majors Releasing 29 Reissues This Season," *Motion Picture Herald*, April 26, 1947, 12; Thomas F. Brady, "Hollywood Reissues," *The New York Times*, June 5, 1949, 5; "Reissues Ease Off as Quality Lags, Though Top Pix Continue Strong," *Variety*, November 16, 1949.

Table 2.3: Hollywood films released in Korean theaters during the U.S. occupation period [53]

Year Released	Feature Title	Original Production Year	Production Company
1945	*One New York Night*	1935	MGM
	Tarzan Escapes	1936	MGM
1946	*The Circus*	1928	United Artists
	Feet First	1930	Paramount
	City Lights	1931	United Artists
	After Office Hours	1932	MGM
	Queen Christina	1933	MGM
	The Last of the Mohicans	1935	United Artists
	G Men	1935	Warner
	Undersea Kingdom	1936	Republic
	San Francisco	1936	MGM
	Romeo and Juliet	1936	MGM
	Desire	1936	Paramount
	In Old Chicago	1937	Fox
	S.O.S. Coast Guard	1937	Republic
	Make Way for Tomorrow	1937	Paramount
	The Shopworn Angel	1938	MGM
	You Can't Take It with You	1938	Columbia
	Tarzan's Revenge	1938	Fox
	First Love	1939	Universal
	Golden Boy	1939	Columbia
	The Man in the Iron Mask	1939	United Artists
	Honolulu	1939	MGM

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[52] Ch'ae Jŏnggŭn, "Amerik'a yŏnghwajapkam migungnyŏnghwawa chosŏnnyŏnyegyeeibŭn yŏnghyang [A Few Thoughts on American Film: American Film and Its Impact on Korean Film Culture]," *Shinch'ŏnji,* January 1948, 138.

[53] The source is largely based on major newspapers' advertisements and columns compiled in Lee Myŏngja, *Sinmun chapchi kwangko chalyolo pon mikunchŏngki oekukyŏnghwa* [*Foreign Films in the U.S. Occupation Era in Newspapers, Magazines, and Advertisements*] (Seoul: Communication Books, 2011)

	Little Old New York	1940	Fox
	This Thing Called Love	1940	Columbia
	Abe Lincoln in Illinois	1940	RKO
	The Sea Hawk	1940	Warner
	Tarzan's Secret Treasure	1941	MGM
	Wake Island	1942	Paramount
	Mrs. Miniver	1942	MGM
	Watch on the Rhine	1943	Warner
	Madam Curie	1943	MGM
	Tall in the Saddle	1944	RKO
	Enter Arsene Lupin	1944	Universal
1947	*Lives of A Bengal Lancer*	1935	Republic
	Lloyd's London	1936	Fox
	Souls at Sea	1937	Paramount
	Seventh Heaven	1937	Fox
	Submarine Patrol	1938	Fox
	Here Comes Mr. Jordan	1941	Columbia
	No Time for Love	1943	Paramount
	Casablanca	1943	Warner
	Hers to Hold	1943	Universal
	Flesh and Fantasy	1943	Universal
	The Uninvited	1944	Paramount
1948	*Bluebeard's Eighth Wife*	1938	Paramount
	Mad about Music	1938	Universal
	Morocco	1939	Paramount
	Boom Town	1940	MGM
	Jane Eyre	1941	Fox
	Blossoms in the Dust	1941	MGM
	Adam Had Four Sons	1941	Columbia
	You Belong to Me	1941	Columbia
	The Corsican Brothers	1941	United
	Johnny Come Lately	1943	United
	The Sky's the Limit	1943	RKO
	Gaslight	1944	MGM
	Why We Fight: The Battle of China	1944	War Department
	Going My Way	1944	Paramount
	My Brother Talks to Horses	1947	MGM

These CMPE policies upset Korean critics, film personnel, and theater entrepreneurs, leading them to attempt to boycott American films from the CMPE.[54] Charles Meyer, the

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[54] "Chosŏn'gŭkchangmunhwarŭl modok piminjujŏgin toksŏnjŏk mihwa sangyŏng [A Desecration of Korean Film Culture: Undemocratic, Self-righteous Hollywood Screening]," *Tongnipsinbo,* February 4, 1947; "Miyŏnghwaŭi

CMPE's manager, ended up coming to Seoul in April 1947 in order to ease tensions. While Koreans anticipated some changes to the existing strict policy at this time, there were no negotiations between the CMPE and the three Korean theater owners either at this moment, or during the entire U.S. occupation period. Moreover, the USAMGIK backed up the CMPE by calling on managers of major theaters in Seoul, intimidating them not to oppose the political authority. Under the CMPE and USAMGIK's maneuvering of local film business in this way, theater owners had no choice but to sign the aggressive contract, which, on paper, mandated screening Hollywood imports for at least 21 to 26 days per month.[55] While critics and leaders of the film industry criticized the CMPE's operation and the tension between them increased, the USAMGIK did not even bother to get involved in this issue. Despite growing public suspicion of an alliance between the CMPE and the USAMGIK, the USAMGIK officially denied its relation to the CMPE.[56]

While USAMGIK was involved in this particular case, its role in decision-making for the film program was much smaller than SCAP's. One might see the local film business as "occupied" by the U.S. forces and Hollywood, as previous scholarship often emphasizes how the USAMGIK repressed the development of the film industry.[57] However, we should bear in mind that the USAMGIK had little control over the film program in Southern Korea. A general

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shijanghwa, Ŏgaptoenŭn chosŏnmunhwa [Hollywood Invasion, Repressed Korean Culture]," *Donga Ilbo*, February 4, 1947.

[55] "Kuksannyŏnghwaŭi wigi, Kin'gŭp'an taech'aek kangguhara [A Crisis of Domestic Film, An Urgent Measure Needed]," *Seoulsinmun*, April 23, 1948.

[56] "A Few Thoughts on American Film," 183-145; An Chŏlyŏng, "Migungnyŏnghwaŭi segyejŏngch'aek: chungbaeŭi sŏlch'iwa kwallyŏnhayŏ [International Film Policy of Hollywood: On the CMPE]," *Minsŏng* 5, no. 2, 1948.

[57] Yecies and Shim, *Korea's Occupied Cinema*, 141-160.

consensus on the role of moving pictures in democratizing the southern part of the Korean peninsula emerged by early 1947, yet as tensions between Hollywood and SCAP escalated, USAMGIK was literally invisible in the communication among Hollywood, SCAP, and CAD. Even after CAD decided to grant more autonomy to the occupation forces in the selection of Hollywood imports, the Military Governor of Korea was only informed that selections would be made exclusively by the MPEA and SCAP.[58] Moreover, raw film stock and supplies for local film production also went through the hands of SCAP. There was no way to purchase or receive film material without SCAP's involvement.[59] This difficulty of purchasing raw stock continued to hamper film production in Southern Korea until January of 1949, when the Ministry of Commerce of the Republic of Korea finally was placed in charge of managing Hollywood imports and the purchase of raw stock.

More importantly, in the U.S. government's plan to form an economic bloc in East Asia, Korea's geopolitical importance was recognized in relation to Japan's status. For instance, the U.S. Army and State Department recognized that it was especially necessary to consider Korea in close relation to Japan because "Korea's economy is inextricably linked to the economy of Japan, her strategic importance is comparable to that of Japan, and her economic dependence on external resources is even greater than Japan's."[60] The U.S. government understood that "Japan proper" and "former Japanese territories" were strategically crucial to incorporate into the same regional bloc because the "dissolution of Japan's empire and her reduction to economic and military prostration do not, and cannot, eliminate her from the equation because the strategic attributes of her geography and the unity of her people still remain as important factors in resolving the conflicting interests of the Western powers and Russia in East Asia and the Pacific."[61]

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[58] "A letter from Daniel Noce to Military Governor, USAMSIK," April 15, 1947, Box 205, WDSCA 014 Korea, Section 7, CAD Records, NACP.

[59] An Chŏlyŏng, *Travelogue to Hollywood*.

[60] "Korea," Security Classified Policy Correspondence Relating to the Administration and Operation of Government in Liberated and Occupied Areas 1943-1948, Box 84, 471, CAD Records, NACP.

As historians such as Akira Iriye and Bruce Cumings demonstrate, even before Japan's surrender, the United States built up particularly strong ties with Japan based on a careful and strategic approach to Japan and its position in the "Far East" during the Pacific War. As Iriye argues, Japan was a junior hegemon in its Asian sphere of influence, still dependent on U.S. power in the region until mid-1941. When U.S. leaders shocked Japanese officials by embargoing oil to Japan, Japanese leaders agreed that the only alternative was war. Yet by 1942, shortly into the war, "a small cadre of internationalists in the American State Department and in Japan began moving on remarkably parallel lines to reintegrate Japan into the postwar American hegemonic regime."[62] The administration in Washington envisioned a regional economy driven by Japanese industry, with ensured continental access to markets and raw materials for its exports. The geopolitical importance of postwar Japan, "a dutiful American partner," was well received even before Japan's surrender, thereby allowing the U.S. government (specifically the Truman administration) to draw out an economic bloc based on Japanese hegemony in East Asia.[63]

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[61] "Korea."

[62] Akira Iriye, *Power and Culture: The Japanese-American War, 1941-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981); Bruce Cumings, "Archaeology, Descent, Emergence: Japan in the British/American Hegemony, 1900-1950," in *Japan in the World*, eds., Masao Miyoshi and Harry Harootunian (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993), 109.

[63] Cumings, "Archaeology, Descent, Emergence," 109. For a historical trace of East Asia in regional perspective, see Prasenjit Duara, "The Cold War as a Historical Period: An Interpretive Essay," *Journal of Global History* 6, no.

Looking at the broad picture of the U.S. reorientation plan, we see the dynamics between political and industrial interests in the integration of occupied theaters. In the context of East Asia, the Japanese and Korean film markets were drawn into liberal capitalism under U.S. hegemony. The U.S. occupation of Japan relied on continuities with earlier Japanese as well as American modernizing projects. For both Japan and the U.S. to benefit from Japan's reintegration into the global capitalist economy as the junior partner of the U.S., their mutual agreement in the denial of their imperial past in Asia was inevitable. Within a long-term plan of building a strong U.S. hegemony over Asia based on Japan's previous imperial network, it was imperative to secure the southern half of Korea against the prolonged Soviet occupation of the other half of the peninsula. To this end, the U.S. sought to extend their teaching of American democracy outside theaters through non-commercial, non-fictional genres of film such as documentaries and short films. However, U.S. policy-makers soon faced some significant challenges in this approach to Southern Korea.

In particular, occupation authorities were increasingly concerned over the extent to which non-fiction films made in the United States were successfully received by local audiences. Since both features and non-fiction films sent to occupied theaters in 1946 were not exclusively designed for the people in occupied areas, occupation authorities became concerned about whether each film would be capable of demonstrating the value of democracy and teaching specific skills needed by the local population.[64] More specifically in the case of Southern Korea, while the Hollywood commercial films coming through CMPE hit the box office, the

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3 (2011): 457-480; Prasenjit Duara, "The Global and Regional Constitution of Nations: The View from East Asia," *Nations and Nationalism* 14, no. 2 (2008): 323-345.

[64] For the case of Germany and Austria, see Jennifer Fay, *Theaters of Occupation.*

USAMGIK officials were increasingly skeptical whether CAD films could do more than simply broadcasting what the U.S. occupation force did. One of the USAMGIK advisors seriously doubted whether American films—both corporate and non-corporate—would successfully communicate with people "totally unacquainted with the most basic concepts of democracy, the principles of democratic government and life."[65] Films dealing "simply and directly with the fundamentals of democracy" were most necessary, because CAD's American films were not a perfect fit for Korean audiences, especially uneducated and illiterate individuals across the country. He also strongly suggested making more films that "direct at a rather low level of political sophistication." Only these kind of films would be immensely valuable in American attempts at indoctrination of the democratic way of life in Southern Korea, because he thought that "the principles of government under law, of mutual responsibility of governor and governed, the concept of the official being a public servant—through truisms to Americans—are totally unknown in the Orient."[66]

Despite the overt racism grounded in claims of innate differences in development, what is revealing here is growing skepticism on the usefulness of American non-fiction film in Korea, which, in turn, pushed the policy-makers to turn their attention to local film production. For instance, in the case of Korea, occupation authorities promoted local businesses through the Department of Public Information and the Office of Civil Information. The USAMGIK's Department of Public Information (hereafter DPI) produced a series of short newsreels (*Korean Newsreel*) in the early stage of occupation. The DPI officials allowed Korean film personnel to make newsreels with resources and equipment from the old Government-General of Korea under

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[65] "Film Program for Korea," January 9, 1947, Box 253, WDSCA 062.2 Section 1, CAD Records, NACP.

[66] "Film Program for Korea."

Japanese rule, as USAMGIK managed these resources as "vested property." These resources provided a basis for making newsreels and shorts in early 1946, but they were lost in a fire later that same year.[67] The USAMGIK then requested to purchase from CAD a list of technical equipment needed in Korea, including 35mm cameras, 16mm cameras, sound recorders, picture printers, editing equipment, and developing machines. The USAMGIK also asked CAD to provide other needed motion picture supplies, including 35mm film (2.5 million feet) and 16mm film (1 million feet), as well as chemicals needed to develop and print films.[68] These sources and equipment enabled the DPI to continue to produce several non–fiction films, hiring Korean film producers.

Another crucial agency, the Office of Civil Information (hereafter OCI) of the United States Armed Forces in Korea (USAFIK) embarked on its own production starting in July 1947. OCI took charge of offering information to Koreans about U.S. policy, Americans, and the values and institutions that influenced the policy and people. Often called a "propaganda machine" of the U.S. administration in Southern Korea, it aimed to tell "the truth" about America so that Koreans would find good will in the American occupation.[69] OCI's crucial vehicle was its local branches, which often included small libraries. These local branches offered a window through which Koreans saw the ideas of American democracy and the value of modern life in books, films, and pamphlets made particularly for Koreans. USAMGIK recognized the OCI's growing importance, especially after the United States and the Soviet Union failed to agree on the fate of the peninsula and decided to turn the issue over to the United Nation General Assembly in September 1947. From September 1947 to May 1948, when UN-sponsored elections for a legislative assembly were held, the OCI took the lead in film production as part of the public information program, with the support of USAMGIK.[70]

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[67] Since up to 90 percent of theaters and enterprises were owned by Japanese in the 1940s, Koreans anticipated that those theaters would be handed over to them shortly after August 1945. The USAMGIK took over an imperial film production corporation—a single film corporation that had merged all Korean film companies under it in 1943—by not only taking the office and technical equipment previously housed in the Governmental-General Building, but also utilizing previously organized members of the film industry. It is not surprising that, according to Ordinance No. 33 on Japanese property in Korea, almost all technical sources and theaters under Japanese rule belonged to the USAMGIK as of February 1946. Issues related to property rights redistribution, such as the seizure, vesting, management delegation, and sales of vested enterprises, were recognized by active members of the film industry as a way the U.S. expressed its dominance as an economic power in post-liberation Korea.

[68] "Current situation in Korea," November 14, 1946, Entry A1 1256, Box 28, SCAP Records, NACP.

[69] "Report on the History and Growth of the Office of Civil Information, USAFIK," November 10, 1947, Entry A1 1256, Box 32, SCAP Records, NACP.

Table 2.4: A list of non–fiction films made by the U.S. occupation forces in Korea (1945–1948) [71]

Year	Title	Director	Production	Genre
1945	*Ring the Liberty Bell* (*Chayuŭi chongŭl ulyŏla*)	Han Changsŏp	USAMGIK	Non-fiction
1946	*Korean Newsreel* (*Sipo*) no. 1–15	Unknown	USAMGIK	Monthly newsreel only no. 1, 2, 5 and one special release available
	Korean Repatriates (*Kwihwantongp'o*)	Unknown	USAMGIK	Non-fiction
	Korean White Angel (*Paekŭich'ŏnsa*)	Unknown	USAMGIK	Non-fiction
	The Age of Machines (*Kikyesitae*)	Unknown	USAMGIK	Non-fiction
	The Textile Industry (*Chikmulkongŏp*)	Unknown	USAMGIK	Non-fiction
	Cholera (*Hoyŏlcha*)	Unknown	USAMGIK	Non-fiction
	Korean Olympic (*Chosŏnollimp'ik*)	Unknown	USAMGIK	Non-fiction
1947	*A Rampart of Nation* (*Minjokŭi Sŏngbyŏk*)	Chŏn Changkŭn	Signal Corps	Non-fiction
1948	*People Vote* (*Kungmint'up'yo*)	Choi Inkyu	OCI	Non-fiction
	Dance of Chang Ch'uhwa (*Changch'uhwamuyong*)	Choi Inkyu	OCI	Non-fiction
	A Village of Hope (*Hŭimangŭi Maŭl*)	Choi Inkyu	OCI	Non-fiction
	Progress of Korea (*Taehanjŏnjinbo*)	Unknown	OCI	Newsreel

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[70] "History of the Department of Public Information: An Outline," Box 39, SCAP Records, NACP.

[71] *Yesult'ongsin*. December 3, 1946, 1; "History of the Department of Public Information: An Outline" Box 39, SCAP Records, NACP; *Hankukyŏnghwach'ongsŏ* (Seoul: Hankukyŏnghwa chinhŭng chohap, 1972), 255-310.

The set of films made by the U.S occupation force in Korea (Table 2.4) shows that during the first two years of the occupation, USAMGIK produced newsreels and non-fiction films to inform Korean audiences about current affairs as well as new knowledge about hygiene, industry, and health. Once the film program became more centralized under OCI in late 1947, a new type of educational film appeared, with a particular focus on the ideals and systems of American democracy. In January 1948, responding to growing concern over how to instruct Koreans in representative democracy, OCI produced a non-fiction film titled *People Vote*, directed by Choi Inkyu. Three months later, the OCI began to distribute both 35mm and 16mm prints of *People Vote* to its local branches, as well as major theaters in Daejeon, Busan, Gwangju, and Chuncheon. Beyond these places, *People Vote* was seen by more than thirty million people over the course of a month a range of venues, such as middle schools, village halls, churches, and city halls.[72]

While it is hard to trace how Korean audiences received U.S.- and Korean-produced non-fiction films during the occupation period, the occupation force carefully selected films that it perceived to be useful in instructing about American exceptionalism. That is, these films depicted a narrative in which America was founded by healthy, young, vital, and hardworking people who freed themselves from imperialism and acquired control of a largely empty continent that was abundant in natural resources. In this way, the U.S. refashioned and reinvented the ideas about America for its successful transformation of the southern part of Korea as a new democratic state and an U.S. ally in its larger attempt to build a pro-American regional bloc in East Asia. However, post-liberation Korea was built upon the existing imperial practices of culture along with imperial education and social infrastructures; in addition, businessmen, leaders, and civil servants who had cooperated with Japanese rule remained powerful. Recent scholarship has suggested that it is useful to examine the postcolonial era through an analysis of colonial legacy by specifically looking at the extent to which the USAMGIK's cultural policy and program maintained the structures and resources of the previous Japanese rule.[73] This line of questioning has been found in the work of scholars locating the USAMGIK's policy in a broader picture of U.S. information policy and foreign relations during the early Cold War.[74] While these studies urge us to view, to a certain degree, the era of U.S. occupation in relation to Korea's changing geopolitical position, they tend to take the relationship between colonial pasts and postcolonial presents as self-evident. The post-1945 period can be easily understood as a break from the previous colonial enterprise in terms of the change of political regime, but as Prasenjit Duara emphasizes, historical periodization need not be seen as an "ontological condition."[75] Rather, it should be considered as epistemological boundedness in our thinking of historical time and space that requires a kind of deconstruction so we can illuminate, for instance, how colonial situations bear on the "post"-liberation situation.[76] What conditions made it possible for colonial infrastructures and the usage of film to remain more persistent and visible? Is it still possible to reveal the perceptions and practices by which people in the film business were forced to reckon with features of imperial powers, and which they remained bound by after the collapse of the Japanese Empire?

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[72] "History of the Department of Public Information."

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[73] Han Sangŏn, *Haebang Konggan Ŭi Yŏnghwa, Yŏnghwain* [*The Film and Film Personnel in The Space of Liberation*] (Seoul: Ironkwa Silch'ŏn, 2013); Lee Soonjin, ed., *Han'guk Yŏnghwawa MinjujuŭI* [*Korean Cinema and Democracy*] (Seoul: Sŏnin, 2011); Jung Kunsik and Kyeonghee Choi, "T'alshingmin Naengjŏn Kukkaŭi Hyŏngsŏnggwa Kŏmnyŏl [Postcolonial Cold War State and Censorship]," *Taedongmunhwayŏn'gu,* no. 74 (2011).

[74] Hansang Kim, "Cold War and the Contested Identity Formation of Korean Filmmakers: On Boxes of Death and Kim Ki-Yong's USIS Films," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 14, no. 4 (2013): 551-563; Hŏ Ŭn, *Miguk Ŭi Hegemoni Wa Han'guk Minjokchuŭi: Naengjŏn Sidae* [*American Hegemony and Korean Nationalism*] (Seoul: Koryŏ Taehakkyo Minjok Munhwa Yŏn'guwŏn, 2008); Chang Yŏngmin, "Migunjŏnggi Migugŭi Taehansŏnjŏnjŏngch'aek [The USAMGIK's Propaganda Policy in the U.S. Occupation Era]" *Han'gukkŭnhyŏndaesayŏn'gu*, 16 (2001): 115-156.

[75] Prasenjit Duara, "Transnationalism and the Challenge of National Histories," in *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, ed., Thomas Bender (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 30.

[76] Ann Stoler, "Introduction," in *Imperial Debris: On Ruins and Ruination*, ed., Ann Stoler (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 7.

Prolonged Protocols and Approaches to Cinema

Under the U.S. occupation, features, including many Hollywood films, were mostly shown in the fixed location of a motion picture theater. Meanwhile, shorts and documentary films were shown in various settings, including U.S. information centers, libraries, civic clubs, and other locations whose primary purpose was not film exhibition. In particular, mobile film units were the only source of films in small and mid-size towns, as well as the countryside, where the population was not easily reached by any other means. The mobile film units also exhibited in places where local electrical and/or other facilities were inadequate or non-existent. Even in cities, the exhibition of non-fiction film expanded through various public places such as schools, hospitals, and churches under the U.S. occupation; it was often screened in fields, empty lots, or even barnyards in rural areas where little public space was available. While theatrical presentation took place at consistently scheduled intervals, for a fixed price, non-theatrical exhibition of instructional films took place at irregular intervals, with free admission. Feature films usually lasted approximately ninety minutes and were accompanied by newsreels and other short subjects; educational films were themselves short subjects, and were often shown alongside other shorts addressing a diverse array of topics, or to supplement a lecture on the same subject matter.

Although U.S. policy-makers and analysts defined their approach to cinema differently from totalitarian imperial powers in the interwar era, this particular way of exhibition was not different from the imperial power’s wartime film practice. While the Japanese imperial government's increasing investment in mobile units during wartime was initiated by the meager theatrical structures in rural areas, what further promoted the mobile projection was the very idea of film's potential in mass mobilization. Japanese policy-makers often suggested that film could successfully invigorate the spectators' national consciousness, and even "train" them, as in the language of the Information Bureau's Fuwa Suketoshi.[77] They consistently envisioned cinema as capable of constructing spectators or directing them in their viewing during wartime.

More importantly, the U.S. force in Southern Korea continued to rely on the existing protocols and infrastructure established under Japanese rule. In particular, the mobile unit and its infrastructure did not disappear with the end of World War II. The centralized network of film distribution provided a basis for the early practice of mobile unit projection operated by the USAMGIK's DPI and a few Korean film productions across the southern part of the peninsula. Local exhibitors displayed a set of films to audiences in various places without regulation, at least until the USAMGIK promulgated the film ordinance (Ordinance No. 115) in October 1946. This regulation significantly restrained the leftist Korean filmmakers, who had also planned a mobile film exhibition as part of their "film popularization movement," which aimed to extend the power of moving pictures as a tool of enlightenment for Koreans. With the enactment of the film ordinance, which required any distributor or exhibitor to get approval of the USAMGIK for public viewing, mobile exhibition was also regulated by U.S. information agencies such as DPI and OCI. While the new regulation provided some challenges to the film business, local distributors were able to work for USAMGIK. For instance, Chŏn Kyŏngsŏp, a local exhibitor operating a mobile unit, explains that the structure and distribution network shaped during wartime was still effective after the defeat of Japan; throughout the U.S. occupation period, he worked as a local practitioner for the USAMGIK, and 16 mm positive prints were distributed through the existing distribution route in South Chŏlla province.[78]

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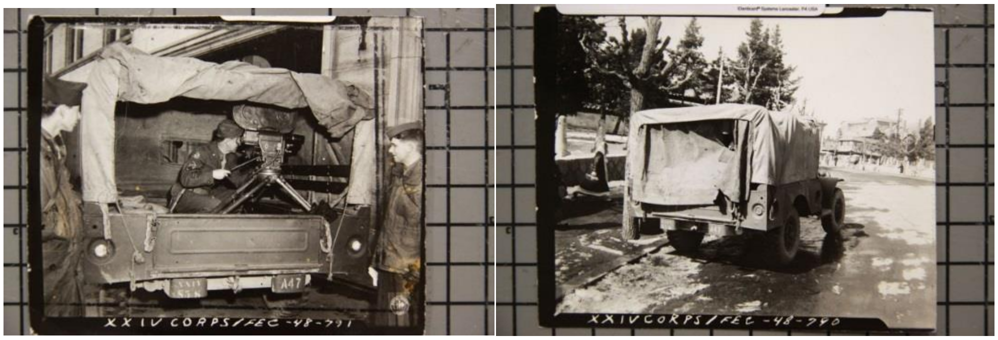
[77] Peter B. High, *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years' War 1931-1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 339-342.

Figure 2.3: The OCI's Mobile Film Units during the Occupation Era[79]



Building upon how the U.S. power approached film's effect and the existing distribution network, we can trace the manner in which mobile projection operated in Korea. In the practice of mobile film projection, policy-makers and practitioners in Washington and the occupation forces highly valued 16mm film's transportability and simplicity. Continuing with wartime practice, the U.S. military and public information leaders chose 16mm as the apparatus for what appeared to be an "ever-expanding non–theatrical terrain that stretched beyond the national boundary." The armed forces also recognized 16mm film as an efficient way to train soldiers on topics ranging from small-arms maintenance to venereal disease. This boom in demand for 16mm film caused a "dramatic upswing" in the production of 16mm cameras, film stock, and projectors, resulting in an Army and Navy surplus of forty to fifty thousand projectors after the war.[80]

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[78] Interview with Chŏn Kyŏngsŏp (Interviewer Lee Soonjin) in *Hanguk yŏnghwarŭl malhanda: Hangukyŏnghwaŭi rŭnesangsŭ 3* [On Korean Cinema] Vol. 3, ed. Korean Film Archive (Seoul: Korean Film Archive, 2007).

[79] Master File Photographs of U.S. and Foreign Personalities, World Events, and American Economic, Social, and Cultural Life, Record Group 306: Records of the U.S. Information Agency, 1900-2003 (hereafter, USIA Records), NACP.

Since non-theatrical exhibition in the service of the war effort at home and abroad attested to and signified 16mm's ubiquity, the information agencies and occupation forces also found 16mm's increasing prominence as a media delivery system extremely well-suited for the occupied areas. For instance, CAD increasingly purchased 16 mm over 35mm for the occupied areas. Of the raw stock for new film production ready to ship to Korea, 35mm only represented 4 prints, while 100 prints of 16mm film stock were ordered. To generate a significant number of film prints for mobile exhibition, CAD also shipped about five million feet of 16mm positive print, ten times more than the amount of 35mm positive film.[81] Particularly in the southern Korean context, by early 1947, CAD had purchased hundreds of 16mm sound projectors, as well as accessories and spare parts for mobile projection. This new purchase enabled local practitioners to exhibit non-fiction motion pictures across different genres that brought people, places, and events to a larger group of Korean audiences beyond the commercial movie theaters. All 16mm projectors were thus marketed and promoted as a means of bringing the world to Korea. What most fascinated the practitioners was that the 16mm projector was relatively easier to learn to use—and to practice using—which, in turn, meant that the USAMGIK officials could save time and effort in instructing local practitioners and amateurs.

However, the very features of 16mm that the officials at CAD and occupation forces saw as advantageous—the film stock's transportability and simplicity—also made it unexpectedly dangerous in the wrong hands. For instance, a schoolteacher could hide a rented print, claim that the mailman had lost it, and show it to students multiple times. Worse yet, profiteers and bootleggers could temporarily obtain 35mm prints and make their own 16mm reductions. In addition to the risk of the 16mm format, the designated storage places for film prints and projectors could also be problematic in terms of their preservation. As with CAD-distributed films, the OCI's information center and its seven local branches provided at least a minimal maintenance of the film prints and projectors that they rented to individuals and institutions. Although the local branches were in theory responsible for maintaining and staffing their mobile units during the U.S. occupation period, the screening prints were largely out of their control during the occupation era and the ensuing decade.[82]

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[80] Gregory Waller, "Projecting the Power of 16mm, 1935-1945," in *Useful Cinema*, eds., Charles R. Acland and Haidee Wasson (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 128.

[81] "Procurement of Motion Picture Film Raw Stock," March 25, 1947, Box 182, SCAP Records, NACP.

For instance, General John Reed Hodge, the U.S. Military Governor of Southern Korea, reported the "excessive loss [of] and damage on 16mm film" to the State Department. What distressed him was the "carelessness on the part of individuals" who were involved in the process of film distribution and exhibition, more precisely, "from the time it [was] picked up, run through the projector and returned to the designated source." Seeing that continued loss of film would lead to curtailment of film sent to the southern half of the Korean peninsula, Hodge requested immediate action to remedy the loss of and damage to film in Korea.[83] Although he was not closely involved in the film program, the responsibility of managing the film prints circulated in Southern Korea was in his hands. For Hodge, it was inevitable to invite the political authorities in Washington to solve this problem, so that he could prevent any further loss and continue to operate CAD's film program. While his concern was not taken seriously in Washington, at least until his departure, soon after the establishment of the Republic of Korea in August 1948, his report indicates that it was the network of distribution and exhibition that generated the problem, much as it did before 1945.

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[82] By January 1950, the U.S. information center had built nine branches in different cities. They functioned as local libraries for Koreans who were interested in American culture and society. Over 5 million visitors per month came to these libraries and accessed films and books. "Report from Everett F Drumright to Department of State," Statistical Report of US Information Center Activities, June 1, 1950, Record Group 59: Records Relating to International Information Activities, 1938-1953, NACP.

[83] "Memorandum from Hodge: Loss of Entertainment Motion Picture Film," June 9, 1948, KMAG, Adjutant General, Decimal File, 1948-53, Box 3, Brig. General W. L. Roberts, 1948 thru Veterinary Supplies and Equipment, 1948, Record Group 338: Records of U.S. Army Operational, Tactical, and Support Organizations, 1917-1993, (hereafter cited as Army Records), NACP.

While the U.S. articulated cinema as a strong performative force of America's democratic fantasies, at least in its approach to the Korean peninsula, it also duplicated the practice and protocol of the previous imperial power. To a certain extent, its film program maintained a particular disposition of cinema as a temporary tool in propagating messages to target audiences, despite the production and projection of the U.S. exceptionalism. In the U.S. domestic context, the film program in the occupied areas was supposed to focus on reconstructing these areas as U.S. allies, familiarizing people with the ideals of liberal democracy—the promise of freedom, liberation, and independence. However, we have seen what lay behind such promise of liberation and independence in the southern part of Korea: the MPEA and CMPE's aggressive strategies of reintegrating film markets, as well as the U.S. maintenance of the previous imperial practice and protocol.

What the U.S. film program was built upon and even reinforced was the liberation's contradiction, representing an illogic of using a military occupation as a mechanism of regime change and democratization. A film director An Chŏlyŏng captured, albeit not in the full-blown critique to the U.S. occupation, that the limited sovereignty and autonomy would fundamentally hold back a new country's cultural development, which would be pivotal to building a democratic citizenry. Looking into the contradictory status of postliberation Korea further pushes us to rethink the temporality of the "post"-World War. Even before the date of August 15, 1945, the U.S. decided the Korean peninsula at the 38th parallel without consultation of any extant political Korean entity such as the Korean Provisional Government that had formed during the war. Japanese colonialism did not simply end with the end of the war, but was superseded by the U.S. occupation. U.S. historians tend to see the Korean War as the first major U.S. intervention in the Cold War, yet, as Arif Dirlik claims, in the frame of colonialism, the war was "another phase" in Korea's struggle against foreign occupation.[84]

Simultaneously, the prolonged impact of imperial powers in the aftermath of second World War compels us to attend to how the historical relationship between imperialism and nationalism came to be configured anew in the postwar circumstances. Imperialism was no longer emphasized the language of conquest on the basis of "innate differences among peoples and their inevitable destinies of superiority and exploitation."[85] Instead, imperialism now became not only more development-oriented, but also a "highly specific political and ideological formation" that might be called "cold war transnationalism" (to be discussed in depth in Chapter 3).[86] The imposition of "designs for enlightenment upon emergent nations by an enormously superior national power backed by military force" was mediated by other international organizations with "considerable imperial baggage."[87] The next chapter will turn to the universalizing aspiration of the use of cinema in its potential of expanding sites of learning, legitimating it as a more fundamental effort to shape modern, mass-mediated publics in the first decade of postwar Korea.

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[84] Arif Dirlik, "Trapped in History on the Way to Utopia: East Asia's Great War Fifty Years Later," in *Perilous Memories*, ed. Takashi Fujitani, Geoffrey White, and Lisa Yoneyama (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 302.

[85] Arif Dirlik, "Trapped in History on the Way to Utopia," 302.

[86] Penny Von Eschen, "Locating the Transnational in the Cold War," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Cold War*, 452

[87] Prasenjit Duara, "The Cold War and the Imperialism of Nation States," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Cold War*, 86-101.

CHAPTER 3

Celluloid Democracy: Cinema's Educational Potential in Postwar Korea

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (hereafter UNESCO) has held an annual convention of delegates from each country since its foundation a few months after the end of World War II. The 1952 convention in Venice brought together artists from around the world, yet the rights and roles of artists in society were not the only topics discussed. The convention covered the issue of cultural and educational reconstruction in general, and participants paid particular attention to the state and its role in the postwar world. Speaking on the existing challenges to culture, the Director-General of UNESCO, Jaime Torres Bodet, stressed in his inaugural address: "In an age when patronage is disappearing, the state should occupy the vacant place by awakening and sustaining the talents which deserve its support."[1] In his framing, the state should not interfere in the work of creation itself, but "must endeavor to obtain the best possible practical conditions." Particularly to those nation-states that had been newly constructed at the end of World War II, the UNESCO convention strongly affirmed the role of education in building both a democratic nation and a democratic world. The education of the public in the visual arts, music, and literature was essential to building a world without tension, a world where a "democratic mode of national unity" and "international cooperation" would develop, and a form of art and literature that would not trigger authoritarian impulses in their audiences but instead bolster democratic and peaceful traits.[2]

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[1] "Introduction," in the conference proceeding, *The Artists in Modern Society: International Conference of Artists*, 1954, 9, UNESCO Archives, Paris (hereafter UA).

Among the convention's three-hundred participants were five Korean delegates who flew all the way to Venice in the middle of the Korean War: architect Kim Chungŏp, novelist Kim Malpong, poet Kim Soun, playwright O Yŏngchin, and sculptor Yun Hyochung. Although UNESCO's Korean Council had not yet been installed, these elites spoke as Korean representatives about the limited condition of artistic, cultural, and educational activities in South Korea anticipation of attention and support from other member countries. Korean delegates were aware that the cultural realm in Korea had been constrained not only by the country's devastating economic situation, but also by its long subjugation to political powers. To them, the ideas for democratic national and global culture discussed at the UNESCO convention should be introduced and adapted in Korea; to do so, it was essential to convince the political regime to embrace the important role of the arts in shaping a modern and democratic society.[3]

Syngman Rhee's regime (1948–1960) seemed responsive to the concerns of Korean elites regarding a basis for cultural industry, as shown in the legislation of the Cultural Protection Act (August 7, 1952) and the Copyright Act (January 28, 1957), which were to provide artists and writers with legal protection of their works. However, over the five years from 1952 to 1957, Rhee's regime and the cultural elites' negotiation to implement these acts ultimately failed to reach consensus. The political authority's concern centered on how, in the aftermath of the war, to solidify a nation that would be strongly grounded in both anti-Communism and anti-

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[2] "Introduction," 9.

[3] O Yŏngchin, "Yunesŭk'oesŏ tolawasŏ [Coming Back from UNESCO]," *Kyunghyangsinmun*, November 12, 1952.

Japanism.[4] Meanwhile, Korean elites believed that arts and education would play a most pivotal role in the country's reconstruction. While a flow of different ideas and visions for postwar society flourished at that time, many elites expressed their concerns about how to reconstruct the new country's "cultural backbone."[5]

Nevertheless, both the postwar regime and the elites were increasingly drawn into "modernization" as a magic key to national reconstruction. By "modernization," I refer to a theory of social change promoted by a liberal social science to account for the world outside Euro-America, generating a template against which to measure the "progress" accomplished by a society as well as what still needed to be done to achieve economic and political development. What was at the core of modernization discourse was the desire to promote political stabilization among new nations after decolonization as a condition for implementing economic development fueled by the market. In this way, modernization discourse, as Harry Harootunian stresses, "displaced capitalism with something called modernity," which was always exported as a "natural coupling" with democracy to incorporate new nations in the so-called "free world" during the Cold War.[6] The modernization discourse promised political and economic stabilization to the regime, and at the same time, to the elites, projected a way of transforming a

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[4] For a basic idea of how Rhee's advocates saw culture and education as tools for protecting South Korea from Communism and North Korea, see the September 1953 special edition of *Sinch'ŏnchi*. Yi Kwanku, "Kukt'ochaekŏnŭi kusang: sanŏpchaekŏnŭi panghyangkwa kŭ chŏnchechokŏn [Thinking National Territory Reconstruction: The Direction and Predicament of the Industrial Reconstruction]"; Kim Wŏnkyu, "Kukt'ochaekŏnŭi kusang kyoyukchaekŏnetaehan sokyŏn [A Few Thoughts on Educational Reconstruction]"; Cho Yongman, "Kukt'ochaekŏnŭi kusang munhwaŭi chaekŏn [Cultural Reconstruction]."

[5] Chŏng Tŭngun, "Hankukmunhwachaekŏnch'aek, [Strategies of Reconstruction of Korean Culture]," *Sinch'ŏnchi,* May, 1954, 12-18; Kim Kisŏk, "Minchokmunhwawa kŭ isang, [National Culture and its Ideals]," *Hyŏptong,* April, 1953.

[6] Harry Harootunian, *The Empire's New Clothes: Paradigm Lost, and Regained* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2004), 29.

"traditional" society into a "modern" nation, which would fashion Korean society as both receptive to democratic ideals and able to participate in liberal capitalist markets.

This chapter pays attention to how political and cultural authorities—the state and the elite—received the promise of modernization through their promotion of cinema's potential to expand sites of learning in the first decade of postwar Korea. Specifically, they were concerned with film's ability to transform the population into citizens. UNESCO, in close partnership with the United States, created fundamental ideas about cinema's educational potential, endorsing audiovisual education as critical to the nation's development and democracy. I begin with UNESCO's articulation of development-oriented discourse and, specifically, its links to audiovisual education in order to reveal how it was implemented in South Korea. In particular, I focus on the ways in which both the state and the elite approached cinema's instructional potential within a larger global endorsement of film's importance in decolonization. Analyzing their application of cinema's potential in the process of citizen-making, I contend that both the state and the elite devised a particular modality, the "pedagogical mode," which can be seen in two specific junctures: audiovisual education initiatives and the installation of the National Film Production Center. Examination of the pedagogical mode and its implications leads us to see how both state and elites located the audience within their discourse of modernization and democracy and their archives in Cold War context.

UNESCO, UNKRA, and Cold War Transnationalism

In the process of decolonization that followed the end of World War II, nations were defined as necessary and desirable ends that have inherent rights and responsibilities in the family of nations corresponding to those of individuals in a free society. This remapping of the world was undertaken by transnational actors and groups, who emphasized the dominant structures of nations as well as the universalizing aspirations of the superpowers. Among them, the United Nations and its agency UNESCO have recently attracted belated historical interest as significant transnational actors. While political scientists have long regarded UNESCO as a newly constituted and self-consciously international organization in the aftermath of war, historians have recently begun to pay attention to the complexity of the UN and UNESCO. For instance, Sunil Amrith and Glenda Sluga emphasize that, while the UN and UNESCO were bound to Cold War struggles from the beginning, they possessed intellectual and political autonomy, and were capable of working independently from ideological tension.[7] Moreover, these organizations designed and undertook a range of cultural and educational projects in addition to establishing transnational circuits of ideas, capital, and people. By "transnational" or "transnationalism," I do not refer to a transnational methodology and analysis that challenges a national-centered, national-oriented history underlying the givenness of national space. Rather, I build upon recent discussion of Cold War transnationalism that "operates as a highly specific political land ideological formation in the Cold War context."[8] As Penny von Eschen suggests, Cold War transnationalism is useful in the consideration of how power operated among nation-states in the Cold War, particularly through "transnational networks of modernization and development, and related educational, cultural, and religious projects."[9] I suggest that Cold War transnationalism grounded a wide variety of UNESCO's projects, not only in their rhetoric of development and modernization, particularly for the new postcolonial states, but also in their logistics of operation.

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[7] See, for example, *Journal of World History* 19, no. 3 (2008), an issue dedicated to new histories of the United Nations, and particularly the introduction by Sunil Amrith and Glenda Sluga, "New Histories of the United Nations"; see also Glenda Sluga, "The Transformation of International Institutions: Global Shock as Cultural Shock," in *The Shock of the Global: The 1970s in Perspective* ed. Niall Ferguson et al. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

[8] Von Eschen, "Locating the Transnational in the Cold War," 452.

[9] Von Eschen, "Locating the Transnational in the Cold War," 452.

In particular, UNESCO played a most significant role in implementing the UN's doctrine of the free flow of information by supplying lessons in modernization.[10] In doing so, UNESCO located film as a modern vehicle for fulfilling the promise of humanistic ideals (i.e. universal human rights) in the postcolonial world; film could instruct the population in skills, language, and knowledge so that they could become part of the "free world."[11] UNESCO also endorsed the idea that modernization and rationalization would fundamentally benefit the postcolonial states, which were considered backwards in the chart of global development of communication. In order to create the conditions for the free flow of information and communication in international society, UNESCO highlighted the use of film to modernize nations around the world, based on a massive survey of world media infrastructure and the seminars they conducted in the first decade of the postwar period.

For instance, the media experts at UNESCO pushed for the deployment of visual media, which could be read by the illiterate. What influenced these experts was that film could introduce modern technology and the role of the modern educator into developing countries. This conclusion about the usefulness of visual education for the illiterate is apparent as early as 1948, when the Film Sub-Commission of the Technical Needs Study noted:

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[10] Glenda Sluga, "UNESCO and the (One) World of Julian Huxley," *Journal of World History* 21, no. 3 (2010): 392-418; Laura Wong, "Relocating East and West: UNESCO's Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values," *Journal of World History* 19, no. 3 (2008): 349-374.

[11] Regina Longo, "Palimpsests of Power: UNESCO-Sponsored Film Production and the Construction of a 'Global Village,' 1948–1953," *The Velvet Light Trap*, no. 75 (2015): 88-106; Zoë Druick, "UNESCO, Film, and Education Mediating Postwar Paradigm of Communication," in *Useful Cinema*, 81-102.

> While the achievements in most of the countries under review are modest, there is a very active interest in the development of the production, distribution and use of educational films. This is particularly true in those countries of Asia and Latin America which have large problems arising from the illiteracy of a high proportion of their populations. Educational films have an enormous contribution to make in conquering illiteracy and disseminating information in those countries.[12]

Based on the wide range of research on illiteracy in these worlds, media experts with a previous footing in supporting the imperial film programs in British colonies found that mass education by films was "vital" because they saw that "a society with an oral culture had not always benefited by the acquisition of a literature culture."[13] Using the "modern instruments of mass communication" would maximize the effect of the fundamental education program in each country "without awaiting completion of the formidable and expensive task of preparing and printing textbooks and literature."[14] The early discourse on educational film was largely focused on the issue of world illiteracy as part of the larger international effort of postwar reconstruction of the "free world." Under the influence of the American academic field of communication studies, literacy now became a synecdoche for progress, modernization, and democracy, as though reading automatically produced a particular political point of view.[15] In practice, media experts posited the availability of the mass media as a magic key for both literacy and democracy. In this way, viewing educational film often took the place of reading textbooks and literature, while purporting to fulfill the same function.

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[12] UNESCO, "Report of the Commission on Technical Needs in Press, Radio, Film," August 30, 1947, 60, UA.

[13] John Grierson, well-known British documentary filmmaker, worked as the head of UNESCO's film program during its formative years (1945-1950) and shaped the early discourse of fundamental education, which was largely drawn from the ideas and practices of the British imperial film commission. The considerable investment in "colonial film" by the British Empire— "the most sustained and extensive use of film for governmental purposes by a liberal state"—was based on a set of ideas about film as a symbol of "technological modernity" that projected colonial authority and its ability of persuasion of "unsophisticated," "illiterate" populations. For more detail on British film practice in the first half of twentieth-century, Lee Grieveson provides a historical overview and critical issues. See, Lee Grieveson, "Introduction: Film and the End of Empire," in *Film and the End of Empire*, ed. Lee Grieveson and Colin MacCabe (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 1-11.

[14] UNESCO, "Report of the Commission on Technical Needs in Press, Radio, Film," 58.

[15] For the overall influence of American communication theory on Cold War discourse, see Turner, *The Democratic Surround*.

But educational film as an audiovisual medium, with its ability to transport viewers technologically, promised to do even more. The promise of educational film became even more pronounced in reference to the development of nation-states in 1950. For instance, Ross McLean, as head of the film education section at UNESCO, was a strong advocate of making a connection between fundamental education and visual aids for the underdeveloped countries. As a former commissioner of the National Film Board of Canada, he focused on developing knowledge of cinema's educational role and its potential impact in developing nations, particularly those recently liberated from the empires. Working closely with media specialists and educators around the world through a series of expert meetings and seminars, as early as 1952, he charted out the development of communication and media in each country in order to legitimate global action for fundamental education. In these meetings and seminars, McLean specifically analyzed national patterns of media consumption to identify a range of situations, from nations in dire need of targeted aid to those that were the site of pitched ideological battles; he expanded and repackaged these studies into the publication of the first empirical communication studies text book, *World Communications: Press, Radio, Film*.[16] Under his leadership, UNESCO pursued massive studies of media infrastructure in each nation-state, widely promoting the idea that the developing countries immediately needed technical and financial “aid,” especially those new states in Asia and Africa.[17] In this UNESCO’s broader contextualization of education and development in each nation, film’s educational efficiency was largely sanctioned and legitimated. It was justified, on the one hand, by the universal, humanistic ideal of improving the lives of people in the world in general, and of those populations in postcolonial states in particular. On the other hand, the template it created for national media also provided an international endorsement of an ideal national institution that would take charge of local film production in postcolonial states.

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[16] Among UNESCO's seminars, "The Visual Aids and Language-Teaching Workshops" in 1952 and "Fundamental Education and Visual Aids" in 1953 provided the basis for a number of the papers published in the UNESCO Mass Communication series, and they demonstrated the network of international communication, education, and development experts who were in contact around these issues. Many imperial filmmakers and administrators, such as William Sellers and Norman Spurr, were enthusiastic participants in the fundamental education workshop of 1953.

Among UNESCO’s member states, the United States was the most active participant in giving financial and technical support to South Korea, while reinforcing the rhetoric of the need for a strong state to achieve the goals of nation-building. In the process of integrating South Korea into the “free world,” a geopolitical and symbolic map constructed by the United States and its global alliances, two issues garnered the immediate attention from international and American policy-makers working closely with UNESCO: education reform and the installment of a centralized film production system under the aegis of the political regime.[18] Among a general range of educational initiatives, UNESCO particularly promoted what it called “fundamental education” in its aid of education reform in Korea. Fundamental education emerged as one solution to reduce illiteracy and to shape the population as modern and democratic citizens. In order to have a desirable impact on fundamental education, UNESCO strongly endorsed the necessity of a singular national film institution in order to gain more sustainable and immediate results in education and thereby benefit the larger population in the postcolonial state. The U.S. State Department and another UN special agency, the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (hereafter UNKRA), both strong supporters of UNESCO's ideas, agreed to provide financial, technical, and moral support to reform education and build a basic media infrastructure in postwar South Korea. Their cooperation brought out a new film studio and laboratories under the South Korean regime's public information department, including education and exchanges of film technicians and officials; more importantly, they also planted the importance of film as a vehicle of education in the 1950s and ensuing decades.

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[17] For colored political thinking in this immediate postwar period when it came to the future of the world’s colonies, see Fredrick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). He demonstrates that in the context of metropolitan efforts to stem labor revolt and address the economic dysfunctionality in the colonies, “development” emerged as a new anchor of imperial legitimacy.

[18] My understanding of “integration” here is indebted to Christina Klein. She points to both “containment” and “integration” as ideology and foreign policy during the Cold War, particularly those of two powers: the United States and the Soviet Union. What she calls “the logic of containment” worked to consolidate the global economy by emphasizing the economic, political, and military integration of the non-communist world. At the same time, the rhetoric of “integration” stressed the free market economic order, in which each nation would have unrestricted access to the markets and raw materials of all the others. Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 25.

More specifically, one of UNKRA's major projects aimed to rebuild Korea's educational system, which was expected to be critical to the nation's modernization and democratization.[19] A 1952 report on the conditions in the country, "Rebuilding Education in the Republic of Korea," detailed the prevailing problems in the Korean system. Calling for drastic change in the formal education system from primary school up to university level, UNKRA, in cooperation with UNESCO, paid special attention to fundamental education as a vision of education at all levels to modernize the lives of Koreans:

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[19] On December 1, 1950, shortly after the breakout of the Korean War in June of that year, the UN General Assembly created UNKRA in order to aid South Korea in recovering its economy and society. For a brief overview of UNKRA, see the online UN Archives (https://unarchives.wordpress.com, last accessed in December 10, 2015), which present a virtual exhibition on UNKRA from their records.

> Fundamental education has both a principle and a program to offer. It would start where people are, in their day-to-day life. It would endeavor to mobilize all the resources available to those people for the purpose of immediate planning for, and experimenting with, better ways of living and earning a livelihood, disease prevention, building and furnishing homes, diet, expressing feelings, occupying leisure hours and so on.[20]

UNKRA's idea of fundamental education called for moving beyond literacy training, which was the focus of the South Korean government's program of adult education. "Illiteracy is not the cause, but rather the result of the present situation," the UNKRA team wrote, and so they argued for the necessity of improving overall living conditions in Korea, as "formal education alone cannot do this."[21]

To do so, UNKRA planned to establish, among other things, a national training center for fundamental education, which would create capable and independent leaders of towns and villages. Planned and developed as a joint undertaking of the Korean government, UNESCO, and UNKRA, the Fundamental Education Center (hereafter KORFEC) provided facilities for adequate training of the men and women who would be called upon to carry out the education program to raise Korea's rural living standards.[22] UNESCO and UNKRA founded the Audiovisual Department at KORFEC, with the conviction that "a film can be one of the most effective of the audiovisual aids in education—if properly used."[23] According to Department

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[20] UNKRA, "Rebuilding Education in the Republic of Korea," 1953, UA.

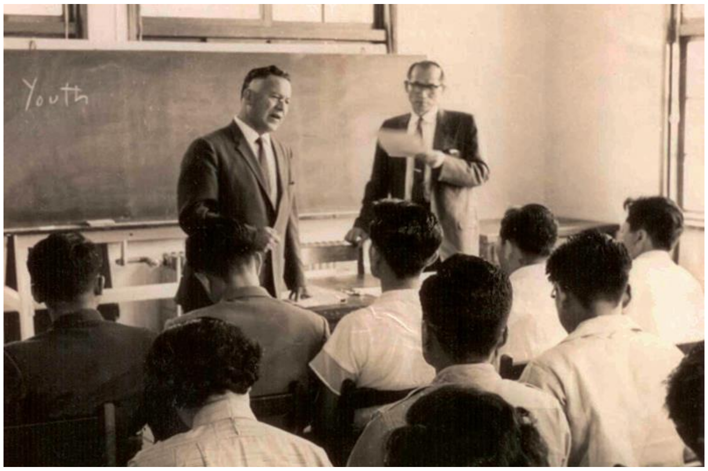
[21] "Rebuilding Education."

[22] Construction of the Center in Suwon, on grounds adjacent to the College of Agriculture of Seoul National University, began in July 1956 and was completed in October of the same year. Instruction was provided by the Director and a fundamental education specialist furnished by UNESCO as well as four other specialists—in agriculture, home economics and nutrition, health education and audiovisual aids—furnished by UNKRA. UNKRA, "Report of the Agent General of the United Nation Korea Reconstruction Agency," General Assembly: Twelve Session Supplement, No. 17, A/3651, 1957, UA.

[23] Korean Fundamental Education Center, "Preliminary Report: Department of Audiovisuals," 1959, 1. UA.

Chief Richard Kent Johnes, film can create audience awareness of new things, inspire audience members to improve their living conditions, and help them maintain interest in the education program. Johnes hired two Koreans, Park Iksoon [Pak Iksun] and Kim Youngwoo [Kim Yŏngu], to facilitate communication with the local population as well as to train them, with the end goal that they would eventually replace him and continue this program after his tenure. KORFEC staff taught various topics, including new crop methods, leadership, civic life in free society, and literacy in the Korean language. Incorporating commercial films, newsreels, documentaries, and educational films into lectures and discussions, their education program practiced a cutting-edge pedagogy and ultimately aimed to improve rural lives.[24]

Figure 3.2: Richard Kent Johnes teaching young villagers at the KORFEC, circa 1959.
Courtesy of UNESCO.



Meanwhile, UNKRA and the International Cooperation Agency (hereafter ICA) at the U.S. State Department invested in setting up a national film institution. In 1956, UNKRA and the

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[24] Korean Fundamental Education Center, “Preliminary Report,” In order to understand the KORFEC audiovisual program and its objectives in terms of the villages’ reconstruction, a recently published interview of Theodore Conant, an American sound engineer who taught audiovisual theories and techniques at KORFEC, is particularly helpful. See, Korean Film Archive ed., *Ipangini kilokhan hankuk, yŏnghwa: siŏtoŏ k’onŏnt’ŭ k’ŏlleksyŏn* [*Korea, Cinema, Seen from A Foreigner’s Eyes: Theodore Conant Collection*] (Seoul: KOFA), 2015, 35-86.

ICA invested in a movie sound stage and studio in the Bureau of Public Information (which later became the Office of Public Information), which in the next few years led to the launch of the National Film Production Center.[25] By 1959, when the film studio structure was completed, they also purchased film equipment and its supplements to meet the needs of the Korean government's information service. While institutionalizing the film studio and laboratory system, the ICA also designed an "Audio-Visual Leadership Program" under contract with Indiana University for bureaucrats and film professionals from the new postcolonial states in Asia and Latin America. The program specifically focused on how to utilize film as an audio-visual aid, providing both practical and theoretical training. For instance, Yi Sŏngchŏl, chief of the Film Division in the Bureau of Public Information, and three other technicians completed an ICA Audio-Visual Program from September 1957 to August 1958.[26] During the period from 1958 to 1960, ICA signed another contract with Syracuse University in order to "assist [the] Republic of Korea, in development and implementation of comprehensive motion picture production facilities as an integral part of [an] entire communication complex."[27] The purpose was not only to advise the Korean staff in the Office of Public Information (the former Bureau of Public Information) by developing motion picture training standards for all phases of motion picture activity but also to “promote Korean public appreciation of documentary, newsreel, educational, and training films.”[28]

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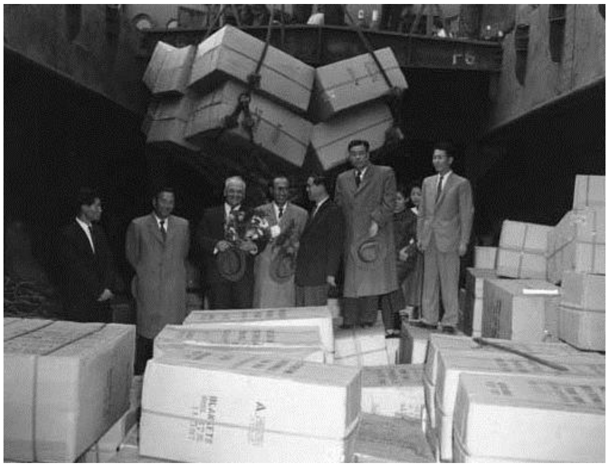
[25] UNKRA, "Report of the Agent General of the United Nation Korea Reconstruction Agency," General Assembly: Thirteen Session Supplement, No. 17, A/3651, 13. UA. A newspaper report states that the ICA provided 157 million *hwan* (Korean currency; one U.S. dollar was worth approximately 500 *hwan* by that time), which was about 322,000 dollars. UNKRA chipped in an additional 35,000 dollars. "Saech'walyŏngsonaksŏngsik tongyangcheilŭi sisŏl wŏnchalo kŏnlip [An Inauguration of New Film Studio]," *Donga Ilbo,* November 16, 1959.

[26] Oral History Research Project for Korean Film History: *Yi Sŏngchŏl* (Seoul: Korean Film Archive, 2009): 140.

[27] "Syracuse University, Contract ICA-W-816," Korea Division, Entry 478, Box 19, Office of the Far Eastern Operations File, Record Group 469: Records of the U.S. Foreign Assistance Agencies (hereafter, FAA Records), NACP. While the actual contract ended in June 1960, a few staff members stayed longer and kept in touch with Korean staff after they left. The Syracuse contract's "on-the-job-training" allowed Korean staff at NFPC to experience "professional" and "practical" training, "learning [the] formula" and "rational process" of filmmaking.

Figure 3.2: Officials of both UNKRA and the Bureau of Public Information unloaded and inspected the requested film equipment and supplements at the Pusan port on November 21, 1959.
Courtesy of the National Archives.



Transnational circuits of ideas and capital structured by UNESCO and the U.S. in the post–1945 world played a role in modernizing South Korea’s film production in the interest of educating a larger population. In the early phase of the ideological war between superpowers, it was important for foreign policy-makers and leaders to build a nation-centered notion of culture and education in developing countries such as South Korea so they would be more receptive to American political and economic systems and remain close U.S. allies. For the bureaucrats and policy-makers in South Korea, political and economic stabilization became the most critical mission, especially in their encounters with other nation-states in international settings. Their clear desire to catch up with the developed countries in the West was increasingly fashioned in the language of development. The development discourse generated a particular division that marked the relationship between developed and the developing countries on the global level.

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[28] “Syracuse University, Contract ICA-W-816.”

At the same time, the discourse of development also created a split within national boundaries between leaders and ordinary people. The new postcolonial nations demanded political equality with the Euro-American nations while attempting to catch up with them through the economic competition in the liberal market. As Dipesh Charkrabary points out, postcolonial leaders thought of their populations "simultaneously as people who were *already* full citizens"—in that they had the rights of citizens—and also as "people who were not quite full citizens, in that they needed to be educated in the habits and manners of citizens."[29] What he calls the "pedagogical mode" precisely addresses a "particular style of politics that enacted and reconstructed civilizational or cultural hierarchies" between classes, between nations, or between the leaders and the masses in the process of decolonization. Cinema's educational efficiency provided leaders—the political regime and cultural elites—with a modality of instructing the population in modern and democratic life. What follows is an analysis of two significant junctures in which Korean leaders practiced the pedagogical mode through cinema's instructional potential: the cases of Korea's audiovisual education initiatives and of the National Film Production Center.

The Elites: Audiovisual Education and Democratic Ideals

With UNESCO's support of educational reform and the importance of audiovisual media, from the 1950s onward, Korean cultural elites invested in defining and using film as an educational vehicle. One notable outgrowth was a network of organizations that promoted proper use of instructional film by all potential users. Korean elites, particularly those who were interested in education, organized non-profit film education organizations in the ashes of the Korean War, such as the Association of Korean Audiovisual Education (*Han'guk shich'ŏnggak kyoyungnyŏn'guhoe*, established in 1953) and the Imun Film Education Center (*Imun'gyoyungn yŏnghwayŏn'guso*, established in 1955). On the one hand, elites sought to provide a defined service to schools and educators, furthering group usage of motion pictures; on the other hand, these organizations were themselves a constituency of technologically invested elites and educators, championing the place of audiovisual media in the future of democratic and modern society.[30] These elites held the belief that film was a significant instrument for learning about this "rapidly changing and developing world," and that people, particularly students and children—as the future of the country—must learn to choose for themselves, from among all the films available, those best suited to their individual needs and interests.[31]

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[29] Dipesh Charkrabarty, "Decolonization: The Legacy of Bandung," in *Making a World after Empire*, ed. Christopher Lee (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2010), 53.

Crucial to these understandings was the advanced model of audiovisual education that could be found in the United States and Canada. Kim Ŭnu, an audiovisual education specialist (who would later launch the Audiovisual Education Center at Ewha Woman's University), was one of the vocal advocates of the U.S. audiovisual education model, which centered on an organized national network of libraries, schools, and clubs under the Film Council of America (FCA). Introducing the pedagogical methods and national network developed in U.S. audiovisual education, Kim advocated them as an ideal model for Korea.[32] Many elites also found the similar national film education network in Canada, where the National Film Board (NFB hereafter) produced educational films and organized the nation-wide exhibition network. In building up networks with the NFB, Korean educational organizations purchased NFB publications and film prints for their own practice.[33]

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[30] Little scholarly attention has been paid to the history of audiovisual education in the early postwar era in South Korea. For a historical overview of audiovisual education in 1950s and 1960s, see Kim Yŏngsuk and Lee Minye, "Hankuk sich'ŏngkakkyoyuk kikwan pyŏnch'ŏne kwanhan chosa [A Study on the History of Korean AV Education Institutes]" *Sich'ŏngkakkyoyuk*, vol. 9 (1975): 74-95.

[31] Yun Taeyŏng, "Kyochaeyŏnghwaŭi t'ŭkisŏng, Sich'ŏngkakkyoyuke taehan kwankyŏn [The Particularity of Educational Film: An Observation on the Audio-visual Education]," *Kyunghyangsinmun*, September 19, 1955.

[32] Kim Ŭnu, "Mikukŭi sich'ŏngkakkyoyuk [The US Audio-visual Education]," *Kyunghyangsinmun*, October 8, 1955. When Kim wrote this column, he had just returned from Columbia University, where the U.S. State

What particularly fascinated Korean elites was not only the practice of audiovisual education in the North American context but also the ways in which the film educational agencies in the U.S. and Canada normalized the place of educational film in ordinary public, pedagogical, and cultural life. For them, the NFB's service benefitted a large population by helping them experience democratic ideals. The NFB's regular screenings for students and adults in their own theaters, as well as educational training for teachers, proved effective to educate them in service of a vision of modern democratic citizenship.[34] This experience of democratic ideals came through watching educational films that depicted the actual usage of audiovisual aids in classrooms and its impact. These films successfully show the well-developed educational environment in the United States and Canada, which provided Korean educators with a blueprint for audiovisual education and democratic society.

Department invited him as visiting scholar. The eye-widening experience of U.S. audiovisual education compelled him in 1955 to propose a plan for an Audiovisual Education Center at Ewha Woman's University, including a budget justification of $500,000, but his proposal was turned down due to the budget. In 1969, the University approved Kim's plan, and appointed him as director.

[33] "K'anataŭi sich'ŏngkakkyoyuk," *Sich'ŏngkakkyosuksinmun*, no. 27, February 19, 1954 (Seoul: Sich'ŏngkakkyosuksinmunsa). For a comprehensive account of the NFB, see Zoë Druick, *Projecting Canada: Government Policy and Documentary Film at the National Film Board of Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007).

[34] Both the Association of Korean Audiovisual Education and the Imun Audiovisual Education Center began to produce their own educational films, such as *Growing New Education* (1954) and *A Breeze from the Mountain, Another from the River* (1956), among others. The latter was widely promoted as a film approved by the UNESCO Korean Council and called "the first Korean educational film" that would be presented at the UNESCO Asia Conference. But given their tight budgets, these private organizations came to pay more attention to public exhibition, publication, and education rather than making their own films.

In particular, films on the effectiveness of motion pictures as educational aids—such as *New Tools for Learning* (University of Chicago Audio-Visual Center, 1951) and *Making Films That Teach* (Encyclopedia Britannica Films, 1954)—depict the necessity of audiovisual education for the future in showing how industrial, scientific, and social leaders extolled the use of educational films in teaching. Showing American children in classrooms watching film-strips and actively participating in group discussion, these films claim the effectiveness of audiovisual aids in helping students comprehend new knowledge. These films also lead the audience to perceive another benefit of educational film by inviting people in different parts of the world to experience other cultures. Finally, these films often stress how developed the West was with respect to improved school curricula and various facilities for audiovisual education, which nurture students as citizens of democratic society.

Another example, *Let's Talk about Films* (National Film Board of Canada, 1953), provided educators with a blueprint for how effective discussion and film screening could facilitate the development of democratic culture. It illustrated techniques to generate questions and debate following a film screening, showing the importance of a skilled group leader. Film discussion leaders were not to be blustery authorities, but rather members of the group, watching films with audiences and posing questions. Leaders were directed to express their personal opinion on film topics, thus encouraging audiences to do the same. Rather than dominating a discussion, leaders prompted audience members to share their feelings. Such sharing was seen as the best way to get people to make up their minds about something and then, once convinced, to be prepared to act. The goal of *Let's Talk about Films* was to convey, as the narrator speaks cheerfully, "the feeling of a warm group atmosphere" as an essential component of effective discussion and utilization. In the experience of watching this type of educational film, democracy was never understood merely as a matter of voting, or the creation of parliamentary and juridical systems. Democracy as projected in the film was instead a type of behavior and attitude independent of these other political institutions.

Figure 3.3: Classroom scenes where children enjoy watching films from *New Tools for Learning* (1953)

Impressed by this virtual experience of democracy in the classroom, Korean elites sought a role in the larger field of audiovisual education, promoting the use of filmstrips alongside motion pictures. They did so by training teachers in how to incorporate audiovisual aids in classrooms and how to operate the equipment for best results. To instruct teachers in local schools to be more receptive to the instructional efficiency of audiovisual aids, elites increasingly invested in publishing books and periodicals.[35] For instance, one of the periodicals, *The Audiovisual Education* was not only widely disseminated to schools in large cities such as Seoul and Pusan, but also circulated in small- or mid-sized cities that had limited access to the collections of educational film and material. These publication materials, all in all, offered a channel for educators to inform themselves about cutting-edge techniques of learning and teaching using film media. This new change also encouraged them to form a local working group, so that they could solicit the opinions and needs of other educators and request lectures and screenings from film education professionals.[36]

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[35] Examples of books include Wŏn Hŭngkyun, *Sich'ŏngkakkyoyuk* [*The Audiovisual Education*] (Seoul: Han'guk shich'ŏnggakkyoyuksa), 1950; Han Ŭngsu, *Sich'ŏngkakkyoyuk* [*The Audiovisual Education*] (Seoul: Han'guk shich'ŏnggakkyoyuk'oe), 1953. These books include a detailed examination of American audiovisual education theories, methods, tools, as well as their applications in Korean classrooms. These publications often put together useful English-language sources and recommended films. Although only a few educators and experts focused on the importance of developing course materials, methods, and tools in 1950s, a number of organizations and city governments began to invest in these efforts of experts in early 1960s. For instance, The Audiovisual Education Newspaper Company started to publish a 12-volume of textbooks for public education from 1963 to 1965.

Although they were based in few major cities such as Seoul and Pusan, film education organizations sought to operate as national clearinghouses for information about film's classroom and community use. By offering teachers and social progressives access to the holdings in their libraries, or renting prints of educational films for free, elites in these organizations spread a new trend of educational film. By early 1960, the Association of Korean Audiovisual Education, for instance, began to rent educational films, with a projector upon request, from among their 128 titles to schools and local councils. This practice, in turn, led the government's information and education agencies to initiate the same rental service for public schools.[37] Once the Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education installed a city-run audiovisual center in 1958 that screened pre-approved educational films to students at affordable prices, governmental agencies increasingly took note of audiovisual education.[38] Throughout their activities, the elites were quite optimistic about the expansion of the audiovisual network. Film libraries worked as sites, at least in theory, where the egalitarian vision of audiovisual education was mediated and practiced, particularly for those elites who foresaw how effective audiovisual aids would be in providing the younger generation with broader knowledge and experience from different parts of the world. By extension, this different new learning experience would allow young students to be part of the modern world.

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[36] Kim Chŏngye, "Han'guk kyoyukkonghakŭi yŏksachŏk koch'al [A Study on Korean Educational Technology] (PhD Diss., Ewha Woman's University, 1994): 50-68.

[37] "Kongpopunŭn haksaengŭi sich'ŏngkakkyoyukŭl topki wihae sinae kakkukminhakkyo mich'chungkotŭng hakkyoe kyoyukchŏk yŏnghwalŭl pillyŏchunta [Office of Public Information Starts to Rent Educational Films to Elementary, Junior-High, and High Schools in Seoul]," *Kyunghyangsinmun*, September 9, 1961; "Han'guk sich'ŏngkakkyoyukmunhwawŏn: mulyolo munhwayŏnghwa tŭng taech'ul [The Association of Korean Audiovisual Education: Cultural Films Rental for Free]," *Kyunghyangsinmum*, September 13, 1961.

[38] Kim Chŏngye, "A Study on Korean Educational Technology," 48-49.

However, even though Korean elites positioned educational film as crucial to learn the gospel of democracy by promoting the effective use of audiovisual materials, their primary interest lay more in the dissemination of educational film as a tool than in its reception, that is, in how such usage would be received by its potential addressees—children and students. Showing a film in the classroom could introduce a new object or skill to the viewers, but there was no guarantee that every single viewer would understand a particular behavior or value-laden concept depicted in the film. In elites' response to the dire circumstance of public education in the aftermath of the war—destroyed schools and classrooms, a lack of educational infrastructure, as well as a high rate of illiteracy—it is not easy to trace how they further articulated the relationship between an educational film and an actual viewer. In their emphasis on film's instructional efficiency, the role of the audience was invisible, and particularly the issue of how the audience would receive the messages of film.

Despite their liberal rhetoric and practice, the audiovisual education initiatives were not necessarily a progressively democratic project—perhaps predictably so, given the limited understanding of the audience's reception. What was more important to the elites involved in initiatives was the creation of an expanded network that would be effective in distributing the materials. This was associated with the discourse of modernization, especially the elites' long-standing claim in which building a central audiovisual center was seen as a synecdoche of a developed society like the U.S. and Canada. By 1962, the elites reached a conclusion that the government's investment was necessary for the nation-wide growth of audiovisual education that would be more effective at both making film accessible to a broader audience and training teachers as audiovisual experts.[39] In the meantime, political leaders also became more aware of film's instructional potential; however, they were not interested in increasing investment in centralizing audiovisual education initiatives.

The State: Developmentalism and the National Film Production Center

Building upon the instructional efficiency of film mobilized in the Cold War context, the postwar Korean state practiced the pedagogical mode through its own agency and film program. The establishment of the National Film Production Center (NFPC hereafter) is particularly notable, considering its origin and long history as the sole state-led film agency in South Korea; it dates back to a radical reform of the previous Motion Picture Bureau in the Office of Public Information in 1961. In scholarship, the NFPC has long been defined as mere state propaganda machinery—until recently, when a fresh look at the dynamics of state-sponsored film production and exhibition emerged with the Korean Film Archive's 2012 year-long project studying the specific actors involved in the NFPC and the films they produced.[40]

To grasp the dynamics of the NFPC, it is helpful to take a brief look at the circumstances under which it was created. As discussed earlier, the aid from UNKRA and ICA built a newly equipped film studio and laboratory, providing by the end of 1959 the necessary professional training for Korean officials at the Office of Public Information. The Rhee regime demanded that the Office increase state-led film production and exhibition, prioritizing the promotion of the regime's policy over other missions such as dissemination of useful information or knowledge. The regime's excessive usage of promotional film soon met with wide public criticism of the regime's political corruption, criticism that resulted in the April Revolution, a popular April 1960 uprising led by labor and student groups.

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[39] "Sich'ŏngkakkyoyukkwa kyoyukyŏnghwalŭl malhanŭn chwatamhoe [Roundtable: On Audiovisual Education and Educational Film]," *Kyunghyangsinmun*, May 24, 1962.

[40] In 2009 and 2012, the Korean Film Archive conducted oral history research with film directors and commissioners who worked for the NFPC. It provided a basis for future research on postwar film culture in general, as the NFPC's roles are not completely confined to the domain of the state's film program according to this oral history research. The transcription of the interviews has been published into a series of volumes including *Yi Sŏngchŏl* and *Pak Iksun* among others that are cited throughout this chapter.

Beginning as a massive demonstration against Rhee's fraudulent election to prolong his time in office, the April Revolution evolved into flourishing criticism of the authoritarian regime along with its state propaganda. In particular, critics advocated for the democratization of media, which would require an overhaul of film production, previously under the state's aegis. Calling for "shifting the angle of state-sponsored films from state propaganda to ordinary citizens and their lives," one commentator argued that newsreels and documentaries should place more weight on the educational factor, serving the audience's curiosity while entertaining.[41] As a result, the interim Chang Myŏn administration of the Second Republic (1960-1961) quickly dissolved the Motion Picture Bureau and created the NFPC, a new agency dedicated to the state's film production.

The NFPC's practice dramatically expanded after the 5.16 Military Coups in 1961, when Major General Park Chung Hee and his young army colonels overthrew the Second Republic. During the early 1960s, Park Chung Hee devised a particular idea of democracy —under the umbrella terms, "national democracy," "Korean democracy," or "administrative democracy" — in contrast to "Western democracy"— as a way to distinguish the legitimacy of his military regime.[42] He claimed that because South Korea lacked "the subjective condition" and thus democracy could not be most ideally adapted, Korea's democracy should be "properly modified and suited" for its current situation. Korea's condition, in his logic, justified his newly gained power. Under the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction (SCNR), Park as acting president intended to purge the military, the government, and society of those regarded as corrupt or undesirable, claiming the momentum of national reconstruction. At that time, the military junta initiated the first five-year economic plan in 1962, and once Park won the 1963 election, he unleashed his drive for economic development, which he hoped would win over the population with an image of a new, hopeful, developing society. What Park needed was to legitimate his absolute power in the name of modernization, and to do so, he saw film's instructional efficiency as pivotal to convince people of his ideas for democracy at the critical moment of change.[43]

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[41] "Nyusŭyŏnghwa chekusilhaeyahal tankye. kwakamhi kwanpoch'wi pŏlyŏla [Time for News Film to be Reoriented]," *Donga Ilbo*, May 25, 1960; "Nyusŭyŏnghwa, k'amelaŭi nunŭl ŏtilo kachyŏkal kŏsinka [Suggestions for News Film of the Public Information Office]," *Kyunghyangsinmun*, May 31, 1960.

From the beginning, the NFPC thus needed to prove its difference from Rhee's state machinery, and more importantly, to help stabilize regime change by publicly promoting Park's new vision of society. The NFPC identified its role as serving a large population whose daily life was in need of improvement. Particularly in the formative years, its film program was largely predicated upon film's educational potential for the masses, the egalitarian relation between film and viewers, and the promise of happiness and a better future. NFPC constructed its mobile exhibition circuit across the country to facilitate the development of local communities, especially for those that lacked theatrical infrastructure.

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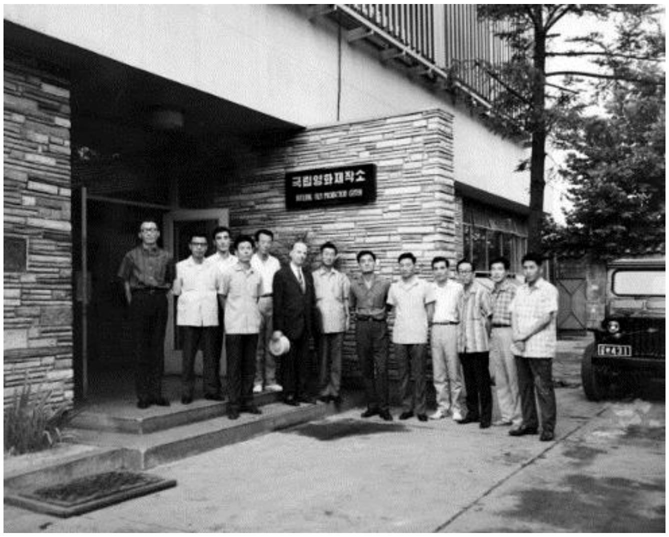
[42] Kang Chŏngin, *Han'guk Hyŏndae Chŏngch'i Sasangkwa Park Chung Hee* [*Contemporary Korean Political Thought and Park Chung Hee*], (Seoul: Akanet, 2014). Kang Chŏngin provides an engaging analysis of Park's dynamic political ideologies, particularly Park's conceptualization of democracy in the 1960s. Park's usage of democracy should be read as his own contradiction, justifying authoritarian and military state power as a way to protect the nation-state from the threats of communism and economic devastation. Hyung-A Kim and Clark W. Sorensen also briefly discuss how Park developed his own logic of liberal democracy to legitimate his regime. Hyung-A Kim and Clark W. Sorensen, *Reassessing the Park Chung Hee Era, 1961-1979: Development, Political Thought, Democracy, and Cultural Influence* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011).

[43] Park Chung Hee, *Uri Minjokŭi nagal kil* (Seoul: Koryŏ Sŏjŏk Chusik Hoesa, 1965), 221-222. An English translation is available: *Our Nation's Path: Ideology of Social Reconstruction* (Seoul: Hallym Corp, 1970).

Figure 3.4: The National Film Production Center (1961), located in the former Government-General Hall, Seoul. Courtesy of the National Archives of Korea.



In particular, what motivated the NFPC filmmakers to maintain a role as more than government's propaganda agency was their transnational encounter, which provided them with an ideal model for their practice. In recent testimonials, NFPC filmmakers and officers have defined their practice in terms of the legacy of U.S. educational film and UNESCO audiovisual education.[44] While they were exposed to educational film at slightly different times, their participation in intellectual exchange programs in the United States and Canada played a critical role in the NFPC's formative years. Yi Sŏngchŏl, head of the NFPC from 1961 to 1965, revealed his fascination with the ways in which American schools operated with audiovisual centers during his study in the ICA Audio-Visual Leadership Program at Indiana University. What surprised him even more was that small villages were already well equipped for audiovisual education in public places under a centralized network of film education. His experience with the U.S. audiovisual education system changed his view of how to set up a nation-wide network of film education, and he even wanted to "catch up" with the United States.[45] His other fieldtrip, to Canada's NFB, also impressed him, in that the NFB did not simply spread the state's ideology but rather helped to change people's lives.[46] Yi realized that the NFPC should make films inculcating better ideals that would enable audiences to find their places as effective members of society. Critical to such an idea was its ultimate goal: the happiness that individuals would derive from fitting in. Audiences in urban and rural areas alike had to meet the complex problems of modern life to live happily. They, too, had to fit in to maintain political and social stability; and they, too, could be helped by learning while achieving these goals.

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[44] *Yi Sŏngchŏl* (Seoul: Korean Film Archive, 2009): 167-169.

Given the NFPC's renewed position and its transnational encounters, it is not surprising that the NFPC filmmakers who worked actively up to the late 1960s defined their films not as propaganda but rather as part of a larger social engineering tool that was educating viewers, thereby raising their consciousness.[47] Rejecting propaganda as a key rhetorical device to exclude any remaining authoritarian legacy, NFPC officials affirmed that the rhetoric and strategies of persuasion employed to publicize modernization and democracy were distinct from the earlier regime's propaganda. For them, films intended to reach out to the population of the postcolonial state should be informational, motivational and, above all, educational. They believed that the term "propaganda" was associated with dominant and oppressive powers that imposed a set of ideas through top-down instruction.

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[45] *Yi Sŏngchŏl*, 147.

[46] *Yi Sŏngchŏl*, 132. Yi's encounter with the NFB in the late 1950s continued to influence other NFPC staff members throughout the 1960s. The Cultural Exchange Treaty signed between the NFB and the NFPC in 1960 enabled the NFPC staff to learn through NFB publications and films, as well as to screen them through NFPC circuits. The NFPC introduced different genres and topics of NFB film (e.g. *Co-operative* (1961) and *The Canadian* (1962)) to Korean audiences. The NFB also offered a short-term training program for Korean film professionals up to late 1967. For instance, NFPC filmmakers Ch'oe Pongam and Kim Intae trained at the NFB, thanks to a grant from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Canada. These directors were particularly impressed by the NFB largely in a) its independent, one-person production units specializing on one specific topic (e.g. women, schooling) and b) its diversity of genres and topics, as well as artistic expression. In their view, their experience at the NPB allowed them to exploit popular forms—including cartoons and melodramas—to educate while entertaining the masses.

[47] *Yu Pyŏnghŭi* (Seoul: Korean Film Archive, 2012), 88-95.

These concerns were inevitably reflected in the NFPC films on many levels. To get a sense of the NFPC's topical coverage, it is useful to group their films into several categories according to their themes and messages.[48]

- Labor-management cooperation: economic planning for independent and autonomous country or community, self-help
- National security: the prevailing concern of South Korea, propagation of anti-communism and anti-Japanism
- Mental and social hygiene: nutrition, health, housing, saving, education, parenting
- National culture: folklores, folk cultures, historical sites and figures, sports

These themes and tropes characterize the goals of NFPC film: making the population fit into a new society, reshaping families and communities, and turning as many citizens as possible into cooperative workers to reconstruct the economy. Along with economic reconstruction, NFPC film participated in the fight against the Communist bloc by attempting to normalize Korean society and successfully establish a capitalist system. The discourses of democratic and modern society were created both by the behavior schemes illustrated in the films and by the institutions of culture, their regulating policies, and their governing programs. Furthermore, these discourses carried over into the population through the intervention of governing agencies in the private lives of citizens and their families, scrutinizing and controlling health, hygiene, productivity, and so forth. The rules of conduct, especially those that encouraged the spread of modernization, fundamentally formed the state's pedagogical mode in ensuring that the Korean population would prefer democracy and capitalism to communism and socialism.

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[48] To grasp a sense of the spectrum of NFPC production, I list these groups of theme and message in reference to Lee Hana's analysis to the contents of NFPC cultural films that categorizes them into keywords, such as "national territory (*kukt'o*)" and "anti-communism (*pankong*)." For a detailed discussion of NFPC's cultural films, see Lee Hana, *Kukkawa Yŏnghwa: 1950-60-yŏndae 'Taehanmin'guk'ui munhwa chaegŏnkwa yŏnghwa* [*The State and Cinema*] (Seoul: Hyean, 2013), 246-279. However, I am aware that her rubric runs a risk at simplifying the complexity of NFPC's film practice, which is discussed further in following pages.

As for the scope, the NFPC films highlight the people's active participation in the revitalization of their region as a fundamental element of the reconstruction process. Their involvement in their society was depicted as an innovative way to build the democratic nation-state, as opposed to the power structures of Rhee's undesirable regime and even the Japanese empire, both of which had repressed the people. Because of the corruption and violence found under these regimes, the state and political authority were often negatively perceived by ordinary people. Therefore, a large volume of NFPC films attempted not only to remake the discourse of reconstruction and democracy, but also to instill in viewers a new way of thinking about the people's relationship to larger communities. Among the particular keywords that NFPC films shared were "autonomy" and "cooperation." For instance, *Improvement Comes from Cooperation* (Yang Chonghae, 1959) shows that the complete recovery of a ruined dyke would be in the people's hands, in their own capacity to rehabilitate. As the voice-over follows, "the country is on the way to recovery, but rehabilitation is in the hands of its population," which emphasizes that when the nation-state is at risk, the citizens must cooperate for their own survival.[49]

Many NFPC films also focused on the diverse sites where society was being improved. Among them, *Our Yesterdays and Todays* (Pae Sŏkin, 1963) juxtaposes montages of the aftermath of the Korean War with “modernized” and “industrialized” todays, as well as with the vision of a developed and wealthy society—the future that has not yet come. In contrast to the stagnant economy that affected the country for decades, *Our Yesterdays and Todays* captures the lively spirit of developing society. The film travels across the construction of the aqueduct in progress, the new housing projects for working-class families, and some of the new factories that have recently reopened. From the scene of the agricultural farm to the sequence inside one of the innovative factory facilities, the narrator explains proudly that modern changes are taking place across the country. Simultaneously, the narrator’s voice and his rhetoric of excitement overlap both the images and soundtrack, in the way to reshape these old towns and work places according to the fast-growing pace of modernization.

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[49] "Yang Chonghae," *Hankukyŏnghwalŭl malhanta: hankukyŏnghwaŭi lŭnesangsŭ 2* [*On Korean Cinema*], ed. Korean Film Archive. (Seoul: Ich'ae, 2006), 259.

At the same time that Park’s regime mandated that theaters screen NFPC newsreels and/or cultural films prior to all feature films with the 1962 Film Law, the NFPC increasingly expanded its exhibition network across the country.[50] Specifically, the NFPC’s mobile exhibition network expanded through community-based cultural centers (*munhwawŏn*), which organized a series of events and encouraged civic participation in each village.[51] These centers existed only in big cities up until the end of the 1950s, and the number of cultural centers grew quickly with the launch of the Federation of Korean Cultural Centers under the Ministry of Public Information in August 1962. A network of cultural centers played a highly crucial role in the NFPC's mobile exhibition, while consolidating various kinds of multipurpose spaces in urban and rural areas into the network. Preexisting spaces such as multipurpose halls (*konghoedang*, *kongmin'gwan*, *kongbowŏn*, *munyegwan*, *munhwagwan*) in each community now offered a place for villagers to watch films.[52] In the NFPC's film circuit, itinerant projectionists drove film equipment and electric generators on provincial circuits. When there was no indoor screening room, outdoor screenings were organized where appropriate. Children were often reached at school, with the hope that they would inspire their parents to attend a screening at night. In this way, new cultural centers brought NFPC films into small and mid-size towns where more permanent forms of exhibition were not really feasible.

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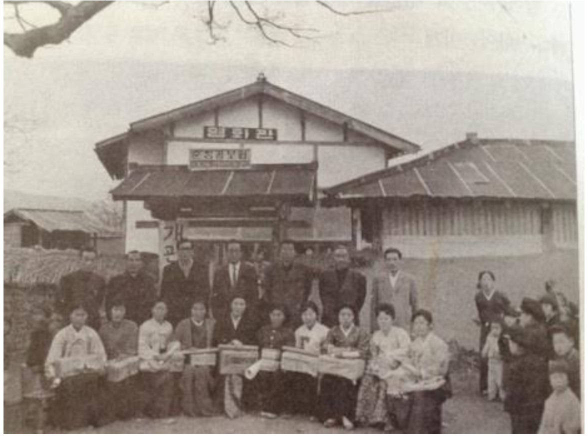
[50] The Park regime mandated screenings of cultural films— defined as documentary films that depicted “social, economic and cultural events that would instruct educational and cultural aspects as well as social norms” before the regular screening of feature film in all screening spaces—whether commercial or not. The goal was not only to promote a particular genre of non-fictional film suitable to spread state’s policy, but also to expand the NFPC’s influence beyond theatrical screenings. With the mandated screening of cultural film, the NFPC increased its film production capacity; for instance, the number of state-sponsored films increased from 46 in 1960 to 89 in 1962.

[51] Wee Gyeonghae provides an important discussion of the relation between movie-going experience and film exhibition practice with a case study of South Chŏlla Province in the early decade of postwar period. Wee Gyeonghae, “1950Nyŏndae Chungban-1960Nyŏndae Chibangŭi Yŏnghwasangyŏnggwa Kŭkchanggagi Kyŏnghŏm [The Film Exhibition Practices and Movie-going Experience in the Local from the mid-1950s to 1960s]” (PhD diss., Chungang University, 2010).

Figure 3.5: A cultural center in Sunch'ang, South Chŏlla Province in 1962.
Courtesy of Yu Pyŏnghŭi, Korean Film Archive



This mode of exhibition is one significant marker of the state's pedagogical mode, which sought to integrate the population into the process of citizen-making, focusing on management and governance in local communities. It aligned with Park's effort to mobilize a larger population for his rural economic development plan. In order to achieve an independent economy and national defense, Park understood that mobilization should be based on a revolution of national consciousness in each person, not the top-down approach or other usual methods of state propagation. The mobile exhibition, therefore, should not simply be approached from the state's unilateral propagation, but redefined as a new kind of interactive mode.

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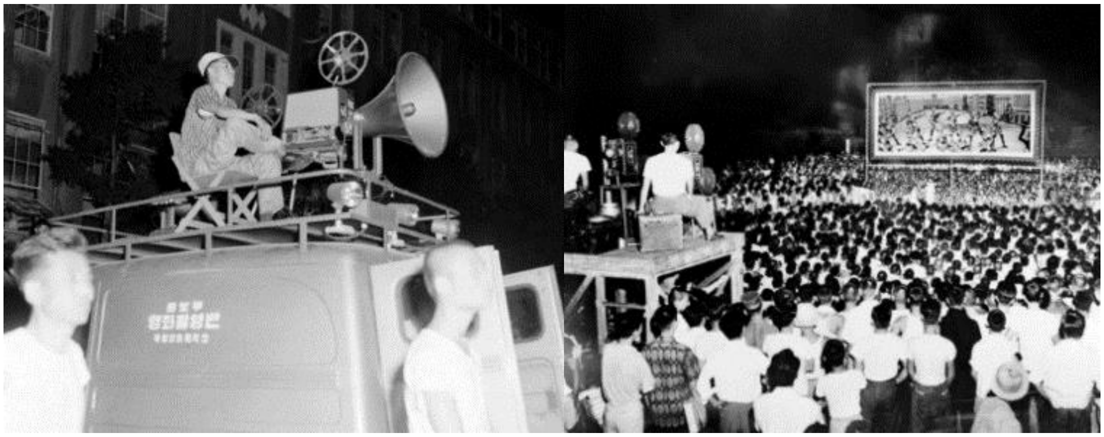
[52] Kongpopu chosakuk, "Chŏnkuksito kongpokwa," *Chŏnkukkongpokwan munhwawŏn, Chŏnkuknongch'onmunko silt'aechosapokosŏ* [*A Report of Rural Cultural Infrastructure*] (Seoul: Public Information Office, 1961).

Figure 3.6: The NFPC mobile exhibition in Gangwon Province, 1961.
Courtesy of the National Archives of Korea.



From this perspective, NFPC practice was based not only on stories about ordinary Koreans but also, more importantly, on non-theatrical screenings intended to spur awareness of citizenship through community-based discussion. The individual audience members watching a film, for instance, on the reconstruction of postwar society, were being called on as members of society; they could learn the duties, obligations, and functions of citizens through films showing proper civic behavior. Films were mediated by group discussion under the guidance of cultural authorities.[53] The lecturer—usually a cultural authority such as a village leader, local artist or writer—demonstrated and modeled the proper relationship the audience should have toward the film through the act of application. Regardless of the content, once community-based organizations managed film exhibition in rural areas, what was communicated in the relationship was a proper disposition: a way of interacting with oneself, with others, and with films.

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[53] *Yu Pyŏnghŭi*, 36-51.

The NFPC's pedagogical mode was built upon a close relationship between a film's exhibition and the cultural authority of an individual teacher to properly guide how an audience might watch a movie.[54] In particular, mobile exhibition began to harness group activities to modify the behavior of villagers. Local leaders were expected to guide group activities that would help transform the villagers into diligent, motivated and cooperative adults by giving outlet to their productive energies. The local bureaucrats believed that these sorts of group interactions for workers, including discussions would lead to positive change for each individual. If movies could assemble a group, then the cultural authority could guide the group to govern and care for the individual.

Crucial to this NFPC program and community-based discussion was what Foucault calls a "pastoral power." For Foucault, "pastoral power" describes a relationship of governance among humans best illustrated by the care of a shepherd for his (or her) flock. While he admits his elaboration of the notion remains "sketchy," a chief characteristic of pastoral power is its claim to the salvation of its flock; in more worldly language, its claim to do good, to protect, and to improve the well being of those under the shepherd's care. Moreover, the modernization of pastoral power merges two tendencies: a desire to care for the individual and for the population simultaneously. For him, the role of pastoral power persisted and is inherited in the logic of modern political rationality "to constantly ensure, sustain, and improve the lives of each and every one."[55] The "paradoxical" operation of governmental technologies "in whole, and in detail" lies precisely at the intersection of the pastoral task of care for the flock through individualizing each member and the totalizing the society.[56] The simultaneously individualizing and totalizing effects of governmental power ground what he calls a "political spirituality," ultimately leading the population to identify with the state's vision.[57]

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[54] The Planning and Management Division in the Ministry of Culture and Public Education generated a number of missives and reports on the exhibition of non-theatrical films, including those of NFPC. "Chŏngpuyŏnghwa chechakpaep'omich'hwalyong [Government Film Production, Dissemination, and Usage], BA0136839, 208-217, 1963; "Yŏnghwaŭisunhoegongyŏnjaŭigongyŏnjangsoedaehanjirŭihoeshin [A Response to the Question of Exhibition Space and Exhibitor], BA0136815, 1965 (Seoul: National Archives Branch).

The pastoral power practiced through the NFPC program shows how authorities used movies to simultaneously care for an individual's well being while harnessing the exhibition to alleviate the social, political, and moral problems of a population.[58] The blending of the individual and the political was at least in part accomplished by a cultural authority that attached movie exhibitions to other communicative techniques and technologies in order to extract value from the movie that exceeded its semiotic and narrative content. From this standpoint, to both cultural authority and audience, it mattered how an audience watched a movie, the type of stories they watched, and what life lessons they eventually learned.

Although the NFPC claimed to be more than a governmental propaganda agency, its projection of individual well being and the welfare society as the coming future were consistent with the state's political rationale that economic modernization was a pre-condition of democracy.[59] In this light, the NFPC's films were not entirely free from the state's inherent illogic of using authoritarian power as a mechanism of societal change and economic development. Rather than arguing whether the NFPC was a state machine, what is more pertinent to my analysis on the divisions, hierarchies, and epistemological practices of the Cold War is the relationship between the NFPC and the audience. If the state's technique of power enacted through the NFPC's program built upon the ideas for cinema's educational potential, then what does it tell us about what the state knew about the audience? If the audience was deemed the potential beneficiary of cinema's instructional efficiency, how did the authority treat the audience in their practice of the pedagogical mode? What insights about the audience might be gained from attending to archives of political authority?

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[55] Michel Foucault, "Omnes et Singulatim: Towards a Criticism of Political Reason," in *the Tanner Lectures on Human Values*, edited by Sterling McMurrin, vol. 2 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1981), 235.

[56] Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France, 1977-1978*, trans by Graham Burchell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 128, 168-169.

[57] Michel Foucault, "On the government of living," in *Ethics: The Essential Works of Foucault, 1954–1984*, ed. Paul Rabinow (London: Penguin Press, 2000): 154.

[58] National Film Production Center, "1966Nyŏndo Chŏngbuyŏnghwajejakkyehoek [FY 1966 Planning]" in the Production File: Documentary Film, BA0791901 (Seoul: National Archives Branch)

From Archives of Authority

As noted in the Introduction, a large number of sources and examples drawn upon in this chapter are culled from archives of authority, particularly those of the states: the National Archives of Korea and the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) in the United States. These state archives are constituent of statecraft involving numerous bureaucratic institutions, and their documents that are classified and categorized; for instance, as part of a record group of the Office of Public Information, the NFPC collection (AG127-1) includes the NFPC films (10,307 titles) and film production reports (3,117 records) that were generated from 1948 to 1998. The temporal span of the collection belongs to the institutional history of the Office of Public Information from its inauguration at the birth of the Republic of Korea to the NFPC's dissolution in 1998. The large number of film prints includes not only of *Daehan News*, an NFPC weekly newsreel, but also a significant number of cultural and documentary films. Another crucial component of the archive is the massive number of weekly and special reports that outlined the planning, synopsis, and budget justification for proposed films.

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[59] Park Chung Hee's speech on April 15, 1967. *Pak Chung Hee taet'ongnyŏng yŏnsŏl munjip* [*A Political Speech of Park Chung Hee*], vol. 2. ed. Taet'onglyŏngpisŏsil (Seoul: Taet'ongnyŏng Kongbo Pisŏgwansil, 1973), 1005.

A common understanding of archives of authority is that they are products of state machines that collect and store artifacts; this understanding is in line with the etymology of the term "archive," both the Latin *archiviuum*, "residence of the magistrate," and the Greek *arkhe*, "to command." But as Ann Stoler points out, archives are not simple repositories but in fact "technologies" that reproduce those authorities themselves.[60] In other words, archives do not simply reflect but create and order the "criteria of evidence, proof, testimony, and witnessing to construct" the narrative of the authority.[61] As she demonstrates in her study of a Dutch imperial archive, the state power and its institutions created not only massive numbers of reports, statistics and surveys but also specific ways of classifying and framing these materials: what counted as precedent, what was deemed important, and what were to be considered concerns of state. In these states' archives, officials in governmental agencies not only made sure that documents were selectively disseminated or destroyed, but also ensured that documents were properly cataloged and stored.

The premise that archival production is itself "both a process and a powerful technology of rule"[62] allows us to think through how archives of authority are constructed, in particular, how they are constructed by the authority's pedagogical mode to the audience. In other words, if archives of authority are more than state machines, it is possible to question not only how the state produces structures and conjunctures of cultural domination through archiving, but in so doing, how it builds an abstract and unilateral approach to its people. Korean leaders constantly crafted a desired image of the people, that is, groups requisite for and appropriate to contemporary imaginings of modernity as equivalent to liberal democracy and capitalism. These leaders saw that the people could be transformed into citizens capable of achieving the authority's vision, whether it was a modern democratic society or a developmental state. However, in the discourse surrounding both audiovisual education initiatives and the NFPC film program, what remained secondary or even absent was the audience. While state leaders and elites sometimes broke down their presumed audiences into categories such as "students," "young village leaders," or "teachers," they often labeled and wrote about an audience as abstract as "people."[63] Even for some of the more specific audiences, the leaders presumed that films would have the desired impact as long as they contained the themes and messages that had been deemed to be necessary to transform viewers. The state also showed little interest in how viewers actually accepted the moral and message of the films they were being shown. While the state leaders believed in technologically supported rapid mass learning, which was tied in with the globally sanctioned claim that motion pictures had a particular pedagogical effectiveness, they assumed viewers would accept the teachings contained in films subliminally and without critical awareness. In the authority's archive, the audience is described on most abstract level, and not recognized as pursuing tastes or opinions different from those of authority. For instance, the NFPC production reports repeatedly suggested topics needed to raise the awareness of the audience or how to instruct a specific idea or behavior. However, this was done without any constructive feedback from viewers, feedback that might have demonstrated the practical impact of NFPC films. In this noticeable lack of attention to audience reception, both state leaders and NFPC practitioners undermined individual will while at the same time weakening democratic ideals for community and mass society.

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[60] Ann Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," *Archival Science* 2 (2002): 97. For a detailed etymology of the term, see Echevarría, *Myth and Archive*, 31.

[61] Ann Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," 97.

[62] Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," 97.

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[63] National Film Production Center, "1966Nyŏndo Chŏngbuyŏnghwajejakkyehoek [FY 1966 Planning]."

If the archives of Korean leaders inscribed an obscure and overly idealized way of seeing the audience, the U.S. Information Agency's collection (Record Group 306), which includes a massive record of research projects on East Asia, implemented another specific way of looking at the audience. In the 1960s, the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) built hundreds of its local posts in the world which were coordinated in Washington. It was in charge of the successful implementation of cultural activities and political propaganda in in foreign countries that were considered to be under the sphere of interest of both the U.S. and Soviet spheres of interest. The USIA primarily focused on an effective cultivation of friendly attitudes towards the United States and acceptance of U.S. global leadership by exhibiting the importance of U.S. foreign policy and American culture, and democratic values. In the interest of showing rather than telling or explaining these American virtues, the USIA's Korean post, USIS-Korea, found the moving image to be an effective tool, and invested great effort into film production and exhibition throughout the 1950s and 1960s.[64] In order to gather information on how the viewers received the USIA films, the agency also conducted a number of diverse surveys of Korean viewers.

The earlier surveys conducted in the 1950s sought necessary background information for the use of film by the missions. For instance, a prospectus for 1954-55, based on statistics and surveys, stresses film's potential power in Korea, because "the Koreans have a particular and urgent need, owing to their years of subjugation to Japan, and to the confusion of ideas which now prevails in their political life, to observe first-hand the workings of a democratic society."[65] It demonstrates USIS-Korea's objectives and approaches, putting together the information in about 200 pages: themes to be stressed in films, material and equipment resources, film staff resources, film program operating space, distribution channels, transportation, communication and electric power resources, language and dialect requirements, and operating funds.

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[64] For a detailed discussion on the USIA film and its impact in South Korea, see Wolsan Liem, "Telling the 'truth' to Koreans: U.S. cultural policy in South Korea during the early Cold War, 1947-1967" (PhD Diss., New York University, 2010).

If the surveys conducted in the 1950s collected information in order to lay out a fiscal plan, the surveys conducted in the 1960s gradually, albeit not comprehensively, focused on audience perception, attending to how actual viewers responded to a specific USIS film and what they learned or did not learn from it. A 1964 survey on *Ask Me!*, a 6-minute cartoon short, was to test interest in, comprehension of, and impact of a short cartoon film on democracy, which was initially designed for general audiences in East Asia, as one means of evaluating the USIS's film production capabilities in Korea. Self-administered questionnaires were distributed at ten USIS culture centers to patrons who attended one of any center's movie programs; among 500 participants, half had seen the test film as part of the program; the remaining half in similar centers had not.[66]

In fact, *Ask Me!* was shown at U.S. Information Centers and mobile exhibitions throughout South Korea. Following Jones, a character representing humankind, the film portrayed "man's political development from stone age defense against hostile animals to twentieth-century use of the ballot and representative legislatures" for local audiences.[67] Tracing human progress from stone-age to modern society, the film invites audiences to see how Jones and his fellow citizens deal with conflicts and disorder in their society by picking out "a good leader, a man who will always be fair and wise and kind." Regular elections and legislature are established; a cartoon Congress soon appears on the screen as the narrator adds, "The leader must divide his power with other representatives of the people." The film ends with the narrator proudly saying that "The reason democracy was invented was not only to get rid of tyrants, but also to get wiser laws by asking around for good advice. I am a reasonable man. I'm always willing to follow a good leader. But before he decides what's good for me, I think he ought to ask me!"[68]

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[65] "1954-55 IIA PROSPECTUS Korea," Office of Research, Records of Research Projects East Asia File, Box 6, USIA Records, NACP.

[66] "Survey in Korea on Film *Ask Me!*," June 1, 1964, Office of Research, Records of Research Projects East Asia File, Box 6, USIA Records, NACP.

Like the production of *Ask Me!*, much of USIS-Korea's work was intended to educate Koreans in the principles and practices of American liberal democracy. These activities were based on the belief, held by cultural practitioners and American policymakers, that the American system represented the culmination of human progress. *Ask Me!* aptly demonstrates this core assumption that an American representative democracy is the final culmination of the progress of history from barbarism to civilization. In this way, the film effectively develops a teleological view of social evolution, one in accordance with the modernization theory that was integrated into the ideology of American foreign policy in the late 1950s and 1960s.

Policy-makers both in Korea and Washington anticipated that *Ask Me!* would have a positive impact. They believed the film did a good job of explaining the fundamentals of

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[67] Richard D. MacCann, "*Ask Me!*, screenplay," Office of Research, Records of Research Projects East Asia File, Box 6, USIA Records, NACP.

[68] MacCann, "*Ask Me!* screenplay."

American democracy and modernization to Korean audiences, and envisioned its use in other Asian countries once it had been proven successful in Korea. Upon the completion of the film's circulation, policy-makers conducted a survey to ask viewers about their understanding of "the relationship between people and government" in a democracy. The questionnaire was given to two groups of Koreans: one group that had viewed the film and one group that had not. However, the survey results did not match the policy-makers' expectations. It turned out that people who had watched *Ask Me!* had little interest in its cartoon format and had no greater understanding of democratic ideas than people who had not watched it. In the end, policy-makers found that the short was "ineffectual, sometimes confusing, and seldom appealing," which led them to both abandon their plans to produce versions of *Ask Me!* in other Asian languages and cut the budget for the production of other cartoon format films.[69]

The evaluation of *Ask Me!* might be seen as an instance where policy-makers expressed frustration with their ways to teach democratic principles to Koreans, but more importantly, it reveals viewers' disparate opinions of the film. Among the reasons why audiences were not enthusiastic about the film, it is notable that most addressed the "crudely hand-drawn pictures, the ineffectual humor, and the jerky action"; the majority declined to describe any of these film aspects as even moderately good.[70] Among the thirty-six percent of the audience who specified what they liked least about the film, half noted too many points that "overly capsulated expression" that made a comprehensive understanding difficult. What is most interesting about the audience's response is that the most acceptable aspects of the film proved to be the "catchy musical accompaniment and the commentator's voice," not the film's content, or pro-democratic message.[71] These diverse responses to the film demonstrate that the film's message does not always convince the audience as planned, and at the same time, reveal that the audience is not always readable and nor even successfully controllable under the authority's power.

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[69] "Utilization of 'Ask Me!' Survey," February 3 1965, Office of Research, Records of Research Projects East Asia File, Box 6, USIA Records, NACP.

[70] "Viewers' Evaluation, Survey in Korea on Film *Ask Me!*," June 1, 1964, Office of Research, Records of Research Projects East Asia File, Box 6, USIA Records, NACP.

In addition to the evaluation of *Ask Me!*, other comprehensive surveys show how policy-makers and practitioners strived to get a better sense of what to show and how to show it. Among several surveys that USIA conducted in South Korea, "A Field Survey on Newsreels in Korea" offers an example of how the authority extracted responses to newsreels from over 2,000 Korean viewers through exhaustive tests and researches.[72] A 133-page report consists of numbers and graphics gained (and regained through another field research project) from surveys. Likewise, the USIA archive classified surveys and statistics that were relevant to their missions, as well as analysis and evaluation of these surveys and statistics. What fundamentally constructed its archive was the belief that they could assess viewer reactions as much as possible and measure impact from the film through analysis of a range of questionnaires and responses. Put differently, the obsessive extraction of audience's backgrounds, tastes, opinions, and previous knowledge about democracy is one way to tell the premise of the U.S. Information Agency: the audience as a *knowable* object.

This very belief also formed an important component of U.S. strategy to maintain its global hegemony and compete with the Soviet Union for the hearts and minds of people. It might have placed the audience as part of the chain of ecology where a film was produced, distributed, and shown by given missions. However, the recognition of the audience's existence—and even the effort to reflect the audience's feedback—cannot conceal the forces that established a new mode of domination, which can be characterized by the accumulation and utilization of information in the name of modern, democratic society. The power relation between the U.S. and South Korea as a new U.S. ally as inscribed in archives does not replicate that of imperial domination or military occupation; rather, the very mode of domination and subjugation is framed and administered, at least in the files of documents, as another pedagogical mode: that is, the U.S. "aids" in teaching democracy to a knowable object, or the U.S. plays a leading role in incorporating a developing country into the "free world."

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[71] "Viewers' Evaluation, Survey in Korea on Film *Ask Me!*."

[72] "Report of the Field Survey on Newsreels in Korea," March 22, 1967, Office of Policy and Research File, A1 Entry 1017 Box 9, USIS Records, NACP.

From archives of political authority, we can see how structures of cultural domination created and strengthened the divisions and hierarchies of the Cold War. The emphasis on development as a way to catch up with more modern and industrialized nations produced a hierarchical division that marked both the relationship between nations as well as that between leaders and the masses within national boundaries. In this process, U.S. policy makers and cultural practitioners promoted audiovisual material's educational value, investing the film infrastructure, intellectual and cultural exchanges, and public education. They did so in the name of democratizing Korea, based on universalizing U.S. assimilation in creating the U.S.'s global hegemony.

Likewise, Korean leaders saw cinema's educational potential as invaluable to reconstruct the nation in the ashes of the Korean War. In making and teaching new citizenship, both the regime and the elites developed their own ways of creating a particular model of citizenship, that is, adequate to achieve the authority's vision of society. Interest in film, at least in part, was a concern about ideas for the masses, and as evidenced by both the NFPC and audiovisual education initiatives, this was never just a question of how we know film but also of how we know people and communities. The NFPC filmmakers and elites treated film as a modality of the pedagogical mode of decolonization, transforming the population into citizens, or at least responsible members of democratic society. The coordination of audiovisual education and mobile exhibition, combined with an interest in educational potential, became thoroughly associated with film as a catalyst of citizenship, one dedicated to both the well being of the individual and of the collective.

In this chapter, I have examined how the Korean authority's pedagogical mode, as part of the country's modernization during the first decade of the postwar era, co-opted the ideas and infrastructures of cinema's instructional efficiency. At the most general level, the pedagogical mode was more pronounced when using educational film within non-corporate contexts, which were maintained by the domestic and U.S. political authorities. Their investments in the NFPC and the Public Information program sanctioned a certain belief in film as pedagogical tool that could be used to transform mutable subjects into people who were more productive, more cooperative, and more accepting of liberal democracy. In so doing, the Korean and the U.S. authorities wielded a unilateral relationship to the audience, and worked without consideration of audience reception.

At this time, complex dynamics emerged between the government and the commercial film industry. The film industry grew quickly in the latter half of the 1950s. It thrived on venture capital, but these venture capital investments often led to the bankruptcies of film companies. Meanwhile, foreign films dominated the market through aggressive importation, despite the institution of screen quotas in 1958. The 1962 Film Law sought to address these problems and to strengthen the domestic film industry through industrialization.[73] The number of imported films dropped from 153 in 1960 to 51 in 1964 through not only the enforcement of import quotas but also the establishment of a system where only registered film companies could obtain licenses to import foreign films. While the Film Law regulated the quantity of imports this way, it did not automatically strengthen local film companies. Under the new system, films could be produced only by studios that met a range of conditions, including official registration with the Office of Information. The code demanded, for instance, that the company possess a broad spectrum of equipment, including three 35mm cameras, a minimum of 200KWs of lights, and modern sound recording laboratories, all within at least 7,200 square feet of studio space; the company also had to employ full-time personnel that included three contract directors, three cinematographers, ten male and ten female contract actors, and so on. Among the existing sixty-five firms in 1961, only Shin Films could meet the requirements; the rest were forced to shut their business or merge with other companies before the law's implementation, leaving sixteen film companies in total. Even more difficult than the requirements that resulted in this restructuring was the Film Law's requirement for registered studios to produce at least fifteen films per year. This requirement led the Korean studios to lend their names to independent studios or producers or to rush into cheap and quick productions in order to meet the quota. In the 1960s, the conflict between regulation and promotion within the Film Law—under the name of "modernization" once again— left the industry prolific while still under significant pressure. While the Park regime's overall goal of modernizing the film industry seemed to be well received by filmmakers and critics, we also find a counter-discourse involving different prospects for film culture. In particular, filmmakers and critics sought to refashion film as having artistic, national, and historical value; this refashioning will be examined in the next chapter.

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[73] Park Jiyeon, "Yŏnghwapŏb chechŏngesŏ che4ch'a kaejŏnggikkajiŭi yŏnghwachŏngchaek (1961-1984) [Film Policies from the Film Law's Implementation to the Fourth Revision 1961-1984]," *Han'guk Yŏnghwa Chŏngch'aeksa*, ed. Kim Tong-ho (P'aju: Nanam Ch'ulp'an, 2005): 189-267.

CHAPTER 4

On Historiography and Archive: Cinema, History, and Nation in the 1960s

The long search for Na Unkyu’s *Arirang* (1926) seemed to have reached a conclusion in the early 1990s, when Abe Yoshiage, a descendent of a Japanese bureaucrat who had served in colonial Korea, claimed to have a copy of the film. Archivists, cultural elites, and policy-makers in both South and North Korea contacted Abe to try and confirm that a print of the film had actually survived,[1] Although it was not clear in the 1990s whether or not he actually had a copy, people who learned of Abe’s extensive personal collection of silent films were highly optimistic that *Arirang* was among them, although all prints had previously been believed to be lost in the ashes of Korean War. However, all ongoing negotiations were ended by Abe’s sudden death in 2005, and the search for a print of *Arirang* remained unfulfilled, despite the many years of persistent contact and discussion. Even after Abe’s death, rumors continued to circulate that people were still hoping to “return” *Arirang* to the peninsula.”[2] One element that seemed to fuel the feverish quest to recover this film was the assumption that *Arirang* was a nationalistic film that fed Korean popular sentiment under Japanese rule, and as such was an irreplaceable cultural element of the nation.

While contemporary rhetoric involving Na Unkyu’s *Arirang* often invoked concepts such as “roots,” “origins,” and “essences”, these concepts were rarely discussed in contemporaneous discussions of early Korean cinema. After Na’s 1937 death, some colleagues paid personal tribute to him in newspaper and magazine pieces, but it was only in the 1960s, when new rhetoric about and motivations for commemorating the past emerged, and caused new light to be shed on both Na and nationalist aspects of his film. One of the earliest examples of this new understanding of Na’s work actually emerged in the mid-1950s, when director Kim Sotong noted that he appreciated the “national spirit” that Na had championed in the films he made under the “Japanese imperialism’s political oppression.”[3] Faced with the “unfortunate” loss of *Arirang*, one newspaper commentator expressed his frustration that he would not be able to once again enjoy the film. Through a retelling his own experience of watching *Arirang* at the time when the film was a sensational hit, he affirmed the film’s “national character,” which “cried for our nation under the Japanese repression.”[4] In these recollections, a newer emphasis was placed upon Na’s filmmaking as politically loaded response to the colonial reality. If these reminiscences continued to count on the individual experience as the previous tributes to Na, film directors and critics soon became increasingly drawn to mediate more collective account, one that could represent a legitimate past of Korean cinema. In 1960s, their concerns not only involved the search for the “roots” or “essences” of Korean cinema, but also expanded across a variety of issues, including the forms of historical products as well as methods of writing and documentation.

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[1] Che Myŏngŭn, “Arirang p’illŭmbanhwan sŏtpurŭn kidae kŭmmul [Dangerous Expectation toward *Arirang*’s Return],” no. 453, *Sisajournal*, July 2, 1998.

[2] Im Pŏm, “P’okt’anyŏn’gu Abŏjiga ‘Arirang’ tŭng p’illŭmmoa [A Father into Bomb-making Materials, Ended up Collecting Films Including *Arirang*],” *Hankyoreh*, February 14, 2005; “Yŏnghwa Arirang wŏnbonp’illŭm taech’e inna ŏmna [*Arirang*’s survival in Question],” *Ohmynews*, February 21, 2005

This chapter examines a particular realization of the Korean search for the origins of local cinema that emerged in the 1960s, when serious projects worked to retrieve film’s past through the writing of history. A group of Korean historical works in different formats offers a useful vantage point from which to examine the transformation of historiography—historio-graphy, literally history-writing—and the archive of Korean cinema in terms of what should be remembered and what should be forgotten. This transformation grew out of the question of how to create a coherent, legitimated history of Korean cinema. This question led film directors and critics not only to focus on the conditions of historical production, but also to mediate a growing recognition of film's historicity based on its evidentiary power as it appeared throughout print media. This recognition that film can reveal the past and can illustrate, or at least approximate, the reality of the past was at the core of the motivation to reevaluate films as "old classics," "historical documents," and "artifacts of national culture."

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[3] Kim Sotong, “Shimnyŏn’ganŭi chokchŏk yŏnch’ul yŏn’gimyŏnŭl T’onghaesŏ [Footsteps of the Past Decade],” *Seoulsinmun*, November 7, 1954.

[4] “Kŭriun yŏnghwadŭl: Arirang yŏnghwawa kŭ shidaeŭi minjogŭishik [On Longing Movies: Arirang and the national consciousness],” *Hankuk ilbo*, February 13, 1955.

In this chapter, I argue that the 1960s represent a critical pivot, the "historiographical turn," which fundamentally reformed historical work and practice, as well as documentation. I particularly focus on two history-writing projects, An Chonghwa's *The Bypaths and Hidden History of Korean Cinema* (1962) and Yi Yŏngil's *A Comprehensive History of Korean Cinema* (1969).[5] Analyzing these two works helps illuminate, on one level, their attempts to compensate for the loss of films, particularly those made in the 1920s and 1930s, through their practices of writing and archiving as a mode of record making; these authors made it their project to salvage documents and objects endangered by neglect or simply not recognized by others as historical value. On another level, these practices centered not on highlighting the nation-state's rupture in colonization and decolonization, but in marking routes of historical continuity among the practices of members and groups of the film industry so as to prove the nation's historical progress. To better locate these two works, I begin by analyzing a particular way of recalling and reconstructing the past by members of the film industry in the early 1960s. Looking at these junctures as a larger part of the historiographical turn can elucidate the specific concerns that worked to broaden and even challenge cinema's pervasive value, which until that time had been constructed by political authorities and tied to its usefulness and efficiency. These two historical works built upon the new focus of the time on cinema's values beyond usefulness and efficiency, bringing to the fore its historical, artistic, and national characteristics. In addition, the authors' practices of writing and archiving reflect this new focus and even constitute generative sites to study the cultural politics of historical production and archives in postcolonial Korea.

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[5] Since its publication in 1969, Yi Yŏngil's *A Comprehensive History* has had remarkable and enduring influence. Its influence may be even greater since its revised edition came out in 2004, which was made possible by students who took classes with Yi at the Korea National University of Arts in 1999 and 2000, following his wishes. Because Yi had almost completed the revision of the 1969 edition around the time he passed away in 2001, the new expanded edition appeared reasonably quickly after his death. We can observe that the new edition has a slightly different organization; one of the most notable changes is found in its Foreword and Chapter 1, which nicely encapsulates Yi's last lectures on the history of Korean cinema. Because this chapter focuses on the 1969 edition in the line of the 1960s' historiographical turn, I do not engage with the difference between the two editions, though I am aware that the 2004 edition includes Yi's more elaborated later thoughts.

New Attention to Cinema's Historicity

Although film personnel and critics continued to pay personal tribute to the past, they were also increasingly drawn to another broad issue in the 1960s: cinema's own history. In their effort to rethink the past, they revealed the historicity of the medium, not only through the construction of film's history, but also through the recognition of film loss. In particular, a dominant interest and abiding passion uniting generations of film business was silent cinema, which had less chance of survival than, for instance, those films made in the 1950s, due to the longer historical span. To remember older films, film critics and personnel increasingly retold the stories of pre-1945 films in the form of articles and serialized columns in the print media.[6] This flourishing of the retelling of older films, in addition to recording the previous activities of film personnel, owed its existence to two realizations: first, that a whole world of Korean cinema was going to disappear (and had partly disappeared already), and second, that an extraordinary treasure of factual, historical, social, and material information was located in moving images.

This acute awareness of film's historicity, at least in part, grew out of the increasing visibility of found footage film, which brings traces of the past into the present in formats such as newsreel and edited documentary. As audiences were more and more exposed to newsreels and edited documentaries beginning in the late 1950s, films containing older footage were experienced by audiences as archival—that is, as coming from another time or another context of use. The experience of the juxtaposition between the past and the present while watching old footage gave rise to what Jaimie Baron calls "the archive effect."[7] For instance, a document of "then"—a newsreel capturing a moment of Korea's liberation from Japan in August 1945—became archival as it was recontextualized within an edited film depicting a celebratory moment of the fourteenth anniversary of liberation, "now." The simultaneous encounter of past and present allows the audience to recognize a document as "archival"— "old" footage and prints can provide a particular experience of pastness. For instance, in response to this type of edited newsreels and cultural films, one commentator excitedly noted that as he or she realized the importance of documentary as "film-recorded history" afresh, his longing for the past became more tangible and deeper.[8]

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[6] Major newspapers often serialized short sections that exclusively introduced older Korean films. For instance, "Wangnyŏnŭi Myŏnghwasogae [Masterworks from the Past]," *Kyunghyangsinmun*, appeared from March 4 to 10, 1961; film directors and performers also participated in creating a special column on the past of Korean film. See "Haebang 20Nyŏn [Two Decades since Liberation]," *Taehanilbo,* appeared from June 22 to July 17, 1965.

[7] Jaimie Baron, *The Archival Effect: Found Footage and the Audiovisual Experience of History* (London: Routledge, 2014), 16-48.

Examining the transformation from lowly film to its partial acceptance as more than an ephemeral and useful tool of pedagogy is a complex task, one that involves more than the institutionalization of the film industry. On one level, it requires consideration of other converging and diverging dynamics since the 1960s: namely, the increasing number of film periodicals, the formation of other institutions, the evolution of film technology, the growing influence of authors, and the rise of "global classics." For instance, film journals became more vital than ever; the emerging film critics and their contemporaries such as Yi Yŏngil and Kim Chŏngok saw themselves as members of a highly specialized group who were beholden to higher standards of criticism than were the amateur chroniclers of movie lore typically featured in newspapers and fan magazines.[9] These critics also engaged in defining cinema not only as an aesthetic medium but also as an object of study, culminating in the formation of film study programs in universities beginning in the early 1960s.[10] Various institutions of higher education incorporated new attention to cinema into their curricula; for the first time, the academic sites opened their doors to the study of cinema, not only as part of the entertainment industry and popular culture but also as a form of arts. More importantly, an increasing flow of information on different film cultures and their histories within an international context not only served to legitimate the very idea of institutionalization of film as Korean art, but also gave leaders of film industry added importance for establishing a Korean presence in emerging international cultural institutions, reinforcing nation-centered notion of culture and cinema.

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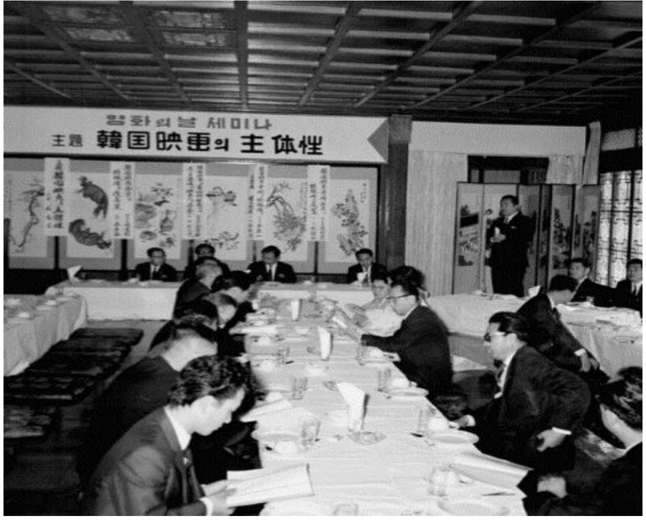
[8] "P'ŭlomp'ut'ŭ, p'illŭm laipŭlŏli [Prompt: Film Library]," *Donga Ilbo*, August 21, 1959.

[9] In addition to the extant popular magazines such as *Film World* and *International Film* created in the 1950s, a number of new magazines emerged in the 1960s, including *Film Information*, *Film Magazine*, *Screen*, *Film Arts*, and *Film and Television*, to name a few. For a brief overview of a history of film magazines, see http://www.koreafilm.or.kr/webzine/section_view.asp?Section=1&UpSeq=&downSeq=2047&intGroupNum=4 (last accessed January 27, 2016).

[10] Since the early 1960s, several universities built film studies departments in order to teach film technique, acting, and criticism. The earliest example can be seen in Sŏrabŏl Arts College (which would later become Chungang University) in 1959. In the early 1960s, among others, Hanyang University and Chungju University established new programs.

Figure 4.1: 1965 Seminar for Film’s Day: “The Subjectivity of Korean Cinema.”
Courtesy of National Archives of Korea



On another level, the 1960s’ film discourse was articulated firmly from within the assumption that local film was uniquely Korean, and that such knowledge was essential for the culturally informed citizen. Renewing the relation between cinema and nation-state particularly mattered in the 1960s with respect to the country’s colonial past. Framed within the socio-political context, including the increasing awareness of the possibility of normalizing diplomatic relations between South Korea and Japan, we see that this focus on history relates to the wider discourse of the time concerning Korea’s identity (*chŏngch’esŏng*) and subjectivity (*chuch’esŏng*). Even before an agreement between the two governments was eventually settled in 1965, intellectuals and critics were conscious about how the renewed diplomatic relation with Japan would affect domestic cultural industries. Despite the Rhee regime’s anti-Japanese propaganda and official ban on Japanese language and imports during the early postwar era, Japanese cultural imports such as records and books had consistently penetrated South Korea through informal channels. The film industry was no exception. As Jinsoo An points out, thirty to fifty percent of the films made in South Korea as late as 1962 were copies or adaptations of Japanese films.[11] In tandem with the mixed response among the general populace to reestablish Korea-Japan relations through the normalization treaty, film directors and critics brought the issue of cultural autonomy to the fore. In particular, they intended to reconcile two substantial ruptures that produced the current basis for film culture: first, the imperial ideology placed on the Korean film industry as a Japanese colonial enterprise, and second, the foreignness of film technology.

Although these ruptures will be discussed later in my analysis of two history books, it should be noted here that the task of handling the ruptures required members of film industry to be more conscious about how to create a coherent historical account of the industry's past. This impulse was often revealed in nostalgic memories of the past, particularly a past that was easily shared by those who grew up watching—and making—silent films. Though they were no longer able to watch most of the silent features, which had been lost or were known to be missing, the moments that people recalled from the past could build the present, and as Svetlana Boym describes, could "rebuild the lost home and patch up the memory gaps."[12]

One example appeared in the form of the Association of Korean Film Personnel (*Hanguk yŏnghwain hyŏphoe*; AKFP hereafter), a group of seniors who began their film careers back in the 1920s, and its initiative to create a unified film institution. Strongly endorsing the need for the "industrialization" and "modernization" of local film culture, the AKFP's initiative planned to actively undertake a number of projects, including the establishment of a centralized film council, construction of a new film library and archival facility, and publication of the first book-length history of Korean film. While the initiative's primary focus remained on fundraising to build a film council, what is germane to my analysis is that AKFP leaders placed a special emphasis on historicizing the past of Korean cinema. AKFP leaders frequently stated a desire to "collect all extant sources" from the early generation of filmmakers, including themselves, before they would pass away; they believed that the existence of the early generation and its memory was essential in laying out an authentic and original history of the past.[13]

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[11] Jinsoo An, "Popular Reasoning of South Korean Melodrama Films (1953-1972)" (PhD diss., UCLA, 2005), 162-165.

[12] Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 41.

More specifically, the AKFP's articulation of the origin of Korean cinema manifests precisely one of the tendencies of what Boym calls "restorative nostalgia," that is, a tendency to reconstruct the monuments of the past, building on the sense of cohesion and linearity of community from its beginning. Tracing back to the pioneers involved in early film production, the AKFP designated the year 1922 as the starting point of Korean cinema, when a senior cinematographer Yi P'iru shot his first Korean film. The AKFP's designation of the origin in this way implies more than paying homage to an old, pioneering film technician. On the one hand, the early generation's nostalgia derived from a significant loss of silent-era films, those made in the 1920s and 1930s. For them, gaining access to long-gone Korean films would be an essential step to rectify an imbalance in film resources and therefore to display a history of Korean cinema from the beginning. And yet, if the loss was ultimately irretrievable, their new task would be to recover from the physical absence of old films. Centering film history on a specific individual thus appeared to have some potential to counter the absence of a comprehensive collection of silent films. On the other hand, the ways in which the AKFP situated Yi P'iru's film career also tell us that their decision was shaped by political calculations. Displaying Yi's life within the span of four decades, AKFP leaders highlighted that his film career matched up with the history of Korean cinema. Yi's activities were presented as landmarks of historical development up to 1960s, from his introduction to the camera to his influence on talkie films and his activity after 1945. Yi's individual's history not only contributed to but also bore witness to the growth. Given that Yi was part of the early history of Korean cinema and could attest to the authority of the progress in the past, AKFP found his personal history useful as they sought to shape a linear narrative of the past.

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[13] "Sae Sŏlkye Yŏnghwa [New Design for Cinema]" *Donga Ilbo.* January 10, 1962; "T'onghap ihu yŏnghwahyŏphoe saŏpŭn yŏnghwahoekwan kŏnlip [The First Initiative is the Establishment of the Film Council Building]," *Chosun Ilbo,* January 6, 1962.

Figure 4.2: Yi P'iru (1897–1978), Courtesy of *Cine 21*

Members of film industry also attempted to historicize the first decades of Korean cinema through a retelling of Na Unkyu's biography. While up to the 1960s newspaper articles and magazines had deemed Na and his films his silent films—such as *Arirang* (1926) and its sequels, as well as *Field Mouse* (1927)—precious Korean "classics," now a new emphasis was placed upon Na Unkyu and his filmmaking as "national resistance" against Japanese imperialism. The early generation of filmmakers, who were the majority of the AKFP, claimed an image of Na

Unkyu as the embodiment of anti-imperialism, with Na struggling to oppose Japanese rule not only through filmmaking but also his personal life.

This idea was reflected in a 1965 biographical film, *Arirang: A Life of Na Unkyu*, which was directed by a well-known film actor, Choe Muryong, under advisement by AKFP members. The film begins by depicting Na Unkyu as a young student activist, imprisoned due to his participation in an anti-Japanese movement. In this retelling of his life, Na becomes more deeply motivated to devote himself to fight against imperialism following the death of his fellow prisoner, a leader of the Independence Army who is executed by the Japanese Army and who sings the Korean folk song "Arirang" before his death.[14] The film follows Na's struggles and successes in the film industry, a world of repression and injustice in which the Japanese dominated, and focuses on Na's devotion to making films for Koreans. In portraying Na as a politically engaged and courageous artist, the film powerfully conveys its message: despite the poor conditions of filmmaking in the colonial era, Na proceeded to film the sorrow and joy of Koreans, with his strong hope of the country's independence.

To convey its message more effectively, *Arirang: A Life of Na Unkyu* inserted particular scenes from Na Unkyu's silent films. Here, the loss of film prints presented a challenge once again; in response, the director and producers carefully chose the best-known scenes and remade them. Na's famous silent features such as *Arirang*, *Simch'ŏngchŏn* and *Omongnyŏ* were revived in director Choe Muryong's hands; these scenes work as a *mise-en-abyme*, literally meaning that the themes of the inserted films make up the small picture that mirrors the themes of the big picture. By re-animating Na's films, albeit partially, as part of *Arirang: A Life of Na Unkyu,* the director sought to revitalize the memories of those who had previously watched these films. The revival of missing films also emerged to authorize myths or legends that clung to Na and his films. For instance, the original *Arirang* has a scene where the male protagonist Yŏngjin, played by Na Unkyu, accidently murders the pro-Japanese landlord who attempted to harass Yŏngjin's sister. This particular scene was held by members of the film industry through vernacular print media as a representative example of Na's artistic expression of resistance among the other myths or legends of Na's, though it is hard to determine his real intention.

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[14] "Arirang" is a popular Korean folk song. In fact, it is the outcome of collective contributions made by ordinary Koreans throughout generations. Essentially a simple song, it consists of the refrain "Arirang, arirang, arariyo" and two lines, which differ from region to region. In the very last scene of Na Unkyu's *Arirang*, the male protagonist—who has murdered the pro-Japanese landlord by accident—asks his fellow villagers to sing "Arirang" when he gets arrested. The lyrical expression does not necessarily relate to anti-Japanese ideology, but after Na Unkyu's film the song has to come to express the sentiment of Koreans who were repressed under Japanese rule.

It is helpful to remember that biography, in whatever form it is presented, is "anything but innocent," as John and Jean Comaroff note, and can represent even "patently ideological modes of inscription."[15] This is precisely biographies' value as social documents, as insights into the ways in which individuals (or the societies around them) seek to present their version of truth. If Na's biographical history reveals insights not only into his experiences directly reflected in the film, but also of the wider society, or social segment, of which they are a part, then what precisely created the need to retell the Na Unkyu's life in this manner? Different, yet interconnected motivations led to the focus on Na and his films as nationalistic. For colleagues of Na's early days, it was one way to assert his original place in the history of Korean cinema in spite of the present invisibility of his films. Meanwhile, the newer generation participating in the production, such as director Choe Muryong, for example, intended to validate local cinema as more than just a short-lived enterprise. To bolster the Korean film industry, the filmmakers believed that it would be essential to emphasize Korean film's artistic and national dimensions in their depiction of the past, allowing them to move beyond the undesirable elements of the past under Japanese rule.

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[15] Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), 26.

Taken together, although members of film industry's collective efforts did not project a complete historical account, they intended to produce a consistent narrative of Korean agencies in the formative period of cinema by relying on particular individuals—Yi P'iru or Na Unkyu—and their significant roles. Their collective efforts to historicize Korean cinema, in addition to their discussion on the medium's historicity, fostered a new status for the medium and its relation to society. Film in Korea was transformed from a cultural medium seen as popular and disposable to a form of valuable knowledge, a distinct aesthetic expression, and even a historical and national artifact. In the 1960s, the new attention to cinema's historicity expanded across a field of film culture, enriching, and even challenging the extant cinema's status as an ephemeral entertainment. In many places in Korea, cinema had been made for immediate use and then jettisoned over the decades; up to this point, there had been little discussion of where film prints had gone and how they could be seen again after their short screening cycles. A growing attention to film's other values could provide a counterpoint to one of the key issues that had long shaped film's status, namely that Korean cinema was best understood as an ephemeral, useful, and instructional medium that was symptomatic of the political authority's obsession with modernization, as seen in the previous chapter. This line of new ways of thinking about cinema and its historicity that emerged in the 1960s were comprehensively presented in two monographs on the history of Korean cinema: An Chonghwa's *The Bypaths and Hidden History of Korean Cinema* (1962) and Yi Yŏngil's *A Comprehensive History of Korean Cinema* (1969).

The Historiographical Turn: Form and Writing Practice

Before discussing the form and writing practice of these two monographs, it is noteworthy that they both had roots in the AKFP's film council initiatives, which originally planned the publication of a book-length official historical account of Korean cinema to mark its fortieth anniversary in the early 1960s. As one of the AKFP's leaders, An Chonghwa initially spearheaded the book project, but then dropped out after gathering his sources for writing, admitting that his method and perspective could be improved. An later changed his mind, and decided to write a memoir rather than an "authentic history," that is, as his book title implies, a recollection of "all the hidden, untold stories" from the introduction of cinema to Korea's liberation in 1945.[16] Partly because An's memoir only covered the period up to 1945, and also, as we will see later, because it was not a general history, AKFP leaders looked to publish another monograph. With their moral support, in addition to that of the Ministry of Public Information (the former Office of Public Information), Yi Yŏngil, as a young film critic and editor of *Film Arts*, penned *A Comprehensive History of Korean Cinema*, which he worked on for seven years. Apparently, the book was published under the name of the AKFP rather than Yi as a single author, positioning this historical work as a collective effort that dated back to the earlier project.

While the two works shared some common ground, An and Yi did not use identical forms of historical narrative or writing practices. My understanding of form here is strongly indebted to Hayden White's writing on history. One of the most important and enduring of White's ideas put forward in *Metahistory* is the notion of "emplotment."[17] By "emplotment," White means that the historian uses conventional narrative forms to organize and tell a story about the past; more precisely, his point is that stories are made, not found. Countering the traditional historiography that views "the form of the historian's discourse" (as story) as "contingent and detachable" from its contents, White emphasizes that the choice of narrative form is already a way of choosing the past.[18] If, following White, the form of narrative inevitably conveys a moral, conceptual, and ideological content, and more importantly, it is not distinguishable from the content of narrative, then we must consider the indistinguishable relation between the form and the content of narrative. Rather than delimiting An's memoir and Yi's comprehensive history as style, I focus in the next sections on why and how these authors chose a particular form of narrative and how their choice works with their writing practices.

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[16] An Chonghwa, *Hankukyŏnghwach'ŭkmyŏnpisa* [*The Bypaths and Hidden History of Korean Cinema*] (Seoul: Ch'unch'ukak, 1962), 3.

[17] White, *Metahistory*.

An Chonghwa and Memoir

The Bypaths and Hidden History of Korean Cinema (hereafter *Bypaths and Hidden History*), at least on the surface, does not seem particularly different from previously published texts that sought to pay tribute to Korean filmmakers and their respective past films. Newspaper columns and reports written by generations of film industry members consist of anecdotes in a confessional tone, and present their personal stories as evidence of past decades. Like these previous texts, An's memoir is also strongly grounded in his personal experiences, here ranging from the introduction of cinema to Korea in the 1900s to the end of the colonial era in 1945. Not surprisingly, precisely because of his format and sources, *Bypaths and Hidden History* has been neglected as a historical work. It is evident that his work has been only rarely visible in the later scholarship, and even after its 1998 reprinting, the book has been regarded as “secondary material.”[19] Still, *Bypaths and Hidden History* deserves a close analysis not only because of its relative richness in composition, but also because of An’s self-consciousness about his writing practice and archiving.

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[18] White, *The Content of the Form*, xi.

An was clear that writing a memoir was not entirely his original intention; he reveals in the preface that memoir was an inevitable choice given the conditions of historical production. He was concerned with, on one level, his lack of professional training as a historian who could be trusted to write an “authentic” history (*chŏngsa*). Considering that an “authentic” history would require more masterful methods and skills, An settled on memoir (*hoegorok*) because this particular form would allow him to reveal stories that had been little known. We can see how his choice was embedded in a hierarchy of discursive forms— “authentic” history vs. memoir— whose textual conventions strongly delimit the kinds of stories they can narrate. But what needs also to be stressed here is that An Chonghwa sought the form of memoir as a way to ultimately attest to the historicity of Korean cinema by recollecting both individual and collective experiences of the past. Here experience is, as Joan Scott argues, not a natural category but a social one; it is not a container but a kind of architectural space in the process of constant construction. Experience is also a “subject’s history” that always needs to be narrativitized or historicized, not simply gathered.[20] Though An considers experiences as pivotal to the creation of a historical narrative, his positions as both an individual writer and a member of the collective of witnesses to the past complicate his practice. He reconciles his positions by assuming that, on the one hand, the individual experience can have evidentiary power, and on the other, that it can be viewed in relation to its historical context.

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[19] Kim Chongwŏn, “Appendix 1: Hankukyŏnghwach’ŭkmyŏnpisa’ŭi chaech’ulkan ŭimi [The Implication of the Reprint of *Bypaths and Hidden History*],” in An Chonghwa, *The Bypaths and Hidden History of Korean Cinema*, 294.

[20] Joan Scott, “Experience,” in *Feminists Theorize the Political*, ed. Judith Butler and Joan Scott (New York: Routledge, 1992), 34.

His memoir, on another level, represents how he embraces the condition of producing a linear trajectory of Korean cinema. An notes that memoir was also chosen because of the "unfortunate" loss of film and other relevant sources. Facing the "inadequacies" of film prints and materials, especially from the silent and talkie eras, he takes up the task of working around the undesirable condition of historicizing by coming up with more than "facts and figures." The loss provides him with a need for rigor in investigating "all the hidden, untold stories from the silent era up to 1945."[21] What An, as a historical producer, shared was a sense that he must, both for his own existential well being and that of the collective, document and preserve accounts of a past that was being elided in public discourse.

Moving away from these two perceived obstacles—the conventional hierarchy of historical writing and the paucity of film as source—An experiments with creativity in producing new sources to fill in the gap, which ultimately help to form a seamless narrative. His rigorous collection of the details of every silent and talkie film provides inclusive information about each film (name of the producer, director, cinematographer, and performers) and the plot. In his discussion of silent and talkie films made from the 1910s to the mid-1930s, particularly those that were missing at the time he was writing, he includes details about the films' plot on almost every other page. For instance, when An talks about *The Arirang Sequel* (1930), he writes:

> Speaking of the "spirit of resistance" represented in *The Arirang Sequel*, it was just as good as *Arirang* (1926). For instance, there was an original scene where the madman Yŏngchin, played by Na Unkyu, slaps and yells at a policeman, "You are damn crazy!" Na envisioned that this scene would not be able to pass the Japanese censorship board, and thus maneuvered to put more scenes before the slapping scene. So now Yŏngchin slaps and yells first at an elderly man who passes him by, "You are

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[21] An, *Bypaths and Hidden History*, 3.

> damn crazy!" Then he makes another woman stop, yelling at her. He does the same thing to a student passing by him. Now, finally, Yŏngchin comes across the policeman, slaps and yells at him, "YOU are damn crazy!" The censors just thought that Yŏngchin is like that —rather than seeing it as anti-Japanese. Thereby the film was approved and screened without any trouble. If the censor had realized what Na Unkyu wanted to do with this scene, imagine how angry they would be with themselves. We were just thrilled back then.[22]

By adding more untold stories and backgrounds, what An achieves here is a restoration of the invisible films that were believed to be no longer available. Those that had not been preserved in their material form, such as celluloid print, are resurrected in An's restoration of the narrative, the details of the productions and his own memory of watching the film and/or participating in the production. His act intends to fixate on the lost films as a trace of a vanished past, bringing them into contact with the reader in the present.

Just as he makes visible a number of invisible films in his memoir, he also revives his old colleagues who have since died. Consider his depiction of Yi Kyuhwan, a popular Korean filmmaker in the 1930s, whose famous films such as *The Ownerless Ferry Boat* (1932) were lost:

> After hanging out, Kyuhwan, Sŏkyŏng and An Chonghwa [the author himself] all got on a train to go home; all of the sudden, the drunken Kyuhwan looked down on other passengers, saying loudly, "These [people] are all like bugs."
>
> "Hey, do you know what you are talking about? Please pull yourself together!" Sŏkyŏng got puzzled and appeased him.
>
> "Do you think I am drunk? What the heck… are these? They are not human beings. To be a human being, we have to do art. Art! Those nuts just swagger about how much they have in their pockets."
>
> Kyuhwan had such a bitter tongue. He always said that only artists could live as human beings. Likewise, he often spoke venomously to the performers when making his film, yelling at actors and actresses: "What do you think that you are doing? Who on earth do you believe you are, a performer, huh?" It could be no more than insult to the performer, but there was nothing they could do. Kyuhwan was such a charismatic figure.[23]

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[22] An, *Bypaths and Hidden History*, 168-169.

[23] An, *Bypaths and Hidden History*, 203-204.

An was clearly aware that the dead could not be brought back to life, but reverence for their legacies could keep them alive in memory. For him, restoration of their legacies through interweaving anecdotes and previously untold stories could provide an encounter with the historical actuality of these people and films by refusing to interrupt their passage through time; reviving their spirits in a kind of material afterlife, in the form of a book. In this light, the many lengthy anecdotes in *Bypaths and Hidden History* tell us about how An understood his restoration: as an alternative not only to the films' material absence but also to the personal records of those who made the films.

While filling the gap in the sources was necessary to imagine a chronological history, An's position is absolutely clear that the question was never about whether to recover the past, but about the rationales and practices of such a recovery. He sought to establish the history of Korean film up to 1945 by "accumulating an enormous quantity of facts and figures."[24] He then established a forward-moving timeline, beginning from the 1900s as the "Age of Pre-History," to the silent era as the "Age of Transition" and "Age of Development," to the talkie era as the "Age of Great Advance," and, finally, to the wartime era as the "Age of Torment." An seems to find the principles of periodization in the development of media and technology: the introduction of silent film precedes that of sound technology, and not vice versa. The earlier moments organize the thinking about any later moment. Making sense of a later moment in a history, then, necessarily requires a continuous return to the logic of the origin.

Even more than obstacles such as the loss of sources in imagining a chronological form, the relationship between cinema and nation appeared to be An's greatest challenge. Given the rationale for writing a coherent history of "Korean" cinema, a simple assumption is at work here:

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[24] An, *Bypaths and Hidden History*, 3.

any national cinema's history is tied to that nation's history. To build upon such an assumption was to face one of the significant ruptures of history in narrating a linear timeline of cinema in Korea: the Japanese annexation from 1910 to 1945. Instead of engaging with the rupture, An renders Korea's position as Japanese colony almost invisible in *Bypaths and Hidden History*. He clearly recognizes colonialism as a historical limit, given that he addresses the wartime collaboration of Korean filmmakers as the "Age of Torment." While describing how the Japanese's "shady maneuvers and threats" affected members of the Korean film industry, his criticism of, and justification for, those involved in wartime collaboration remains rather short, with a brief coda where he triumphantly notes the moment of liberation in 1945. The abrupt ending of *Bypaths and Hidden History* demonstrates how difficult it was for An to fuse the rupture into an imaginary totality so that the nation's troubled time would not delimit film's development. And yet this historical limit unpacked in An's work is precisely connected to the prevailing concerns about Korea's identity at that time, which would be more fully addressed in another critical historical work that appeared within a few years.

Yi Yŏngil and Comprehensive History

A Comprehensive History of Korean Cinema (hereafter *Comprehensive History*) is rooted in a collective attempt to establish an original historical account of Korean cinema. Yi's use of the adjective "comprehensive (*chŏn*)," literally meaning a broad and complete coverage, before "history" in his title suggests that he was clear about the form and rationale of his book project. *Comprehensive History* aimed to cover the broadest temporal span of film in Korea, from the 1900s to the end of the 1960s. Like An Chonghwa, Yi considered a chronological form as essential to the documentation of sixty years' worth of film history. Not only did Yi use a large number of statistics, graphs, and tables within the text, but he also included an extensive appendix of "Sources," about a hundred pages long, implying that he was positioning the book as an inclusive and rigorous database of Korean film. At the same time, Yi intended to go into more depth in terms of not only his inclusive collection of facts and figures but also his approach to film history in relation to other, larger history. This relates to some degree to the government and film industry's campaign to include Korean cinema's fiftieth anniversary as part of their promotion of "national culture": to publish an official history was to authorize a particular trajectory of the film industry.

More specifically, the appendix shows how he perceived his task of building a "comprehensive" history. It consists of a wide range of information, including the full text of each major film regulation and policy implemented in Korea from the 1910s to the 1960s; a detailed list of film organizations, theaters, and their owners; and a list of Korean films shown in international film festivals. However, being inclusive was only one of Yi's goals. Yi develops a particular way of enriching his chronological history that involved bringing together film's technological, socio-political, economic, and aesthetic development. It was a tremendous task in that he not only needed to accumulate a massive quantity of facts and figures in each period but also had to place them in a diachronic fashion.

Like An Chonghwa, Yi also had to face what would happen when he placed the writing of Korean film history into the larger narrative of history, the history of the nation-state. The practice turned out to be complicated; it would have been easier if he could simply write cinema's beginning and development over a linear timeline along with the nation's timeline. However, this approach was not well suited to South Korea, particularly because of the issue of agency. For instance, moving images were introduced to Korea by imperial regimes as part of an attempt to simultaneously shape colonial and modern subjects. While Korean merchants and practitioners became interested in the film business toward the end of 1910s, foreign agencies with technology and capital undertook the introduction and development of motion picture during the formative period of silent film. The limited capacity of Korean agents made it even harder for Yi to pinpoint the birth of Korean cinema in a way that would highlight local experiments with new motion picture technologies along with the emergence of both a film audience and market. Moreover, how could his account claim historical authenticity without access to the film prints that were being written about, given that most silent and early talkie films were not available during the time when Yi was writing? In response to these issues, his chronological form evolves from the connection between film's development and its condition at the intersection of aesthetics and politics, and between the local and the global. Although Yi presents a chronological history that is diachronic by nature—changes must occur from one historical moment to another—he carefully interweaves both intersections in every chapter.

One notable moment appears in Yi's redefinition of the early period that characterizes the introduction of film in the 1900s and 1910s, mainly undertaken by foreign agencies. His periodization turns out to be more constructive than An's "pre-history." Previously, the period from 1903 to 1919, when motion pictures appeared in public spaces but were not yet made by Koreans, had been discussed in terms of the exhibition of foreign films. To avoid repeating this claim, Yi suggests a particular way of seeing Korea's "peculiar condition." First, he presents two theories of writing the early history of cinema: if the U.S., France, Britain, and Germany are the "countries of invention," the remainder (i.e. Italy, Japan, and the USSR) can be considered the "countries of introduction." The film history of each country is placed its "origin" according to either a "theory of invention" or a "theory of introduction." To Yi, Korea's film history does not perfectly fit with these two categories due to the peninsula's geopolitical condition during the transition from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, when "advanced western empires" invented film technology. Although his articulation of a better frame for Korean film history is less rigorous here, what he calls the "authentic aspect of Korean film history" should be considered in relation to the dynamics of a country in which imperial powers fast approached as soon as the country opened its port to "the wave of modernization."[25] While noting that Korea's encounter with western, modern capitalism was relatively "late," rather than stressing the country's "belatedness" in the inception of modern technology and cinema, Yi spends more time describing the internal dynamics, such as social reforms and the emerging print media culture that provided a basis for Koreans to be more receptive to foreign imports and cultures.

It is worth noting that Yi's understanding of internal dynamics was built upon a new historiography in the 1960s, which went against a dominant colonialist historiography of stagnation theory that justified Korea's annexation due to its lack of economic and social infrastructure. Sprout theory, a new historiography led by historians such as Kim Yongsŏp and Yi Kibaek, understood modernity in Korea through an emphasis on internal actors and agencies; it challenged Japanese colonialist historiography, claiming that Korean society was incapable of modernization without foreign intervention, ultimately legitimating the Japanese annexation of Korea.[26] As they demonstrated that the late Chosŏn society was indeed dynamic and that the process of modernization had already started prior to the arrival of imperial powers, Yi highlighted the growth of theatrical infrastructures and mass entertainment, an early development of consumer culture and a capitalist market economy en route to a modern society.

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[25] Yi Yŏngil, *Han'gukyŏnghwachŏnsa* [*A Comprehensive History of Korean Cinema*], ed. Association of Korean Film Personnel (Seoul: Samaesa, 1969), 40-41.

[26] For instance, Hong Isŏp, "Han'guk Shingminjishidaesaŭi Ihaebangbŏp [How to Understand the Colonial History of Korea]," *Tongbanghakchi* [*Journal of Eastern Light*], February, 1963; "Han'guk Shingminjishidae Chŏngshinsaŭi Kwaje [A Study of Mentality in Colonial Korea]," *Han'guksasang* [*Korean Thoughts*]. December, 1962; Kim Yongsŏp, "Ilche Kwanhakchadŭrŭi Han'guksagwan [A Historical Perspective of Colonialist Historians]," *Sasanggye* [*World of Thoughts*], February, 1963; Yi Kibaek "Han'guksaŭi Saeroun Ihae [New Understanding of Korean History]," *Han'guksashinnonŭi Sŏjang*, 1966.

Yi's use of the socio-political context as backdrop to film's development is also closely connected to his positioning of Korea's early reception of cinema within a global context. To claim the contemporaneity of Korea's cinematic experience, Yi places Korea's film history in relation to other histories. Referencing the ways in which Japan, China, and Hong Kong imported moving pictures during the decade from 1896 to 1905, Yi validates that Korea's exposure to film, which occurred around 1903, was not late but corresponded to other countries in Asia.[27] His claim to the synchronized reception of new technology across Asia, in turn, enabled him to map out the early theatrical landscape of urban areas in 1900s and 1910s Korea, incorporating existing theatrical infrastructure as well as the growing number of moviegoers as evidence of film's local development. As Yi manifests the intimate relation between cinema and the larger context by locating a socio-political context as backdrop to film's development in each period, he also explains local film's progress in reference to other histories. At the beginning or end of almost every chapter, there are five to ten pages examining foreign film industries and their specific developments, not only in Hollywood and European countries but also in the Soviet Union, Japan, and China. While he could have simply aimed to diachronically place particular periods of Korean film history in a larger, global context, Yi was also aware of globalization in the circuits of film production and discourse. For instance, Yi focuses on the popular motif of psychotic murder present not only in *Arirang* but also other films—such as *Das Kabinett des Dr. Caligari* (1920, Robert Wiene), *Blood and Soul* (1923, Kenji Mizoguchi) and *A Page of Madness*

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[27] Yi, *Comprehensive History*, 48-49.

(1926, Teinosuke Kinugasa), locating Na Unkyu's film within the currency of avant-gardist arts in other parts of the world.[28] By extension, Yi also underlines that Koreans' major technological developments in film were synchronous, or at least in dialogue, with the rest of the world. To illustrate, Yi describes how Korean technicians, with their experiments, joined the global expansion of sound film technology as early as 1931; he bases this assertion on his interview with Yi P'iru, who invested in the local development of synchronized sound recording.[29]

Yi Yŏngil's desire to connect film's history to a larger history in this way not only encouraged him to accumulate a large quantity of information through books and periodicals, but also to create new materials for his writing practice. In addition to culling from the "dust of old newspapers and magazines," he conducted interviews with a number of senior film personnel—Yi P'iru, Yi Kuyŏng, Yun Pongch'un, Yi Kyuhwan, Kim Sŏngchun and others—in order to use their testimonies to fill in the material absences of early films and their relevant sources.[30] If An's *Bypaths and Hidden History* filled this gap by incorporating detailed and often previously unknown information on films and figures, *Comprehensive History* conveys Yi's conviction that oral testimony would allow him to enrich the historical production. Although not all interviews were completed before the publication of the book, and more interviews were conducted later in the 1970s, Yi's specific approach to oral testimony shows that he saw the testimony not only as a template for remembrance but also as an alternative source that would provide access to the past.

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[28] Yi, *Comprehensive History*, 90.

[29] Yi, *Comprehensive History*, 142-144.

[30] Yi, "Postscript," *Comprehensive History*, 458.

For example, Yi used oral sources to cross-check particular pieces of information. In his discussion of the first moving picture screening in Korea, Yi takes up Yi P'iru's testimony to affirm the argument that it was in 1903, rather than other claims that defined the earliest public exhibition differently.[31] Citing Yi P'iru's testimony as to support the thesis of 1903 theory, not simply as an individual memory, Yi Yŏngil utilizes orally transmitted information to double-check written sources. On the other hand, in *Comprehensive History*, the oral discourse of the testifier takes on a new validity in relation to written sources. In many places, Yi relies on his interviews to reveal unknown "facts" and their "evidence." For instance, when Yi discusses *Arirang*'s release and its larger social effect, he cites his interview with Yi Kuyŏng, a film producer and theater manager in the 1920s, to establish the film's authenticity as one of the most popular national films. Yi Kuyŏng's testimony performs the revelation of a new and previously unknown "fact" about *Arirang*'s phenomenal success, which was unexpectedly bolstered by the local audience's reaction to the colonial state's harsh censorship of the film's promotional pamphlet.

Yi's usage of oral sources in this way is predicated upon the idea that oral sources can not only heighten a text's authority by introducing the viewpoint of the "common person" who has usually been written out of history, but also that such personal history is an integral unit of collective history. While oral sources were denigrated by academic historians and critics for a long time as outdated or episodic, they were brought into historical semiosis as the substantial record of the past in *Comprehensive History*. In other words, Yi did not demean oral testimony as a supplementary source. Rather, through transcription and citation, he locates oral sources centrally in his writing practice. Though his transcription will be examined below, citation deserves particular attention. Yi's citation shows a consistent way of incorporating the interviewee's existence into his text.

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[31] Yi, *Comprehensive History*, 46.

> Na Unkyu agreed to star in *Nongjungjo* [a silent 1926 melodrama], though he was initially not interested in doing so, and *according to* Na's lifelong friend Yun Pongch'un, Na *"already had his own plan in mind."* That is, even before starring *Nongjungjo*, Na Unkyu was staying in his hometown for a while to complete his scenario that would be a great hit later. *(Oral Testimony for Film History: Yun Pongch'un)* [32]

What should be emphasized in Yi's practice is that he gives a certain power to both direct and indirect quotation, with direct citation of the oral testimony source, which at the time of his writing had never been published elsewhere. The above passage shows that Yi directly puts the interviewer's voice transcribed into words in addition to clearly locating the interviewer in the main text. Contrary to the ways in which the interviews were cited as to prove "that which has been said to happen" to supplement what happened in the past, Yi incorporates oral testimony into the center of a text of historical production and validates them as equally important as "original" written documents or film prints, which were generally believed to provide a direct contact to the recorded past. In this light, his citation practice can be read not as a simply routine, but as a politically and morally charged response to voices of others. However, what needs to be stressed here as well is that the validation given to oral testimony could never have been possible without Yi's mediation through technologies of documentation. Yi's intention to solicit, translate, and archive these materials, amounting to more than 80 recorded hours and 9,600 pages of transcription, was clear; he individualizes memory and assumes its essential historicity.

In the authenticity of the live voice and its translation, mediation as a social, linguistic, and technological process tends to be less important than the belief in the original word that provides an immediate sense to live memory.[33] Yet, the dream of retrieving the original word —or the memory—in "objective" reality conceals the process of mediation, which, as Jacques Derrida points out, is shaped by concepts of consignation, inscription, archivization involved a kind of mediated communication.[34] To claim the truth of the live voice as it is, Yi's practice of transcription and writing should be bracketed. These claims are based on access to the authenticity of a primary source, whether an original written document or a live voice. Yi's reform of writing practice through solicitation, transcription, and conservation of oral testimony, with the task of creating archives from scratch in order to provide the sources (the proof, the evidence) was positioned as necessary in order to write a history.

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[32] Yi, *Comprehensive History*, 77. Emphasis added.

Practices of Writing and Archiving

In the two historical works discussed in this chapter, we have seen how a major task of historiography consists of filling in the inevitable gaps between the past and the present by narrating the past in the form of an internally unified sequence. As both *Bypaths and Hidden History* and *Comprehensive History* show, historiography presents a particular timeline and form, typically chronological, leading from an earlier to a later time. Such a telling of the past aims to constitute a synthesis; the elements or parts of the past invoked in the historical account should cohere into a whole. To generate a synthesized and coherent history, An and Yi not only gathered available written and film sources, but also utilized diverse sources, such as personal anecdotes and oral testimonies, to fill in the gap left by the material paucity of primary sources.

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[33] Penelope Papailias, *Genres of Recollection: Archival Poetics and Modern Greece* (New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 19.

[34] Jacque Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: the University of Chicago Press, 1995).

Looking at their creation and utilization of new sources allows us to see how these two writers expanded the documentary base by collecting and analyzing different categories of evidence in their practice—and eventually constructing their own personal archives. In attending to historians' material practices of shifting through archival sources, Michel de Certeau claims that their practices are fundamentally shaped by the activities of archiving: "In history everything begins with the gesture of *setting aside*, of putting together, of transforming certain classified objects into 'documents.'"[35] Along with "selecting" what to include and exclude from a historical narrative, another crucial practice of historiography consists of the process of "producing" a series of documents "by dint of copying, transcribing, or photographing these objects, simultaneously changing their locus and their status."[36] Through these processes of selection and production of materials, historians decide what is to be included in or excluded from the text by not only "the mechanical labor of copying, filming, and transcription" but also the practice of archiving—those of classification, categorization, and organization.[37] In this light, An and Yi, in their practice of archiving and writing, also involved archivization—or the archival appraisal that decides what is remembered and what is forgotten, who has a voice and who does not, and who in society is visible or who remains invisible. If they cannot or do not accommodate a particular kind of information, then it is effectively excluded from the historical record. But what makes something valuable, worth preserving and remembering? And who determines worthiness?

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[35] Michel De Certeau, *The Writing of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 72; quoted in Penelope Papailias, *Genres of Recollection*, 17.

[36] De Certeau, *The Writing of History*, 72; quoted in Papailias, *Genres of Recollection*, 17.

[37] Papailias, *Genres of Recollection*, 17.

These questions lead us to my final point: The practice of writing and archiving is founded on the assumption that artifacts and documents can be made to tell very special, if incomplete, stories about social identity. For instance, writers and historians endeavor to choose a proper chronology and context to build a particular trajectory of the past that can be widely shared by a particular ground of people. As Peter Fritzsche demonstrates in his analysis of modern nation and archive, what they produce through the practice of writing and archiving are precisely the "boundedness of identity in time and space, and the synchronization of time and space within those bounds."[38] Because they are the means by which the provenance of identity is established, historiography and archive are intimately, inextricably, tied to the dimension of the nation-state.

To further elaborate the articulation of a coherent narrative of "Korean" cinema, I will now focus on how these two historical works centered on a particular group of films and figures, in their handling of two specific junctures in their narratives: allegations of wartime collaboration and leftist film production. Members of the film industry sought to reconstruct the past, and as part of this reconstruction, historical products in the 1960s were charged with documenting and preserving what was deemed important for Koreans in the wake of the postcolonial nation's development and modernization. These works opened the door to a diverse range of sources that document Korean personnel's active role in film production as well as their struggle under Japanese rule. Shifting the subject of history from state to nation was one way to produce alternative histories, rather than recording Korea's limited sovereignty under imperial rule. In other words, while the antagonism between Koreans and the Japanese was vividly expressed through films, columns, and books relating to a history of Korean cinema, the creators of these historical works were more concerned about how to establish a history of the nation without the sovereignty.

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[38] Peter Fritzsche, The Archive, *History & Memory*, vol. 17, no.1/2 (2005): 17.

As noted earlier, the Japanese colonial era—not only as a historical time but also its prolonged impact afterwards—was the biggest challenge to those working to define the "Korean" history of cinema. If An Chonghwa bracketed the film industry's growth under Japanese rule and yet highlighted his "enforced" collaboration, Yi Yŏngil was more concerned about how to produce an "objective" narrative. Their different approaches to the colonial era have to do with their different positions as writers; as An was not free from allegations of collaboration, he needed both (1) to criticize the "nasty" Japanese and their "violent maneuver" of forcing Koreans to collaborate and (2) to justify collaboration as a logical outcome of "being a puppet of the Japanese bastards" rather than an individual choice.[39] However, as a member of the younger generation, Yi was not obliged to defend the old generation, and aware of the importance of writing as rigorous a history as possible.

Yi's understanding of his task in this way led to a close examination of how Korean film companies were merged into an imperial film institution during the Pacific War. Building upon Takashima Kinji's *A History of Regulation of Colonial Korean Cinema*, an institutional history that documents the figures and policies in the process of amalgamation, Yi describes the process of merging before the 1942 completion of the process, at which point all Korean companies and personnel had been assimilated into a single imperial institution. In his understanding of these circumstances, Korea, the nation, became no longer able to make "Korean" films, "because Koreans' 'right to life and property' were all confiscated."[40] For Yi, it was least possible to define those films made after 1942 as Korean films in that their production was not completely in hands of the Japanese, and that even those served the imperial institution should be understood in their own circumstances and the particulars of the time, not just in retrospect. But he then finds himself in a dilemma: is it adequate to leave the period of wartime blank?

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[39] An, *Bypaths and Hidden History*, 284.

[40] Yi, *Comprehensive History*, 169.

His solution to patch up the break between wartime and liberation lies in a specific mode of film and filmmaking: realism. Yi draws a linear narrative through realism that centers on Na Unkyu's film *Arirang* and its unceasing legacy for other Korean films. For Yi, Na's "realistic representation of rural communities under poverty, exploitation and repression" shaped the "resistant realism" that conveys the sense of suffering in the real world. Originating from *Arirang*, Yi conceptualizes two distinct modes of realism in film production in Korea under Japanese rule. One category of films, following *Arirang* and made during the era of "national resistance" in the late 1920s, depicts resentment at Japanese domination by showing the lives of outlaws and vagabonds who challenged the existing social and political norms. Yi categorizing such films as "the arts of blood." His second category is that of films made in the 1930s in the era of "national enlightenment," which he called "the arts of soil." These films focused more on a long-term strategy to awaken people through enlightening and educating them.[41]

Building upon these two modes of realism, Yi looks back again wartime, when Korean filmmakers were caught by the "physical violence and threat of Japanese imperialism.[42]" However, unlike An Chonghwa, Yi does not attempt to justify the individual filmmakers' commitment to participate in imperial film production during wartime. Without judging the act of making imperial films or justifying it on behalf of filmmakers, what Yi offers here is an emphasis on why the legacy of realism unfailingly survived the last few years of Japanese rule. He is more interested in finding a continuous legacy of realism in Korean cinema during wartime, and he believes his "obligation" as author is "to limit himself only to facts." For him, unpacking "all historical facts" of the wartime collaboration would make it possible to approach the authenticity of "Korean" cinema under Japanese rule.[43] Thus, showing examples of Yi Kyuhwan, Yun Pongch'un, and Chŏn Changgŭn, who either secluded themselves or left for labor camps instead of collaborating, Yi Yŏngil writes:

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[41] Yi, *Comprehensive History*, 86-89.

[42] Yi, *Comprehensive History*, 160.

> While "Korean" cinema on screen became dead, its spirit became more sublime in the labor camps and secluded villages where these [Yi Kyuhwan, Yun Pongch'un, and Chŏn Changgŭn] suffered. Only about 140 features were made during the colonial era, which reaches only half of the number of films made in the 1960s alone. Despite this limited film activity that we inherited, we also find a rich vein of spirit [realism] that should be kept in Korean cinema; it is the potential source that is irreplaceable by anything, that is, the tradition of Korean cinema. Nothing compares to this legacy because we cannot find arts that endured such a long time of suffering and resistance in any other country.[44]

What he does here is to connect how this "rich vein of spirit" called "realism" also lived through the ensuing decades, evolving into something he calls "liberation film." This term refers to a group of films made during the period from August 15, 1945 until the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950. Although Yi does not precisely conceptualize the term, he believes the transitional time period needed more attention because "liberation film" was created by those who inherited the "national spirit" in making film under Japanese rule and resisted enforced collaboration. For instance, Yi focuses on the three directors mentioned above (Yi Kyuhwan, Yun Pongch'un, and

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[43] Yi, *Comprehensive History*, 160.

[44] Yi, *Comprehensive History*, 172.

Chŏn Changgŭn) who "exemplify the national consciousness inherent in Korean film by making 'liberation film.'"[45] Their creation of films that depict the national resistance, activists, and guerillas clearly achieves the realistic representation of the past in which Koreans dissented from imperial rule despite Japan's coercive power. In connecting the distance between wartime collaboration and the postcolonial nation's filmmaking, Yi empowers "realism" once again so that the history of Korean cinema could be written in a forward-moving timeline, which connected later events to the inherent legacy of earlier development prior to national liberation.

To claim Na Unkyu and his "realism" as a basis for Korean cinema over decades, it is essential to silence other developments at that time. Another significant example of canon formation is visible in the treatment of leftist filmmaking, and by extension, socialist ideology and movements in the 1920s and 1930s. For instance, *Bypaths and Hidden History* delimits the Korean Artist Proletarian Federation (KAPF) as a kind of nemesis of the film industry, based on An's own experience with the KAPF's former body (the Association of Korean Film and Arts) as evidence. Calling the KAPF members "naively into socialism," An writes that the group expelled him based on a dogmatic approach to film production that lacked a careful understanding of what type of film would be popular and even effective.[46] From his standpoint, KAPF's stubborn and uncooperative filmmaking practice was problematic, as was their constant criticism of popular film directors. "Once the leftist plotters failed to persuade popular film directors such as Na Unkyu to be part of the leftist movement, they soon decided to destroy Na," An writes.[47] Without incorporating other accounts such as major debates between KAPF members and other popular filmmakers that could have rendered the dynamics more clearly, An depicts the KAPF members as threats to the well-being and growth of the film industry. In so doing, An presents the KAPF's filmmaking and their documents as not necessary to construct a certain kind of historical narrative.

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[45] Yi, *Comprehensive History*, 177.

[46] An, *Bypaths and Hidden History*, 132-135.

[47] An, *Bypaths and Hidden History*, 187.

Yi Yŏngil, who promised to be "objective," tends not to judge leftist filmmaking based on An's experience, even while citing An's account. Giving brief information on the facts and figures related to leftist filmmaking, he develops his own analysis of why leftist filmmaking collapsed. In addition to the colonial state's repression of the socialist movement, Yi points out that many leftist filmmakers were in fact not strictly Marxist, but participants in a larger national movement at that time. At the same time, he comments on the relationship between cinema and capitalism, which inevitably conflicts with socialist ideals; film as a capitalist product is not a proper medium for those socialists who sought the liberation of peasants and workers. Although less judgmental than An, Yi also pays little attention to leftist filmmaking and discourse, while giving more legitimacy to popular films and their makers, such as Na Unkyu.

Their construction of a linear history, again, consists of multiple selections that place a certain category of films and their makers as the backbone of the historical narrative. This practice crucially produces not only a shared past but also a shared future in the establishment of a film canon. The canonization of Korean cinema involves a number of primary criteria for inclusion: (1) notable films and filmmakers in coherent relationships to each other (Na Unkyu and Yi Kyuhwan for instance), (2) transcendence of time and place (from the 1920s onwards), (3) a personal vision of the world (nationalistic, or right-wing), and (4) consistency of statement from one film to another (realism). Consider the way in which both An and Yi contributed to establish Na Unkyu's *Arirang* as a "masterpiece." Seeing *Arirang*'s success in its "indigenous local sentiment," An claims that the film spurred Korean people's consciousness against Japanese repression.[48] Building on similar logic, Yi also places emphasis upon the film's representation of "national spirit."[49] For him, *Arirang*'s narrative—a lunatic accidently murdering the evil landlord in the rural village—attracted the Korean moviegoers with antagonism against the oppression of the governing power. The film's success can be explained in that moviegoers "completely absorbed" *Arirang*'s message, identifying themselves with the lunatic, who was played by Na. In addition to the film's exceptional reception, Yi points to *Arirang*'s artistic achievement as another criterion for its canonization. In distinguishing *Arirang* from the dominant "sinpa" film, a popular type of melodrama made during the silent era, Yi highlights Na Unkyu's artistic elaboration of the theme through the development of a "creative motif" and "clear methodology of montage."[50] Through the selected criteria for canonization — "national" and "aesthetic" values, Na Unkyu and his *Arirang* are approved as an essential part of Korean cinema past that deserves to be remembered in the present.

Through the practice of writing and archiving, questions about the proper way to treat old films and their creators become only one aspect of a larger discourse in the film industry, as the past was directly pertinent to the construction of a new present of film culture. At the same time, these types of questions are also premised upon the issue of what kind of past the future should have, and what kind of past can legitimate where we are now and where we will be in the future. Both writers responded these questions at the moment of establishing a history of "Korean" cinema as a culturally distinct. Like archivists, in their ultimate hope for creating a past for tomorrow, An and Yi decided what should be remembered and what should be forgotten, who in the film industry should be visible and who remained invisible, who had a voice and who did not.

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[48] An, *Bypaths and Hidden History*, 105.

[49] Yi, *Comprehensive History*, 86.

[50] Yi, *Comprehensive History*, 90.

In this chapter, I have examined concerns about Korean film and its history. Reading two works—*Bypaths and Hidden History* and *Comprehensive History*—as part of a larger discourse of making film historical, I show that both these works developed particular forms, respectively memoir and comprehensive history, in response to the possibilities and limitations of laying out a coherent narrative of Korean cinema. They reveal, on one level, the authors' effort to compensate for the "inadequacies" and the "gaps" of archive of cinema; the authors made it their project to salvage memory and experience as well as documents and objects endangered by neglect or simply not recognized by others as of historical value. On another level, their historiographical and archival practices centered not on highlighting stunning moments of rupture, loss, and conflict, but in marking routes of continuity among film practices, members of the film industry, and most importantly, the nation that survived through historical ruptures such as imperialism. In doing so, these practices render the relationship between cinema and nation intimately connected. The 1960s' film discourse developed an increasing awareness of film's historicity, and it paid more attention to sanctioning the past of Korean cinema as a legitimate trajectory towards what constituted its present. Such attention, however, did not generate a more constructive discourse and practice of preserving film, that is, a conscious and collective effort of keeping extant films from further deterioration and loss. In the next chapter, we will see how the historical and artistic values appearing in film discourse were captured and renewed by the political regime in the interest of establishing “national culture” and the film preservation discourse on the global scale.

CHAPTER 5

Between Anti-Communism and Global Imperative: Archive in State of Emergency

In June 1973, Kim Chaeyŏn, President of the Film Promotion Agency (FPA hereafter) visited the Office of the International Federation of Film Archives (FIAF hereafter) in Brussels. Since the FPA's inauguration earlier that year, he had striven to gather information on the FIAF, a unique, non-profit international film archive network. After coming back to Seoul, he and FPA officials accelerated the process of submitting a membership application for FIAF. Their initial proposals submitted to the Department of Culture and Public Information and the Central Intelligence Agency of the Korean government assert that becoming a FIAF member would "elevate national pride" through the country's active participation in international cultural organizations.[1] Given the successful advance contact with the FIAF executive committee, the FPA bureaucrats were optimistic about the outcome, with a goal of attaining membership as soon as possible. To them, FIAF membership would increase options for promoting Korean cinema overseas, such as boosting exports or creating close cinematic ties with other countries.[2]

As demonstrated throughout previous two chapters, the postwar regimes in Korea increasingly defined the use of film as a pedagogical tool and an influential category of mass media. Park Chung Hee's regime (1961–1979) had been particularly enthusiastic not only about the wider exhibition of non-fiction film through the network of state's film production center (NFPC), but also about the possibility of a large, sweeping motion picture program in the corporate film industry toward the end of 1960s. However, under the state's film policy and program, which was built upon strategically limiting the medium's potentials in order to focus on its use as a tool for to making pliable citizens, little attention had been paid to ideas about long-term film preservation. So then, what might account for the Park's regime's sudden interest in FIAF membership? And what allowed South Korea become involved in the creation of a film preservation facility?

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[1] "Kukchep'illimpokwansoyŏnmaeng kaip [An Affiliation with the FIAF]," September 24, 1973, in the file of the Film Promotion Agency, National Archives of Korea. To note, the Korean Central Intelligence Agency's involvement with the proposal for a film archive might be striking to some readers, but its control over and interventions with bureaucrats were virtually ubiquitous at that time. Technically, the Korean Central Intelligence Agency supervised both international and domestic intelligence activities and criminal investigations, yet possessed virtually unlimited power to arrest and detain any person on any charge during Park's presidency.

[2] "An Affiliation with the FIAF."

As historical studies of film preservation in European context show, for much of Europe and the United Kingdom, the creation of national film institutions, including film archives, grew out of the perceived need to defend nations' cultural products in the aftermath of two World Wars. For the United States, the movement to create national film preservation began during wartime with debates among politicians, philanthropists, librarians, and film producers over film's future value. What made these trajectories possible is often told in the stories of early film collectors and archivists, whose pioneering efforts to make some kind of house for collected film prints led to institutionalized film archives. These efforts significantly contributed to the FIAF's formation in the late 1930s, when four founders— the first emerging film archives of the Cinémathèque Française, Germany's Reichsfilmarchiv, the British Film Institute, and the Museum of Modern Art Film Library—realized the importance of establishing international contacts to facilitate exchanges of films, information, and related materials.[3] Despite their differences in terms of the emphasis placed upon film conservation or public access to holdings, as well as differences in their relations to funders (the government, philanthropy, and major film studios), these emerging film archives acknowledged the importance from the beginning of saving film as “historical” and even “national” artifact.

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[3] Christophe Dupin, "The Origins of FIAF, 1936-1938," *Journal of Film Preservation*, no. 88 (Brussels: FIAF), 43-58.

The creation of a film archive in South Korea tells us a different story. It exemplifies the state’s dominant position in the regulation of the field of cultural industry, placing film’s potential power upon the masses in the service of the political authority. The state’s developmental drive through several years of economic plans had aligned the film industry with its purposes since the early 1960s, culminating in the promulgation of the Arts and Culture Promotion Act in August 1972, which centered on vague notions of the “creation of new national culture.” Under the specific 5-year plan called “Restoration of Arts and Culture” (*munye chunghŭng*), which covered a broad range of cultural industry, the FPA, a newly established government agency, embarked on several projects to regulate the field of cinema in particular, beginning with the revision of the Film Law in the pursuit of development of “large-scale film production and film culture in general.” The FPA’s original plan also envisioned an effective support for film studios and writers, as well as the creation of film library.[4] While this plan might have at first sounded promising to members of film industry, as we will see, its practice turned out to be quite different, and resulted in the state’s forceful control of film culture.

This chapter suggests that the Korean state’s impulse to acquire FIAF membership should be understood in a larger context of its multi-year plan for the film industry, which prioritized the economic and the political over the cultural, conflicting with different motivations for film preservation in local and global contexts. To better situate South Korea’s film preservation plan, this chapter discusses three interconnected issues. The first is to examine the ideas and forms of film archiving that had been discussed prior to the mid-1970s, in order to reveal the dissenting voices that often implicitly countered the state's position. The second is to discuss the potentialities and limitations of the political regime's blueprint for film preservation from the standpoint of the Cold War politics. This requires an analysis of North Korea's visibility in the global film network that originally triggered South Korea's interest in FIAF. The third focuses on South Korea's participation in the film preservation network, which lies in a particular framework of articulating "national development" and "preservation" shaped by the international cultural organizations such as FIAF and UNESCO. This framework reinforced the hierarchy between the developed and the developing, as well as the tension between the Eastern and the Western blocs.

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[4] “Pŏplyulan t’ongkwa [The Bill Passed],” *Kyunghyangsinmun*, July 2, 1973.

Film Archive Discourses in the 1950s and the 1960s

Beginning in the late 1950s, Korean film critics began to introduce foreign film libraries to the public via newspapers and magazines. A film library, on the model of a public library, was understood as an institution that brought the goals of film preservation and public access to film closer together. One reporter, captivated by an edited documentary that celebrated the fourteenth anniversary of national liberation, was reminded afresh of "the importance of documentary film as registered historical evidence on celluloid."[5] Fascinated by the idea of a film library, another writer also recognized the necessity of "preservation of sources for film history."[6] Although the terms "preservation" and "archive" were used loosely and variably by critics, sometimes not invoked at all and sometimes cautiously foregrounded in writings, saving films as valuable pieces of the historical record became the most general explanation of the library's purpose for the general public in the discussion of the film library.

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[5] "P'ŭlomp'ut'ŭ, p'illŭm laipŭlŏli [Prompt: Film Library]," *Donga Ilbo,* August 21, 1959.

[6] "Yŏnghwasachŏk chalyopochon wihae, yŏnghwatosŏkwan sŏlch'ilon taetu [To Preserve Source for Film History: On the Establishment of Film Library]," *Donga Ilbo,* June 8, 1960.

Since these critics were aware that the lifecycle of a typical film was extremely brief and that the bulk of commercial features disappeared quickly from movie screens, never to appear again, they also placed special emphasis on a film library's role in curtailing the continuous loss of older film prints. Great emphasis was placed upon the value of exhibiting films to the wider public. The proponents for a film library attended to the different social values of film, with one of the potential benefits of film preservation being wider access to films that would no longer be available in theaters. In a discourse being carried out in newspapers, the film library would benefit the audience at large by providing a more approachable way to watch not only old Korean films but also foreign classics.

On one level, this new attention to the film library appeared in a larger historiographical turn, as discussed in the previous chapter—the collective effort of the local film industry, which endorsed film's historical value over the state's utilitarian approach to the medium. The significant loss of older Korean films provided them with a general imperative of conserving film; to prevent further loss, members of the film industry suggested the possibility of building a film library facility to house film prints. Consider, for example, the Association of Korean Film Personnel (AKFP)'s initiative to develop a unifying, sustainable film institute that was touched upon in the Chapter 4. To fundraise for the initiative, AKFP leaders produced a feature film titled *Three Hundred Years of Love*, with a goal to use its box-office gross for building a film institute—a centralizing organization of production, education, and preservation. Despite their rosy expectations for the film's success, the overall response to the film was lukewarm, and they failed to gain as much profit as expected, and did not reach their funding goal.[7] While AFKP leaders did not fully elaborate the necessity of film library beyond the initiative, it is worth noting that their motivation for film preservation stemmed from older Korean films that had been lost, and the urge to collect and protect extant films, if not too late, for future generation. As early advocates for the film library, AKFP members grasped the importance and value of preserving motion pictures in such a way that they might be permanently accessible for exhibition.

This sense of loss was, on another level, evoked by a new surge of interest in foreign film discourses and practices that appeared across the vernacular print. Korean filmmakers and critics were increasingly drawn to the different models of film institutes in the world. In particular, European and American film archives and libraries remained influential in the discourse of the film library in postwar Korea. One article introduces FIAF, a unique film archive network, and focuses on how the FIAF member archives endeavored to conserve film prints as important national artifacts. By invoking those archives, such as the British Film Institute in London, the Film Library at the MoMA in New York, and the Cinémathèque Française in Paris, the commentator communicated the desire for a Euro-American film institute model, that is, an organization that would be involved with distribution, publishing, educational, and archival issues. Even though these institutes possessed a number of disparate goals related to film education and production, their most highly touted endeavor was their efforts to acquire and preserve their nation’s film. Looking from the standpoint of the “international standard,” the article notes that few comparable trends existed up to this point in Korea, while film archives were being formed across Europe, and even in Japan.[8] The article's underlying assumption is the close relationship between film preservation and a nation's film: just as South Korea's cultural infrastructures demonstrated its degree of national development, the existence of a film archive was thought to measure South Korea's development in the world. While this somewhat echoed the postwar state's impulse to catch up with more industrialized, developed countries, the focus remained on the film library's larger benefit: the possibility of bringing out more cultural exchanges for the Korean film industry through library exchanges between countries.

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[7] “Ch’walyŏng okaewŏlmane wanlyo [Shooting Completed in 5 Months]” *Donga Ilbo*, April 29, 1962; “Kot nokŭm [Soon Recording]” *Kyunghyangsinmun*, July 7, 1962; “K’ŭlaengk’ŭŏp, chinan sipil inyŏnmane wansŏng. [Crank-up, Three Hundred Years of Love was Completed in Two Years]” *Kyunghyangsinmun*, January 23, 1963. One report later revealed that postproduction and recording took more time than expected, ending up in a February 1963 release, almost two years after the crank-in.

At the most general level, these earlier film preservation discourses originated and developed out of an interest in retaining and remembering film history and an emerging desire to view the motion picture as more than ephemera (or at least as more than mass-produced trash). Film preservation advocates discussed the creation of a film library or film institute, which could provide access to and conservation of motion pictures deemed worthy of collection. In the 1970s and 1980s, however, the state viewed the foreign film archives and their networks with a new goal: the repurposing the idea of a film library as part of international development. If earlier attempts by preservation advocates referred to a motion picture's general historical or artistic merits as part of a larger benefit for the public, the political authority now focused on ensuring the country's involvement in the global cultural community. What needs to be unpacked then is the larger context of the FPA's FIAF affiliation both at local and global levels.

The State's Rationales for Film Preservation

Restoration of National Culture in the 1970s

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[8] "Sekyeŭi p'illŭmlaipŭlali [Film Libraries around the Globe]," *Donga Ilbo,* June 28, 1961.

Before an in-depth examination of the local and global contexts for the FPA's bid for FIAF affiliation, a brief look at the conditions under which Park Chung Hee's regime established FPA as a leading agency of film business is warranted. The FPA's formation lies, to a great extent, in the ways that the South Korean state adapted to changing global political, economic, and cultural circumstances in the 1970s, specifically, in Park's language, "the state of emergency." Politically, the easing of Cold War tensions and the advent of détente posed new challenges to Park. His regime struggled with the question of how to adjust its relationships with allies and enemies alike during this time of shifting allegiances and strategic uncertainty. Economically, his regime tried to find ways to balance the loss of firm support from its superpower allies—in particular, the United States. Along with political and economic friction, a significant change took place in the realms of art, literature, and culture—under the umbrella term *munye*—in terms of "nationalizing" culture in South Korea. The FPA grew out of the Restoration of National Culture Plan, whose mandate included furthering the recognition of film as a national cultural form in the service of the state. According to this plan, in theory, government was endorsing the necessity of making cinema "national" in order to "create new national arts," "elevate people's cultural level," and eventually to "enhance nation's prestige abroad."[9]

Crucial to the FPA's formation was Park's declaration of a state of emergency in October 1972, which validated his authoritarian power through a constitutional change that enabled him to hold lifetime power and abolished term limits on the presidency. This was called the Yusin system, meaning literally "revitalization."[10] The new system gave Park the authority to appoint one-third of the National Assembly; to appoint and dismiss all members of the Cabinet, including the prime minister; and to issue emergency decrees that became law immediately. Park's turn toward outright autocracy can be better understood in relation to external political changes, particularly the implications of the détente between China and the United States. The relations between Washington and Beijing improved after the U.S. President Richard Nixon's visit to China in early 1972, opening up the possibility of working together to some degree. The softened relationship between the two powers directly impacted the Korean peninsula. While both Kim Il Sung and Park Chung Hee regarded the changing relationship with hostility, it was necessary for them to adapt, as China and United States had been their respective great allies since the Korea War. Following Park's proposal to embark on an era of peaceful coexistence between the two Koreas, the South Korean Security Chief, Yi Hurak, made a secret visit to Pyongyang, which resulted in both governments putting out a historic joint statement about the prospect for reconciliation and national reunification on July 4, 1972. As both sides agreed that Korean reunification needed to be achieved without the invitation or interference of foreign powers, their changing relations with their allies finally led Kim Il Sung and Park Chung Hee to recognize the imperative to solve the domestic issue by themselves. The larger geopolitical shift, in turn, provided Park with a strong cause to justify his authoritarian rule in the name of the nation's "revitalization"—de facto absolute control over the economy, politics, and culture—highlighting the "uncertain political environment in East Asia."[11]

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[9] "Munyechinhŭng 5kaenyŏn kyehoek [A 5-Year Plan of Cultural Development]," "Munyechunghŭngsŏnŏnmun" [Manifesto for the 5-Year Plan of Cultural Restoration]" (1973) in the file of the Department of Culture and Public Information (Daejeon: National Archives of Korea).

[10] Heonik Kwon notes that a political shift also took place in North Korea at the time. In December 1972, North Korea passed its own constitutional amendment, which built a *jusŏk* system that gave Kim Il Sung a position of

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power that transcended the power of the political party. And in this political dictatorship during and after the détente of 1970 to 1972, Kim Jong-il emerged as a central political figure. Heonik Kwon and Byung-Ho Chung, *North Korea: Beyond Charismatic Politics* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012), 51.

[11] "Special National Intelligence Estimate: The Political Outlook in South Korea, October 26, 1972," Korea Declassification Projects, cited from Gregg Brazinsky, "Korea's Great Divergence: North and South Korea between 1972 and 1987," in *Cold War in East Asia* ed. Tsuyoshi Hasegawa (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 241.

Park's announcement of the 5-Year Cultural Restoration Plan (1974–1978) soon brought changes to South Korea's cultural industries. Park sought to invest 25 billion *won* in the Plan, distributed over 30 long-term projects in various fields such as literature, arts, music, theater, dance, press, and film.[12] Granting authority to a newly integrated Department of Culture and Public Information, Park's regime anticipated an overwhelming influence in the establishment of an "autonomous national culture." The Plan, on the one hand, proposed to foster Koreans' historical consciousness of their traditional heritage and to develop their cultural taste. On the other hand, it also sought to activate cultural exchanges with foreign countries to enhance "national prestige."[13]

How did Park's Plan interact with the existing film industry? The Department of Culture and Public Information undertook the reform of film business through a third revision of the Film Law, granting the establishment of the FPA. Under the practical leadership of the FPA, the film industry now faced more production challenges, including stronger pre-censorship of film scripts and prints and a requirement for film studios to register with the government in order to receive an approval to make commercial films. The government saw that the registration system would yield more opportunities for large-scale film production and to promoting domestic films under the state's aegis. Just as members of film industry longed for essential technical and material support from the state, the government and FPA, at least in theory, promised to offer "new support for script writers to produce better-made films; the establishment of a well-equipped, professional film production studio to unload the economic burden of film production companies and to create national culture; and the construction of a film library."[14]

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[12] Following the 1973 U.S. dollar devaluation, South Korea reduced the gold content of the Korean won by 10% so as to retain the unit's exchange rate at KRW 399.00 per U.S. Dollar. 25 billion won was approximately 60 million U.S. dollars. *World Currency Yearbook,* 1984, 449.

[13] "Che1ch'amunyechunghŭng5kaenyŏnkyehoek [The 1st Cultural Restoration Plan]" in the file of the Foundation of Cultural Restoration, BA0136105, May 10, 1973, Record of Ministry of Culture and Public Information (Daejeon: National Archives of Korea).

Figure 5:1 The Film Promotion Agency opening ceremony took place on April 3, 1973 at the office near Mt. Nam in Seoul. Left: Minister of Culture and Public Information Yun Chuyŏng. Right: Kim Chaeyŏn, the newly appointed president of the FPA, previously Chief at the Department of Culture and Public Information. Originally printed in FPA's magazine, *Wŏlgan Yŏnghwa* [*Monthly Cinema*], July 1973.

However, the Plan's actual realization just one year later did not follow through on these promises. Rather than being geared toward a practical improvement of the film industry, it strictly focused on the film's capacity for promoting the state's doctrine of national restoration. Of a total budget that amounted to 4.4 billion *won*, the FPA proposed to invest one third in making a specific category of film, "minjok yŏnghwa," meaning literally 'the national cinema.'[15]

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[14] "Pŏplyulan t'ongkwa [The Bill Passed]," *Kyunghyangsinmun*, July 2, 1973.

[15] It should be noted here that this does not have the same implications as scholarly discourses of "national cinema." Since the 1990s, scholars in the field of cinema studies working on the notion of "national cinema" have attempted to analyze cinema as "pertaining to a national configuration because films, far from offering cinematic accounts of

With this creation of a new category, the FPA set up the means of disseminating the state's new vision more efficiently to a broad group of audiences.[16] Although neither the FPA bureaucrats nor the policy-makers articulated the notion of "minjok yŏnghwa," it is quite clear why this was one of the FPA's primary concerns. In theory, the FPA sought to increase the capacity of domestic film in the market against not only the gradual growth of the national television network but also the enduring power of foreign film in the South Korean box office. Despite the government's strict import regulations, foreign films released in South Korea grabbed more than twice the profits than domestic films, and an earlier downward trend in profitability intensified in the 1970s.[17] The Film Law, legislated and revised many times under Park's regime, enabled only a few state-approved film companies to produce and import film, and generated more problems than promised benefits for these companies. A number of film companies barely met the state's requirements, including the number of films a company should make each year. Only after meeting quotas mandated by the state could a film company import foreign films, which were a significant form of revenue, as they often grossed more at the box office than domestic films. The pressing issues of the film market pushed the FPA to focus on a new strategy of making

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'the nation' as seen by the coalition that sustains the forces of capital within any given nation, are clusters of historically specific cultural forms." Taking national cinema as analytic framework to criticize the assumed connection between the film and the nation, these scholars claim that even though cinema functions as an industry and a cultural practice in territories under the institutions of the state, the economic factor does not necessarily determine the narrative or the form in the directions preferred by the state. Vitalie and Willemen, *Theorising National Cinema*, 7.

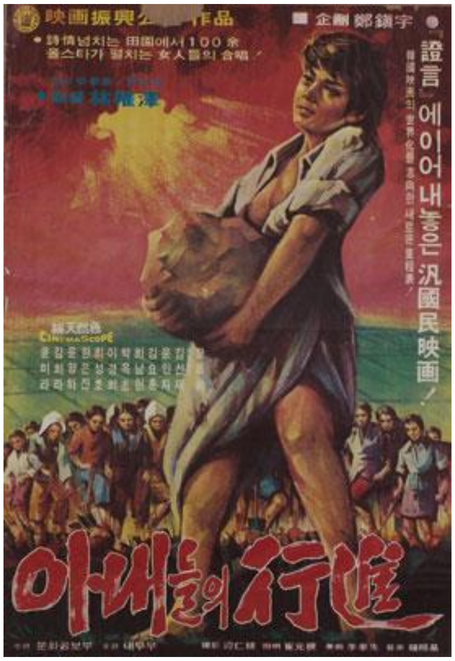
[16] "Yŏnghwachinhŭngonyŏn kyehoekpalp'yo [The Announcement of a 5-Year Film Development Plan]," *Donga Ilbo,* February 20, 1974.

[17] Park Jiyeon, "Film Policies," 246.

blockbusters that would entice more Korean audiences: “large-scale” pictures deploying “new model of Koreans who work hard and cooperate with each other for national solidarity.”[18]

In glancing at the first batch of “minjok yŏnghwa,” we can get a sense of the “new model of Koreans” that was being created through cinema. While the topics varied for the nine features and three cultural films produced as “minjok yŏnghwa” in the 1974 fiscal year, all the films sought to demonstrate the great virtue of “historical property” and “heroic historical figures” such as King Gwanggaeto of the Koguryo Kingdom, who in the fifth century expanded the kingdom’s territory to much of northern and central China.[19]

Figure 5:3 An original poster of *Parade of Wives*. Courtesy of Korean Film Archive.


作品
企劃 鄭鎭宇
詩情넘치는 田園에서 100余
올스타가 펼치는 女人들의 合唱!
『證言』에 이어 내놓은 汎國民映畫!
CINEMASCOPE
아내들의 行進

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[18] “Che1ch’a munyechunghŭng 5kaenyŏn kyehoeke ttalŭn yŏnghwachinhŭngsaŏp kyehoek [A 5-year Plan for Improvement of Film],” *Donga Ilbo,* February 20, 1974.

[19] For instance, see “Saemaŭlyŏnghwa tŭng 12p’yŏn, yŏngchinkongsŏ chechakkyehoek [12 titles including New Village Movement Films, FPA Planned to Produce],” *Maeilkyŏngche*, February 12, 1974; “Chalananŭn sae setaeeke minchokŭi chapusimŭl simŏchul munhwachaewa yŏksasang silchonhaesstŏn yŏngungŭi chŏnkilŭl yŏnghwahwa [For Newer Generation, Cultural Properties and Story of Historical Heroes Will be Filmed],” *Kyunghyangsinmun*, February 27, 1974.

Im Kwontaek [Im Kwŏnt'aek]'s *Parade of Wives* in particular exemplifies the government's new vision that FPA bureaucrats wanted to show the public through artistic production. Following Park Chung Hee's New Village Movement (Saemaŭl Undong) to improve basic living conditions and modernize the rural economy, the film focuses on the story of one rural village where people suffering from poverty woke up and decide to change their lives and cooperate with each other for a better life. It begins with a newlywed young woman arriving in the small town, who sees that uncivilized old habits and a lack of discipline are responsible for the town's poverty and underdevelopment. Suggesting that women can be active makers of their lives, she convinces other women—a group of young and old wives—to change everyday life based on a new and effective discipline in order to become wiser wives and mothers for community, and ultimately the autonomous actors of their own destiny. In doing so, *Parade of Wives* limns the connection between the "uncivilized" tradition in rural areas and the modernizing forces that affect the community. The film ultimately provides new portraits of women who are making the town better, thereby participating in the country's economic and social improvement, one critical goal advocated by the Park's regime.

With the FPA's focus on making "minjok yŏnghwa" in an attempt to increase profits and hopefully to export more large-scale domestic films to earn foreign currency, other plans for improving technical equipment or investing in a film library became marginalized. The FPA's original concept for a film archive was most specifically not an attempt to create an overarching nationally representative film library—the FPA was not interested in acting as a general archive or repository for all Korean films. Instead, the FPA was rather directly concerned with FIAF membership: first would come an affiliation with FIAF, and only later, a concept for and rationale of film preservation. The legislation involving FIAF membership gave official approval for the building of a preservation facility; accordingly, the Korean Film Preservation Center (hereafter KFPC) was officially launched in the FPA building on January 18, 1974. However, even minimum archival facilities, such as a film vault, were not built until 1979. While the newly built film vault, approximately 1,700 square feet, was capable of holding over 1,600 moving pictures, by the end of the 1970s, the KFPC had managed to collect only 265 titles.[20] Along with the facility issue, the KFPC also began without the professional technicians or necessary training for archiving. As of May 1976, the KFPC had five officials under the contract with the FPA. None of them had experience working in the film industry, so their work mostly involved the maintenance of the KFPC as a governmental organization under the FPA. The political regime's approach to film preservation, therefore, was rather strategically for FIAF affiliation, without the gradual development of a conceptual and material basis, rendering the KFPC's practical function dormant in its first decade.

What were rationales and motivations behind the state's accelerated push to have an affiliation with FIAF at this particular moment? From the initial proposal for FIAF membership, the FPA spent less than four months to prepare the KFPC's installation. One answer seems to lie in missives exchanged among Korean bureaucrats: North Korea and its national film archive.[21] The FPA's original draft notes that North Korea's participation in FIAF had already begun in 1970. After seeing North Korea's participation in a global network that could reinforce the communists' political propaganda, the Korean CIA instructed the FPA to expedite its approach to FIAF. Once the KCIA approved the initial proposal, the FPA's plans for a film archive suddenly acquired an alarmist tone: if action was not taken immediately, the communists would threaten the South Korea's place in international networks and the international film market.

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[20] Korean Film Archive, *A 40-year History of Korean Film Archive*, 48.

[21] "An Affiliation with the FIAF."

North Korea and FIAF Membership

In a retrospective of the world's film archives published by UNESCO in 1994, Pak Sun Tai [Pak Sŏnt'ae], a director of North Korea's National Film Archive, reveals the historical development of film preservation in North Korea. According to him, the North Korean archive, capable of holding over 700,000 reels, quickly adapted to new technical developments, with over 250 professionals working to complete the transfer of the original nitrate films (those made before the 1950s) to the safer acetate films by the mid-1970s.[22] Unlike South Korea, North Korea began to invest in film preservation early in the postwar era, which resulted in the creation of the National Film Archive (*chungangyŏnghwa p'illŭmkwanliso*) in February 1961. The fact that North Korean leader Kim Jong-il himself was a film enthusiast providing passionate support for film production is widely known in academic literature and the media, yet his interest in film preservation receives little attention. The earliest interest in the imperative of film preservation can be found in 1955, when Kim Jong-il gave his remarks on the importance of "saving film as a historical document."[23] Kim often emphasized how important it was to conserve both film prints and other relevant materials such as posters, stills, and scripts as national artifacts. With an acknowledgement of film's material condition—it ages and deteriorates faster than other media—Kim had understood the importance of scientific techniques of film preservation since the mid-1960s. As seen in his speeches, in his numerous visits to the National Film Archive and the film vaults at the Film Production and Distribution Centers, he urged technicians to adopt new techniques and equipment to improve film conservation.[24]

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[22] Pak Sun Tai, "Accent on Conservation: the National Film Archive of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea," *Museum International* 46, no. 4, (1994), 14-15.

[23] Kim Jong-il's speech, given at the National Film Production Center, on February, 3, 1955. *Chosunyŏnghwa yŏngam 1955* (Pyongyang: Munyech'ulp'ansa).

North Korea's progress in film preservation in part aligned with its expanding contacts with other foreign film institutes. The country began networking with foreign film directors, distributors, and policymakers through international film festivals, and accordingly, it was exposed to the global film network from the early postwar era. For instance, North Korean films had exhibits at various international film festivals starting in the 1950s, most notably the Moscow International Film festival (beginning in 1956) and the Tashkent Biannual Film Festival of Asia and Africa (beginning in 1958).[25] Participation in these cultural venues helped North Korean bureaucrats and film practitioners build a wide network among their allies, exchanging information on film production, preservation, and international organizations. In this light, the North Korean National Film Archive's involvement in FIAF was a logical outcome; as soon as it was founded, the Archive became a corresponding member of FIAF, moving to observer status in 1973 and full member status in May 1974. The DPRK delegates were visible at most annual FIAF Congresses, even though their interactions remained quite exclusively with their communist allies from Eastern Europe, the USSR, and China.[26]

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[24] Kim Jong-il's speeches, given at the DPRK Film Distribution Center and South Pyongan Province Film Distribution Bureau, on September, 1, 1965 and October, 9, 1964, respectively. *Chosunyŏnghwayŏngam 1965* (Pyongyang: Munyech'ulp'ansa).

[25] The Moscow International Film festival was the most prestigious venue for feature films from the USSR and its allies until its collapse. Meanwhile, the Tashkent Film Festival operated as a forum for the progressive cinemas of Asia and Africa since 1958, with Latin American representatives joining it for the first time in 1976. It specifically exhibited the films associated with the national liberation movements on these continents.

[26] "Kimchŏngil tongchiŭi wŏlpyŏl yŏnghwapumunchuyo chitoilchi [Kim Jong-il's Film-related Activities]," *Chosŏnyŏnghwa,* March and April (1996): 22.

Given the DPRK's active engagement in the international system during the 1970s, its new relationships with Western and nonaligned nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America posed a major threat to the South Korean government.[27] Moreover, political tensions between the two Koreas escalated after North Korea rejected South Korea's proposal to submit an admission to the United Nations simultaneously as part of a Seven-Point Declaration for Peace and Unification on June 23, 1973. To North Korea, joining the UN as separate states would mean maintaining the permanent division of the peninsula in perpetuity; it instead proposed a confederation of North and South to be called the Federal Republic of Koryo, after a pre-modern Korean dynasty. Assuming that this proposal privileged the North due to the fact that the name Koryo was taken from dynasty centered in the North, South Korea turned down North Korea's proposal. The tension between the two Koreas became more aggravated when Mun Segwang, a Korean-Japanese gunman associated with the pro-DPRK General Association of Korean Residents in Japan, attempted to kill the South Korean president; he missed his intended target but managed to kill the president's wife on August 15, 1974. While the DPRK denied any connection to the shooting, the assassination heightened tensions between the North and the South, as well as between South Korea and Japan.

At the height of political tensions, political authorities and the FPA in Seoul saw the country's FIAF affiliation as a politically urgent need, pushing the application process to be both faster and smoother. In January 1974, the FPA installed the KFPC, a non-profit preservation center, under its wing in order to avoid any conflict with FIAF rules, which mandated that members be institutions with legitimate and primary responsibility for the preservation of an original moving image collection.[28] While the FPA rushed to submit an application to be considered in the same year, as the FIAF committee meeting took place following the annual conference every spring, it failed to manage to do so given the short amount of time. FPA leaders aimed instead for successful submission in 1975 in order to acquire membership the following year, yet they managed neither to submit an application by the due date nor to secure the budget for the 1975 fiscal year. What was specifically problematic with the KFPC's submission at that time was a complicated set of documents that needed to be sent to FIAF. To be considered as a potential member, the Federation requires the complete submission of a dossier and an inspection visit by an authorized representative of the Executive Committee to the archive's facilities. This visit should be made before the Committee votes on the candidate's application. In order to pass the initial dossier screening, the KFPC first needed to create a clear institutional identity, foregrounding a conceptual and material understanding of film preservation that would ensure its sustainable practice. As an FIAF candidate, it needed to demonstrate its capability as archive through a number of application materials, including:

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[27] Charles Armstrong notes that the 1970s witnessed North Korea's pursuit of a "limited kind of globalization." Although the DPRK attempted economic engagement with capitalist countries in the 1970s, these attempts did not lead to a long-term connection between North Korea and the West. Charles K. Armstrong, *Tyranny of the Weak: North Korea and the World, 1950-1992* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 205.

- A statement of its principal official tasks, the extent of its interests and areas of activity, and any possible specialization;
- A comprehensive description of its previous activities a list of moving-image and other materials in its care as well as of preservation techniques and facilities;
- A statement of its links with the official authorities and organizations in its country;

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[28] The FPA's immediate reaction to the FIAF's rules can be seen the way in which it constructed the KFPC's inaugural executive committee. Over half of the committee members were leaders of the FPA (Director Kim Chaeyŏn and Executives Choe Hŭn, Tong Ch'an, and Chŏng Yŏnku), and they also invited film directors (Yu Hyŏnmok, Kim Sotong, and Chŏng Chinu), who had good relationships with the FPA.

- A copy of its deed of foundation, enabling legislation or similar; and a copy of its statutes and rules.[29]

For the KFPC, a young organization with limited capacity, it was neither desirable nor possible to prepare these required materials from scratch in a short period.

The FPA invested less in improving the conceptual or material ground of the KFPC than in lobbying to solicit support from the FIAF leaders, with an expectation of rendering the application successful. The FPA managed to contact delegates of South Korea's allies among the executive committee (see Table 5.1): John Kuiper (U.S.), General Jacques Ledoux (Belgium), Eileen Bowser (U.S.), Raymond Borde (France), and Kevin Gough-Yates (UK).[30] Among them, two American delegates particularly welcomed South Korea's interest in film preservation and international participation. In August 1974, FPA President Kim Chaeyŏn had a set of meetings with John Kuiper, the Library of Congress film archive director, wherein Kuiper promised his firm support for the KFPC at the upcoming FIAF congress. In response, the FPA donated screening prints of twenty old Korean features previously scattered to the Library of Congress.[31] Eileen Bowser, a MoMA Film Library curator, also expressed her support for the KFPC's application through communications with the FPA.[32] Both Kuiper and Bowser advised the KFPC to first be a FIAF "observer" (now called "associate") in order to be considered a candidate for full membership. Since the FIAF allowed institutions that may have limited preservation programs and/or facilities to be its observers so that they could invest more in preservation, the KFPC submitted a complete application for the 1976 Congress, which granted them an observer status beginning in 1977.[33]

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[29] FIAF, "Statutes and Rules, incorporating amendments ratified by the Ottawa General Assembly in 1974" (Brussels: FIAF headquarters)

[30] Proposal submitted to the Ministry of Department of Culture and Public Information, "Kukchep'illimpokwanso yŏnmaengkaipkyehoek [A Plan for Becoming Part of FIAF]," May 14, 1975, in the file of Film Promotion Agency (Daejeon: National Archives of Korea).

[31] An uncategorized memo of John Kuiper, August 26, 1974, Division files, Motion Picture Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division (Washington: Library of Congress).

[32] Film Promotion Agency, "A Plan for Becoming Part of FIAF."

Table 5.1: FIAF Executive Committees, 1974-1975

Executive Committee Role	Name	Affiliated Archive Location
President	Vladimir Pogacic	Belgrade, Serbia
Vice-Presidents	Wolfgang Klaue	Berlin, East Germany
	John Kuiper	Washington, U.S.
	Victor Privato	Moskva, USSR
Secretary General	Jacques Ledoux	Brussels, Belgium
Treasurer	Jon Stenklev	Oslo, Norway
Members	Raymond Borde	Toulouse, France
	Saul Yelin	Havana, Cuba
	Robert Daudelin	Montréal, Canada
	Eileen Bowser	New York, U.S.
	Jan De Vaal	Amsterdam, Netherlands
Deputy Members	Peter Morris	Ottawa, Canada
	Istvan Molnar	Budapest, Hungary
	Kevin Gough-Yates	London, UK

As we have seen, the FPA's initial concept for film archive was directly related to FIAF membership. To a certain extent, in the larger proposal of National Restoration Plan, the South Korean state entertained the idea that the creation of a nation's film library would be a vital component in its mission to improve the reputation of film and the local film industry among its domestic and worldwide audience. But more importantly, the FPA's plan for FIAF affiliation was grounded in fear generated by the communist North and its increasing visibility in global cultural networks. But while the KFPC possessed limited autonomy as an institute and meager infrastructure in its formative period, this does not fully explain why it required a full decade for the KFPC to be accepted as a full member of the FIAF member in 1985, from its initial dossier submission in 1976. In the next section, I move to discuss another crucial—if not fundamental—factor: the shifting ideas of and rationale for film preservation in the world, which reflected the Cold War tensions in the 1970s and the 1980s.

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[33] FIAF, "Status of Members: Admission of New Members," 32nd FIAF Congress, Mexico, May 1976 (Brussels: FIAF headquarters).

The FIAF and Global Film Preservation Discourse

In the 1970s, the contentious relationship between the two Koreas was not the only ideological battle taking place at the FIAF. A deeper conflict was also taking place in the global film preservation network, which was never fully separable from the ongoing Cold War tension present since the early postwar era. Early members of the FIAF claim in retrospect that it was "free" from political tension and confrontation during the Cold War; their stance is that as a non-profit, international organization, it simply sought to establish a global cultural network.[34] One notes that the Federation "was always split between the film enthusiasts and the administrators, never between East and West."[35] However, an analysis of the process of the KFPC's attempt to gain FIAF affiliation counters these observations that the Cold War bore little impact upon the organization. In particular, I locate South Korea's acquisition of FIAF membership in the intersection of the rift between the "developed" and "developing" countries, between different political ideologies, divisions that were created and strengthened in the global discourse of film preservation.

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[34] For instance, see Christian Dimitriu, "Eileen Bowser: A Life between Film History, MoMA and FIAF," *Journal of Film Preservation* 81 (2009): 25-46.

[35] Penelope Houston, *Keepers of the Frame: The Film Archives* (London: British Film Institute, 1994), 62.

As we saw in Chapter 3, with the global endorsement of nation-centered culture in the post-World War II era, the rationale for protection of films as national assets gradually spread in European and North American film archival discourse. The FIAF, which originally began as a network of young film archives and cinémathèques in Western Europe and the United States, became quickly reshaped as a wide network of film libraries and institutes from around the world. Giving prominence to the nation-centered notion of culture, the FIAF turned to a greater focus on the status of film archives as homes for a nation's film.[36] Its principle of national membership was based on the UN and UNESCO models: one country, one member.[37] Rather than multiple archives from one country, the FIAF accepted one film archive from a country to maintain a balance among member archives—mostly working on national level—and their interests. The special emphasis placed upon the nation-centered institute was often deployed in the terms of its positive role in each country and the world. For instance, FIAF's president and Warsaw film archivist Jerzy Toeplitz evoked UNESCO rhetoric in stating that "the main role of films is to bring nations closer together and to construct a bridge between continents, cultures, societies, and political and social systems. …. Through its love for the cinema, the Federation remains aware that the encouragement and development of international contacts in its field represent its contribution to better understanding among the nations of the world."[38] Toward the end of 1960s, the Federation's principle of the film archive working on the national level began to motivate the world's new nation-states to create their own film archives. This further reflected UNESCO's emerging agenda for the new developing nation-states in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Toeplitz emphatically stated, "To be without a film archive is an indication of the cultural under-development of a country."[39]

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[36] The FIAF was founded in 1938 by Olwen Vaughn (British Film Institute), Henri Langlois (Cinémathèque Francaise), Frank Hensel (Reichsfilmarchiv), and Iris Barry (MoMA Film Library). The official history claims that the mission of the FIAF is to "bring together institutions dedicated to rescuing films both as cultural heritage and as historical documents." Its members currently exceed 150 archives in over 77 countries. For its official history, see FIAF, *50 Years of Film Archives 1938-1988* (Brussels: FIAF, 1988).

[37] Eva Orbanz and Karl Griep, "FIAF Oral History Project: Wolfgang Klaue," *Journal of Film Preservation*. 89 (2013): 55.

[38] FIAF, "General Meeting Minutes," 22nd FIAF Congress, Sofia, May 30-June 5, 1966, ii (Brussels: FIAF headquarters).

At the time, the FIAF's emphasis on national archives was called into question when the Deutche Kinemathek in West Berlin knocked on the FIAF's door. Since the German Democratic Republic's state film archive (Staatliches Filmarchiv) in East Berlin had already been a FIAF member since 1956, the FIAF leaders failed to agree upon which country West Berlin should be allocated to. Wolfgang Klaue, one of the Federation's leaders recalls the intense conflict between the Eastern and Western blocs: "The socialist countries were, understandably, against allocating West Berlin to the Federal Republic of Germany for administrative purposes and came up with the formula 'independent political entity of West Berlin,'" which was rejected by the Western bloc.[40] Long time members were opposed to abandoning "one archive per country," worrying about losing their weight as national representatives. Through numerous internal negotiations, Jerzy Toeplitz, FIAF President, convinced members to agree to accept Deutche Kinemathek in West Berlin in 1965. To him, the switching from national to individual membership in this particular case was essential for the Federation's longevity, as the FIAF would need to prepare for growing numbers of film archives in different contexts. This conflict, as known as the "Berlin

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[39] FIAF, "General Meeting Minutes," 23rd FIAF Congress, Berlin (GDR), June 8-13, 1967, 2-3 (Brussels: FIAF headquarters).

[40] "FIAF Oral History Project: Wolfgang Klaue," 56.

Compromise," pushed the organization to be flexible in its membership policy at this moment in history.

However, the organization did not entirely change its membership policy. Rather, the FIAF's rhetoric and idioms continued to develop alongside the nation-centered notion of culture throughout 1970s. While its objective remained the creation of effective access to old film "treasures," the FIAF reprioritized the idea of the film archive with a stronger emphasis on the "preservation" of motion pictures, not simply as artistic or historical artifacts but also as "assets" and "heritage," particularly on the level of the nation-state.[41] In the early 1970s, the FIAF moved from engaging in general idealist rhetoric to the establishment of specific strategies designed to encourage the creation of film archives in the "under-developed" world. FIAF members completed a survey that compiled a list of nonmember states with which FIAF members were already in contact and a list of the countries with which FIAF members would most like to communicate. Based on these surveys, a meeting at UNESCO was organized to discuss how to develop and disseminate knowledge relating to archives for moving images. These archives were essential if further destruction was to be avoided, particularly for countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America: "These regions produced more than two thirds of the world's output of feature films, but the development of their archives for moving images had not kept pace with their film production."[42] The surveys allowed the FIAF to determine that the major obstacle to maintaining moving images as "heritage" in developing countries was the lack of adequate material, legal, and financial support for carrying out this task. In addition, the FIAF further articulated the connection between "preservation" and "national development." Preservation, defined along technical specifications created from within the organization, in fact, cost significant amounts of money—money that usually only existed in state-run organizations. For most well-established members, the extant gap between their archives and new archives was manifested in the fact that film preservation, with climate-controlled vaults and strictly defined scientific methods, could not be rendered without the state's wide support.

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[41] Archival emphasis upon the science and technology associated with preserving films further assisted in shifting the field away from the access-centered model proffered by Henri Langlois, co-founder of the FIAF and for decades its general secretary, director of the Cinémathèque Française, and a role model for many younger film archivists. Unlike Langlois, the newer generation put more emphasis on a scientific foundation for the work of film archives, bringing the importance of professional training and scientific knowledge-based functions of archivists to the fore. As Jennifer Flick demonstrates, these two different models—access-centered vs. preservation-centered—brought more conflicts into the Federation, ultimately leading Langlois and the Cinémathèque Française to leave the FIAF. See Frick, *Saving Cinema*, 108. For a more detailed account of Langlois's departure, see Sabine Lenk and André Stufkens, "'Then Began the Battle Royal': Marion Michelle and the FIAF Crisis," *The Moving Image* 13, no. 1 (2013): 199-217.

The FIAF's emphasis on preservation in conjunction with national development was firmly established via its cooperation with other international organizations, particularly UNESCO. By the extension of its postwar program, as analyzed in Chapter 3, UNESCO paid special attention to the cultural role of moving-image archives in the developing world during the 1970s and 1980s. Most importantly for FIAF members, UNESCO had indicated its eagerness to work in conjunction with international associations and established national organizations that already served as technical experts in the field. With FIAF members already linked with UNESCO through related projects, the Federation grew even more involved in the growing number of preservation-centered UNESCO programs. FIAF leaders expected that UNESCO could promote FIAF goals, including support to build local capacities of film preservation in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.[43]

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[42] UNESCO, "Final Report: Committee of Experts on the Preservation of Moving Images," October 29, 1975, 5-9, UA.

[43] For a history of the close relationship between FIAF and UNESCO, see Frick, *Politics of Saving*, 109-112.

FIAF and UNESCO also cooperated in articulating a new rationale for the preservation of moving picture as “national/global heritage.” FIAF leaders developed discussions over the evolving drafts for a UNESCO resolution on the importance of film archives for national film heritage, which provided a basis for UNESCO’s 1980 Recommendation for the Safeguarding and Preservation of Moving Image.[44] From advocating for the exchange of information relating to Western notions of culture, art, and science, UNESCO moved to developmental agendas celebrating heritage in the globe. In particular, the 1980 Recommendation called upon UNESCO member states and the international public to recognize film as part of a nation’s heritage, and as such, something that deserved to be preserved for transmission to future generations. For instance, its Preamble read, in part:

> **Considering** that moving images are an expression of the cultural identity of peoples … and form an integral part of a nation’s cultural heritage; [that they] constitute new forms of expression, particularly characteristic of present-day society, whereby an important and ever-increasing part of contemporary culture is manifested
>
> **Recognizing** the results yielded by the efforts of specialized institutions to save moving images from the dangers to which they are exposed
>
> **Considering** that it is necessary for each State to take the appropriate complementary measures to ensure the safeguarding and preservation for posterity of this particularly fragile part of its cultural heritage … [and that] closer international cooperation should be promoted to safeguard and preserve these irreplaceable records of human activity and, in particular, for the benefit of those countries with limited resources

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[44] FIAF, “General Meeting Minutes,” 32nd FIAF Congress, Mexico, May 24-27, 1976, 12 (Brussels: FIAF headquarters). A preliminary meeting of experts was held in September 1975 in Berlin, bringing together archivists, media specialists and policy-makers from around the world; one of the FIAF leaders, Wolfgang Klaue chaired the meeting. Of particular interest was the question of how this medium had been undervalued as heritage, given the dominant role of audio-visual media in social communication; the importance of cinema as instrument of entertainment, education, and culture; and film’s role as a form of documentary reflection on contemporary events and phenomena. A preliminary report was prepared by UNESCO’s International Film and Television Council. “Memorandum on the Preservation of the Cultural Heritage of Moving Images,” August 20, 1975, UA.

> **Considering** that important aspects of the history and culture of certain countries, and, in particular, of those previously colonized, are recorded in the form of moving images which are not always accessible to the countries concerned [45]

The Recommendation not only guides members to acknowledge a list of fundamental legal, administrative, and technical measures for protecting film heritage as "national production," but also highlights its potential global effects: to bring about better access to moving images in the international community through cooperation in the field.

UNESCO's approval of more than one archive in a country, however, led FIAF executives and members to argue over the decades-long organizational policy that had allowed for just one primary archive, or one vote per nation, regardless of how many other institutions existed within the country. The Berlin Compromise was one exception that opened the FIAF's door to an individual member beyond the national issue, but what mattered to FIAF members now was their own interests as established national film archives. The complicated discussion over the policy continued, resulting in an official FIAF statement "on the role of film archives" being sent to members in May 1981. The declaration strove to clarify that FIAF members should be working on the "national level," primarily serving the purpose of film preservation in each country.[46]

With the preservation of national film heritage as key, and also the motivating rationale for film archives associated with the FIAF, during the 1980s, state-run archives maintained leadership positions and helped shape global practice for the young archives in the field of publicly funded organizations participated in these discussions and attempted to defend the nation-state as the primary player in the film preservation. Then how did the FIAF's preservation-oriented discourse influence South Korea's archival practice?

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[45] UNESCO, "The Recommendation for the Safeguarding and Preservation of Moving Images," Records of the General Conference, Twenty-first session, Belgrade, September 23 to October 28, 1980, 156-157, UA. All emphasis in original.

[46] FIAF, "Statement on the Role of Film Archives," May 1981, Internal Files (Brussels: FIAF headquarters). Emphasis in original.

South Korea's film archive struggled to meet the FIAF's rigorous terms, which focused on a preservation-oriented institutional identity. By 1983, the KFPC had managed to store more than 2,000 titles, including original negatives of domestic films, photos, posters, and scripts. The Center's 1983 application to be considered a full member of FIAF demonstrated its capacity, based on state funding, for both public viewing and film preservation. After the FIAF received the application, in March 1984, Anna-Lena Wibom of the Stockholm Film Archive visited the KFPC for a formal inspection. Wibom, on behalf of the FIAF Executive Committee, noted the continuing concern over the KFPC's autonomy in light of its close relations with the Film Promotion Agency. This led the FPA to separate out the KFPC as an independent organization, with a newly appointed president from the FPA executive committee. In follow-up communication, the KFPC addressed the issues brought up in the inspection; in addition to the organization's new autonomy, an increase in state funding from 48 million to 170 million *won* in the 1983 fiscal year allowed the previously small-staffed archive to hire more personnel.[47] The KFPC's application seemed to be well-received by the executive committee, who decided to submit it to the General Meeting of FIAF in April 1985, when all representatives would vote on the approval of new members.

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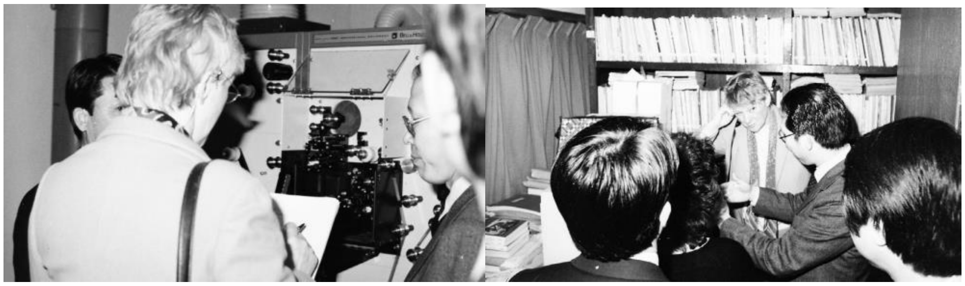
[47] In 1983, 170 million KRW was approximately 22,000 U.S. dollars.

Figure 5:3: Wibom’s inspection of the KFPC. Courtesy of Korean Film Archive



Perhaps not surprisingly—if we remember the conflict between the Eastern and the Western blocs in the Berlin Compromise—North Korea challenged this decision. Just before the annual congress, the FIAF received a letter from Pak Sun Tai, Director of the National Film Archives of the DPRK, expressing concern about “certain aspects of the nature of the candidate archive [the KFPC].” Claiming that the relationship between the KFPC and the FPA appeared suspicious in terms of “[the KFPC’s] autonomy” and pointing out “a noticeable correspondence between their personnel,” Pak suggested that the Executive Committee should make another inspection before making its decision.[48] Other members of the socialist countries followed up Pak’s critique, questioning the KFPC’s weak legitimacy or its lack of adequate technique. Many members of the Executive Committee believed that, based upon the KFPC’s complete dossier, discussions with the KFPC’s president, or Wibom’s inspection, it was not necessary to withhold membership. Responses varied, in part because it was quite rare for the FIAF to receive objections about membership from another country rather than from another archive within the same country. One committee member, Gonzales Casanova from Mexico, simply regretted that conflicts continued between the archives of the two Koreas.[49] Other committee members, such as Robert Daudelin from Montreal, suggested that the North Korean delegation should have presented their concerns in person at the Congress. After giving another look at the KFPC dossier, the committee approved the KFPC to be put to the vote in 1985 General Congress.

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[48] FIAF, “Congress Report: General Meeting, April 1985, New York,” 40 (Brussels: FIAF headquarters).

[49] “Congress Report: General Meeting, April 1985, New York,” 41.

In the absence of North Korea and China, 45 members participated in the 1985 vote, and the KFPC passed with 30 votes in favor, 10 votes opposed, and 5 abstentions. The KFPC thus became a full member, in accordance with Article 7 of the Rules, which requires an absolute majority of members present. However, when compared to another candidate, the New Zealand Film Archive, which earned all members' approval, the KFPC's result indicates the ongoing tensions surrounding the FIAF's institutional mission and the tenuous links among the film archives themselves. In this light of the members' inevitable ties with states, even though past Executive Committees claimed disengagement with Cold War logic, it is clear that the FIAF was not free from Cold War tensions. The majority of European and American archives had at least some relationship with their state governments, which partially or fully supported their funding. Most archives in the Eastern bloc countries, of course, were "national" archives, working on the national level and operating as governmental organizations. Given the FIAF's nation-driven rationale that closely linked archives with to the state as funder or the sponsor, it seems likely that the 10 FIAF members who voted against the KFPC's membership came from North Korea's allies, particularly members of Eastern European countries and the USSR, who maintained close relations with the National Film Archive in Pyongyang.

This conflict within the FIAF should not be reduced to the ideological division and struggles of the Cold War, however. Even though the political division between the Eastern and the Western bloc was one factor that intensified disputes among FIAF members, it is equally important to note that a nation-centered model for preservation engendered the hierarchies among FIAF members and candidates, endorsing the developmental agenda as key to improve developing countries' film conservation. The pattern of national development in the preservation discourse encouraged developing countries to model on developed countries. It required that the KFPC, like other young film archives, be transformed in order to be more receptive to the FIAF's rules and regulations on preservation. This transformation would allow the archives of developing countries to fit in the global standard of film preservation, as well as to adapt themselves to international cooperation following the UNESCO 1980 statement.

Throughout the 1980s, both UNESCO and the FIAF participated in endorsing film preservation in each nation as desirable and even imperative. In 1984, UNESCO organized another meeting of experts to compile a list of urgent measures needed over the next decade. In particular, the meeting called for a country-by-country survey to assess the impact of the 1980 Recommendation; the FIAF was commissioned to survey 542 film archives in the world between 1985 and 1986. In the following FIAF Congress in 1988, the survey revealed a global picture of film archiving: inadequate formal structures, storages, and practices; a shortage of technical skills and funding; and a widespread lack of support from governments. Contrary to the expectations of the FIAF and UNESCO, the practical realization of their plans and campaigns for national heritage preservation had proven to be difficult. Evaluations of the 1980 Recommendation showed it had been successful in supporting the work of existing archives and particularly instrumental in the planning, creation, or expansion of at least twenty archives in the world. But for the most part, including in some of the developed countries, the Recommendation was "unknown" and therefore an "insufficient stimulus to action."[50] UNESCO and the FIAF decided to put forth more practical plans for developing countries, including: the creation of action plans; the organization of regional workshops and measures to establish international cataloguing standards and encourage the political will to develop archives; the development of a global database of films and sources; and the creation of an international development fund.[51]

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[50] UNESCO, "Moving Images: Final Report of the International Roundtable to Evaluate the Practical Results of the UNESCO Recommendation for the Safeguarding and Preservation of Moving Pictures," 1989, 1-2. UA.

In their strong urge to "help" developing countries, UNESCO and the FIAF replicated the developmental agenda to push them to create the conditions for film preservation, emulating the well-established model archives in the West. The FIAF and UNESCO, predicated upon the structure and sustainability of the nation-state, adopted an overriding policy toward strengthening the power and the importance of a nation's exclusive "cultural identity" in every country around the world. Precisely because of this policy, the agendas of these international organizations were inseparable from the Cold War logic, which reinforced the division between the Eastern and Western blocs while stressing the gap between the developed and the developing in the world.

While the Korean Film Archive identifies its point of departure with Park Chung Hee's ambitious 5-Year Plan, initiated in early 1970s, a wider platform for film preservation in South Korea was not possible during the 1970s or even the 1980s.[52] Even though South Korea's political regime aimed to further recognition of film as national artifact in the name of "minjok yŏnghwa," film conservation had never been comprehensively or strategically defined as a distinct activity beyond the purpose of FIAF affiliation. On the local level, South Korea's participation in the film preservation was associated with anti-communism. On the global level, the idea of a film archive as part of national development grew out of the articulation of film preservation and the national-driven rationale that was consistently shaped by the FIAF and UNESCO.

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[51] "Moving Images: Final Report of the International Roundtable," 20-27.

[52] Since the mid-1980s, newspapers have often commented on the archive's long dormancy with a critical tone. The focus of criticism includes the inadequate infrastructure and professional activity, the limited funding and knowledge, and the lack of public program such as regular exhibition. "Ilŭmppunin yŏnghwap'illŭmpokwanso [The Nominal Korean Film Preservation Center]," *Donga Ilbo*, February 15, 1983; "kŏt'tonŭn yesyŏnghwa pochonchakŏp [Old Film's Preservation out of Place]," *Chungangilbo*, March 21, 1987.

To some degree, the nation-driven rationale for preservation pushed South Korean leaders to define the KFPC's duties and responsibilities, but to invest little in its fundamental growth. In order to submit its application for full membership in 1983, the KFPC struggled to gather old films from film studios and collectors and to locate them in its vault, managing to collect only half of the features made over the past decades.[53] The limited technical capabilities and conceptual frame hampered the Center's growth even after it moved to a new property in the Seoul Arts Center in 1991. At this time, the Center underwent some serious changes: 1) a new institutional capacity to hold 5,000 film prints in three new temperature- and humidity-controlled vaults; 2) fire-proof shelves; 3) a name change to the Korean Film Archive; and 4) organizational reforms and new staff.[54] The archive's activity involved complex legal issues, such as dealing with a film print's copyrights, but overall the lack of interest in both the public and private sector in its archival work rendered it inactive. In 1996, KFPC bureaucrats developed the practice of acquiring rights from filmmakers, other donors, and film collectors, and of negotiating with content owners in order to find the best balance between protection of the work and public access. Despite these improvements, film was not yet defined as part of South Korea's national heritage, so the film archive was not perceived as the guardian of heritage.

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[53] "Yŏnghwakye twinŭchke wŏnp'an ch'aengkiki yŏlollyŏ t'eilhŏpŏlin myŏnghwap'illŭmŭl ch'achchat'e [Film Industry Belatedly Strived to Find Negative Films]," *Kyunghyangsinmun*, May 25, 1985.

[54] Korean Film Archive, *A 40-year History of Korean Film Archive*, 50.

Then, returning to questions posed in the Introduction to this dissertation, what can account for the Archive's notable growth as a public film institute in South Korea in the mid-2000s? How has the Archive moved to actively promote film as heritage in the most recent decade? Reframing itself as a guardian of the nation's moving image heritage, the Archive has quickly expanded its institutional capacity, prioritizing preservation and public access alike. What has motivated the Archive to be a broader platform of film preservation? What insights might we gain from analyzing the quick transition? The epilogue will address these questions.

Epilogue

In this dissertation, I have traced the framework that structured Korean film practitioners' attitudes to film, the historical modes that shaped Korean film's circulation and exhibition, the cultural forces that determined Korean film's role, and the social and political realities that structured the constitution of the Korean audience. In so doing, I have avoided telling a teleological account of an archival institution as the logical consequence of envisioning archival practice. Instead, I have suggested that it is more relevant to examine the ways that archives have been discussed in different rationales and conditions across the cultural field than it is to naturalize the archive as institution. Even though some of the discussion on film archives was never likely to proceed to the point of a full-blown practical plan, it is still important to locate how different individuals, institutions, and governments figured cinema and its meaning, and how their figuring shaped different motivations behind the film conservation.

Korea's historical and geopolitical compositions long rendered cinema functional and useful, one particular episteme that was shaped and reshaped by the statist model of development. Throughout Korea's dramatic regime changes, from colonial status under the Japanese to U.S. military occupation to a postcolonial Cold War state under U.S. hegemony, what cinema does—and can do—in the service of a governmentalized state was a significant consideration for political authorities seeking society's modernization. The purposeful and utilitarian approach to film's quality and ability as defined under the state's aegis contributed to the historical condition of preservation of physical copies of films. This episteme was also sanctioned and promoted globally under the hegemony of the Cold War. Earlier, I discussed U.S.

liberal democracy and its homogenizing aspiration, which sought to integrate South Korea, as a U.S. ally, into the political vision of so-called "free world." During the post-war period, recurrent patterns of film practice and discourse, not only on the peninsula but also around the world, were a reminder that cinema and its technology, its discourse, and its knowledge, were circulated and performed within the larger regional and global context of capitalism. I have paid special attention to the post-1945 articulation of transnationalism that legitimated and culturally sustained the developed countries' intervention into the developing countries in terms of film policy, practices, markets, preservation, and more. Cold War transnationalism, as a particular configuration of nationalism and imperialism, expanded through economic, political, and cultural intervention in developing countries with the names "aid" and "support"— these interventions reinforced the division between the superpowers and the new decolonized nation-states as well as between the Western and Eastern blocs. To a certain extent, transnational networks of development—particularly the educational and cultural projects sponsored by the United States and undertaken by UNESCO—contributed to the institutionalization of film culture in postwar Korea, including building the local capacity for audiovisual education, archival practice, and networking with foreign cultural agencies. This institutionalization often intersected with the developmental state's project, giving little autonomy to non-statist actors in the field of culture. As shown in Chapter 5, the installation of Korean Film Preservation Center was contingent upon the state's conception of International Federation of Film Archive (FIAF) membership as a sort of counteraction against North Korea. However, without investment in a public platform and or in local capacities of archival practice, film conservation and its cultural field were left in general inert.

Then, as I asked in both the Introduction and the previous chapter, what accounts for Korea's remarkable investment in film preservation in the past decade? To answer this question, I conclude this dissertation by locating the recent growth of Korean film archiving in the context of a neoliberal economy. This neoliberalism has generalized the practice of "economizing" spheres and activities across countries, regions, and sectors; crucial to my analysis here is neoliberalism's "economizing" of the cultural sector and the impact of this economizing on film preservation.[1] What has happened to the Korean Film Archive when neoliberal rationale reconfigured moving image as "content," broadly meaning data or information of symbol, text, voice, audio or screen image? What has happened to the constituent elements of local film preservation discourse when the global imperative of film preservation reinforced the nation-centered model and practice of archive?

In order to fully contextualize the Archive's growth in the neoliberal context, it is important to unpack some of Korea's political and economic shifts since the 1990s. In the 1980s, South Korea went through a complex transformation in which political democratization took place almost simultaneously with economic neoliberalization. Grassroots activism in Korea led to the restoration of electoral democracy in 1987. Economic neo-liberalization, meanwhile, began with the civilian regime under Kim Young Sam (1993–1998), who came up with a doctrine of "new economy" that focused on the internationalization of the Korean economy and contained a severe critique of the state's regulation over business and financial sectors. The government's rapid deregulation of the market, which included the liberation of the financial sector and foreign borrowing, the abandonment of investment coordination, and mismanagement of the exchange rate, caused a national economic crisis in 1997, which coincided with the large-scale Asian financial crisis that took place that year.[2] This crisis gave the country strong momentum to continue neoliberal policies, as it became generally accepted that the crisis had been engendered by state developmentalism of the previous decades.[3] The Kim Dae Jung (1998–2003) regime promoted a politically progressive agenda, including democracy and participation, while at the same time implementing neoliberal structural reforms. These reforms were designed to break down government control over the business and financial sectors, integrate the Korean economy with international financial markets, fully open Korean markets to foreign firms, and create a fully flexible labor market.[4]

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[1] By "neoliberalism," while I refer to its general definition—one that marketizes all spheres such as the political, social and cultural spheres, I specifically build upon the particular development of neoliberalism in East Asian context where the interplay between neoliberalism and developmentalism has taken place. That is, neoliberalism to a certain extent has transformed Japan, South Korea and Taiwan since the late 1990s: their engagements in trade liberalization, their (albeit selective) deregulation of public services, and privatization of some public enterprises. But I also think that the basic power structure and institutional framework of the developmental state have remained largely intact, especially these governments' centralizing power over the political, social and cultural spheres. I will discuss the South Korean case below. For a thought-provoking discussion on the current understanding of neoliberalism in Euro-American context, see Wendy Brown, *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution* (New York: Zone Books, 2015). For a specific focus on neoliberalism in East Asian context, *Neoliberalism and Institutional Reform in East Asia*, ed. Meredith Woo-Cumings (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); *Locating Neoliberalism in East Asia*, eds. Bae-Gyoon Park, Richard Child Hill, and Asato Saito (Oxford: Wiley, 2012)

This socioeconomic transformation, which began in the 1990s, coincided with the Korean government's enthusiastic investment in the cultural sphere.[5] In particular, the linkage between the technology-driven economy and culture constituted the core of what has been called "content industries." The emerging consensus on culture as an economic domain was substantially consolidated with the rise of the Korean wave (*Hallyu*) phenomenon, referring to the growing overseas demand for Korean pop cultural products throughout the 2000s. This period demonstrated the profitability of cultural industries, which became a lens through which Korean society could envisage and comprehend the country's new economy.

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[2] Stephan Haggard and Jongryn Mo, "The Political Economy of the Korean Financial Crisis," *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 7, no. 2 (2000): 197-218.

[3] Calling the regime of post-IMF crisis a "neoliberal welfare state," Jesook Song provides an important discussion of how the government prioritized assisting South Korean citizens perceived as embodying the neoliberal ideals despite its claim for guaranteeing them a minimum standard of living aftermath of the devastating Asian debt crisis (1997-2001). Jesook Song, *South Koreans in the Debt Crisis: The Creation of a Neoliberal Welfare Society* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009): 1-24.

[4] Stephan Haggard, Daniel Pinkson, and Jungkun Seo, "Reforming Korea Inc.: The Politics of Structural Adjustment under Kim Dae Jung," *Asian Perspective*, vol. 23, no. 3 (1999): 201-235.

[5] Doobo Shim, "South Korean Media Industry in the 1990s and the Economic Crisis," *Prometheus* 20:4 (2002), 337-350.

The film industry in particular became more promising in both the domestic and international markets.[6] By 2005, South Korea's domestic film market had become the fifth largest in the world, with $890 million box office profits. This box office success coincided with the international recognition of South Korean film auteurs on the film festival circuit. In 2002, Im Kwontaek [Im Kwŏnt'aek] won the Best Director at Cannes for *Chihwasun*, and Lee Changdong [Yi Ch'angdong] received the Special Director Award at the Venice Film Festival. In 2004, Kim Kiduk [Kim Kidŏk] won major awards at both the Berlin and Venice Film Festival. That same year, Park Chanwook [Pak Ch'anuk] was named for the Grand Prix at Cannes for his film, *Oldboy*. Once Korean films assumed even greater representative value as national icons in the discourse of global film auteurship, governmental agencies sought to develop various types of "content."[7]

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[6] Jinhee Choi, *The South Korean Film Renaissance: Local Hitmakers, Global Provocateurs* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2010).

[7] Under the auspice of Ministry of Culture and Tourism, a series of reports and plans were increasingly developed for the growth of cultural and content industries with emphasis on the globalizing Korean cinema since 2004; "Hankukyŏnghwaŭi sekyechinch'ulyŏnku [A Study of Korean Film's Global Marketing]" (Seoul: Korean Film Council, 2004), "Yŏnghwapunya hanlyuhwalsŏnghwapanganyŏnku [A Study of Strategies for Hallyu in the Context of Korean Film]," (Seoul: Korean Film Council, 2005). These reports led policy-makers and liberal politicians to implement a multi-year planning of film industry and its expansion in global market in 2006. See, A Joint Development of Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the Uri Party (the ruling political party from 2004 to 2007), "Yŏnghwasanŏp chungchangki palchŏnkyehoek, 2007-2011 [Mid- and Long-term Development Plan for Film Industry]" (Seoul: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2006). An original text is available at

Along with the massive success of video and online industries and the larger sociocultural and economic trends of the liberal Korean governments (1998–2003 and 2003–2008), the 2000s has signified a new age for moving-image producers and companies, an age in which their films are becoming increasingly valuable as cultural content. “Korean films” have assumed new and lucrative status as television and digital programming, which has led to a focus on the importance of protection and preservation. Studio executives, academics, critics, and governmental agencies worked together to create a new program for film preservation via the 2006 Film and Video Promotion Law, granting the Korean Film Archive as a sole, unique institution to serve the purpose of “film preservation and exhibition” as well as “artistic, historical, and educational development of moving image” (Article 34).[8] Until the 2006 law, the Archive did not appear in the multiple revisions of the Film Law, and for the first time in its history, its duties and roles are clearly demarcated. This shift supported the Archive’s organization of activities and campaigns, discussed in the Introduction, accompanied by a public endorsement of film preservation by well-known film producers, directors, and performers. Taken together, the newly envisioned roles and increasing support for the Archive successfully garnered the attention of the public, encouraging them to view Korean film products as their cultural treasure.

In addition to the increased importance of Korean film as cultural content, the burgeoning field of digital and online collections of archival video materials has created tremendous

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https://www.mcst.go.kr/web/s_data/assembly/assemblyView.jsp?pSearchMenuCD=0403090000&pSeq=718 (last accessed on April 24, 2016)

[8] Korean Film Council, *2007Nyŏndop’an Han’gukyŏnghwayŏn’gam* [*Korean Film Yearbook 2007*] (Seoul: Communication Books, 2007), 564.

opportunities for the Archive and its users.[9] The Archive's access-driven initiatives have enabled an innovative present and future for them, producing a more powerful organizational justification than simply saving the past for potential future use. The Archive's notable emphasis on public access to content has been manifested in its various imports of archival holdings as commercial DVDs, its online streaming website (http://www.kmdb.or.kr), and more recently, its free streaming of Korean classics on its official YouTube channel (https://www.youtube.com/user/KoreanFilm). Established in 2012, this YouTube channel now provides over 100 features online with English subtitles.

While this widespread and bountiful access has many benefits, the Archive's energetic promotion of its content through various formats cannot be explained without understanding the expansion of content industries that accompanies various state-led projects for the digitization of Korean cultural content. Here, the neoliberal market of the cultural industry has come to intersect with the state's centralizing role in the digitization of cultural content. This digitization is part of the push to export this cultural content using a wide variety of platforms, including a digital broadcasting system and digital archives. Under the auspices of the Korea Creative Content Agency (KOCCA), the country's content industries have been steered heavily by the state via institutional reforms and resource redistribution, privileging the state-led, institutional characteristics of cultural policy and program.[10] While the liberal governments tried to decentralize the state's long engagement in cultural sectors, raising issues of democratic decision-making with their industrial policies, their attempts were eventually overshadowed by corporate leaders and policy-makers whose primary attention has been given to the quantitative expansion of cultural industries.[11] For instance, the total sales of the content industry jumped from $5 billion in 2007 to $9.4 billion in 2014.[12] Focusing on the overseas profitability of the content industries, the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism estimated an increase in the export size of cultural content industries from $0.3 million in 2001 to $1.5 billion in 2007, with a further dramatic expansion to $5.4 billion in 2014.[13] This quantitative expansion is related to the government's concentration on Korean content industries and its strategic promotion of these industries, including the rapid digitization of cultural content, such as music and moving image, in anticipation of the digital content's impact in domestic and international markets. While this quantitative expansion has led to some qualitative developments in the cultural sector, particularly in film preservation, the Archive's dramatic growth must be understood in the context of Korea's neoliberal economy and the push for "content."

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[9] The digitalization of archival source has taken place outside the cultural sector during the late period of the liberal governments. As of May 2007, the Public Records Act implemented the mandatory creation and preservation of audiovisual records in all governmental agencies, in addition to the collection of television and film sources that contain the important record of historical event. A new attention to the audiovisual records has resulted in the National Archive's digitization project of extraordinary volumes of analogue source as well as that of audiovisual materials such as newsreels, documentary films, and governmental policy films. For instance, the National Archives' collection of National Film Production Center (NFPC) also has been released in digitized form, making it possible for citizens to access newsreels and relevant video materials (approximately 3,500 titles) and government-policy films (2,571 titles) since 2007.

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[10] The Korea Creative Content Agency (KOCCA), established in 2009, is a government agency under the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism. It aims to promote "the advancement of Korean creative content," including "gaming, animation, character licensing, music, fashion, and broadcasting." KOCCA supports these industries via production support, marketing and promotion, global expansion abroad, human capital development, and cultural technology implementation. (http://eng.kocca.kr)

[11] Since the KOCCA's installment, other cultural and economic organizations under the government have more aggressively promoted the content industries and their economic impact in domestic and foreign markets than other critical concerns in the domestic cultural industry such as protection of cultural diversity or copyright of digital content. For the detailed plan of contents import, see KOTRA, "2012 Korean-Wave Trend and Marketing Strategy" (Seoul: Korea Trade-Investment Promotion Agency, 2011). KOFICE, a leading agency of promoting Hallyu, has published numerous reports on the quantitative expansion of content industries outside Korea since 2010. KOFICE publications and other statistics on content industries are accessible at http://www.kofice.or.kr/b20industry/b20_industry_01_list.asp (last accessed on April 26, 2016)

[12] KOCCA, *2014 Internal Report and Statistics of Content Industries* (Naju: KOCCA, 2015), 58.

[13] Korean Culture and Tourism Institute, *2006 Internal Report of Cultural Industry* (Seoul: Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism, 2007); *Analysis of Contents Industry and its Economic Benefits* (Seoul: Korean Culture and Tourism Institute, 2015), 54-57.

As I have shown throughout this dissertation, the state's leading role in the development of film preservation discourse and the cultural field in South Korea has also evolved within a global hegemony that has reinforced the notion of national culture. In particular, South Korea's participation in new global initiatives and agendas of heritage conservation developed by UNESCO, FIAF, and other film preservation organizations in the West led to the idea of film as "national heritage" in both public language and the idiom of preservation. While these international organizations had already played a substantial role, dating back to 1960s, in creating global film discourse, their new agenda and activities have even more strongly promoted the general imperative of film preservation. Their logic is that if we do not take action on moving image preservation immediately, the precious heritage of the world will be gone forever. Their promotion of this imperative has successfully raised global awareness on the dangers and challenges threatening the world's audiovisual sources.[14]

In addition to the "urgency" of film conservation, special emphasis has been also placed upon nation-level investment in film conservation. With the wide support of media specialists and institutions in Europe and North America, UNESCO has noted that no country is immune to the destruction of important collections and archives of news footage, sound recordings, cultural records, television, and cinema. In particular, cinema, considered to be the cultural documents most characteristic of the twentieth and twentieth-first centuries, needs to be saved due to its wide cultural influence and its informational content. UNESCO's new imperative of saving cinema has been validated within its wider campaign of saving the memories of the nation-state, which has, in turn, reinforced the plea for national modes of preservation. For instance, in UNESCO's 2005 approval of October 27 as the World Day for Audiovisual Heritage, as an extension of its 1980 Recommendation, it strongly urged its member states and their archival institutions to embrace the importance of audiovisual documents as an integral part of national identities and drew attention to the pressing need to protect them.[15]

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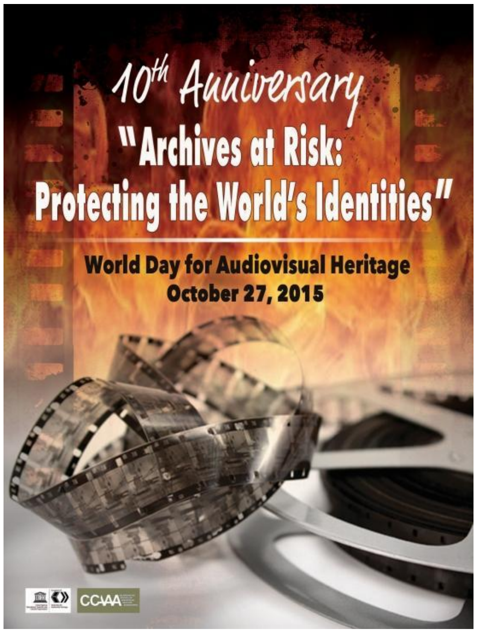
[14] Since 1995, celebrating the centenary of cinema, both UNESCO and FIAF officially conducted a wide survey of national moving image archives in order to acknowledge the extant technical and legal issue that confront film archives in the world as well as promote regional cooperation. See, FIAF, *The FIAF Statistical Survey*, ed., Michelle Aubert (Brussels: FIAF Headquarter, 1995). Through the FIAF Supporters program, Summer School, and Joint Technical Symposium over the last decade, FIAF has increased the institutional support for film archives in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Figure 6.1: The main poster of the 10th anniversary of UNESCO's World Day for Audiovisual Heritage. The World Day has changed its annual agenda and this time it claims "Archives at Risk: Protecting the World's Identities." Many member states have celebrated the day by organizing a special screening event and public hearing or publicizing the significant film loss in each country to raise the citizens' awareness. Courtesy of UNESCO.


10th Anniversary
"Archives at Risk:
Protecting the World's Identities"
World Day for Audiovisual Heritage
October 27, 2015
CCAAA

While South Korea has not aggressively promoted the World Day for Audiovisual Heritage, both global discourse of "urgency" and the existence of the nation-state's central archival institution have powerfully refashioned the Archive's approach to the preservation of moving image as part of the nation's heritage. As its revised 2007 code, with emphasis on film's importance as heritage, demonstrates, the Korean Film Archive has confirmed its responsibility as a guardian of archival collections that include moving image, as well as its commitment to the idea of film as heritage.

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[15] UNESCO, "Report by the Director-General on the Implications of the Proclamation of a World Day for Audiovisual Heritage," The 175th Sessions, September 1, 2006(Paris: UNESCO Archive).

Beginning with a low public profile for more than two decades after it was established and moving to a present-day commitment to serve the demand of the public for better access to the nation's invaluable cultural cinematic resource, the Korean Film Archive has significantly reoriented its objective in film preservation and exhibition, now working to serve the wider public. This unprecedented, rather dramatic, popularization of film preservation and public access might be seen as a triumph, one that reflects Korea's economic development, building upon what has been called the "Miracle of Han River," a term referring to the dramatic shift from Korea as a developing country to a developed country. And yet, as I have attempted to demonstrate throughout this dissertation, the politics of film conservation cannot be measured solely by the degree to which the nation-state has developed. What lies in such a belief is, in fact, its replication of the statist model of development and ethnocentric nationalism without considering the fact that these have both contributed to the development and dissemination of the patterns of superpower competitions. Such an effort to authenticate postcolonial society and its modernization does not fully engage with the dynamics of decolonization; one must be both broadly synchronic and diachronic in scope. Locating the recent growth of film conservation activity in this epilogue, rather than simply summarizing the dissertation, is meant to add the caveat that the Cold War logic still works to generate the government's enmeshing of the cultural into the economic, along with its participation in the national heritage discourse.

Writing this dissertation, I found that I could not fall back on the narrative of progress—the linear history of evolution of both nation-state and cinematic institutionalization—but had to imagine another way to capture the dynamism in which geopolitical shifts, domestic and foreign agencies, as well as different ideas and forms of cinema interacted in the imagination for, and the practice of, archives. Although each chapter attempts to create this way by joining the analysis of historical discourse to that of archival practice, the dissertation as a whole could be said to "progress" from scholarly and newspaper discourse of failure of film conservation and modernity of Korea—as noted as "archive complex"—to the examination of recurrent patterns of colonial and postcolonial regimes in their approaches to modernization; diverse archival formations and institutions of memory; divergent epistemologies of medium and its relation to the viewers; and local, national, and global agendas for the reform of such knowledge and practice converge and contend with each other in the articulation of modern Korean historical experience. Analyzing them independently or together here is not meant to exhaust all the themes and parts of film history, but instead attempts to reveal the politics of archive and decolonization as lens through which the past century of Korean culture and nation can be illuminated.

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