Mass Communications in a Developing Korea

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MASS COMMUNICATIONS
IN
A DEVELOPING KOREA

Edited by James Wade

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The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society,
Korea Branch,
respectfully dedicates
this forty-fifth volume of its Transactions
to His Excellency, Ambassador Roger C. Chambard.
During his more than ten years of residence
in Seoul as the French Ambassador
to the Republic of Korea,
Ambassador Chambard rendered
distinguished service to the Royal Asiatic Society,
serving as a member of the Council of the Society
from 1960 to 1968
and as President of the Society
for three years, 1961 through 1963.
The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society

Korea Branch

recommends

the forty-fifth volume of the Transactions

to His Excellency Ambassador Roger C. Chipman

During his more than seven years of residence

in Seoul as the French Ambassador

Ambassador Chipman renders

highly appreciated service to the Royal Asiatic Society

serving as a member of the Council of the Society

from 1960 to 1963

and as President of the Society

for three years, 1954 through 1956.
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A.O. MacInnes and Tour 1968
A.O. MacInnes and Tour 1968
Life of Members
PREFACE

The following represents the first attempt to gather together a selection of general studies in English on the theme of mass communications in Korea. It does not pretend to be comprehensive or exhaustive in its approach, since the necessary research for such an undertaking has either not yet been done, or is not presently accessible in English.

For instance, no systematic study seems to have been carried out to date on advertising in Korea and its impact on consumer habits. Neither is there any reliable information available on the effectiveness of government utilization of mass media—especially the extensive but little-known rural project of “wire radio,” whereby farm villages are provided central receiving and amplifying equipment, with cheap speakers hooked up to every house.

It has also been thought best, under present circumstances, to postpone any attempt to explore the ramifications of law and censorship as applied to the press and other forms of communication. (It may be noted in passing, however, that as recently as late November, 1969, a seminar of leading journalists sponsored by the Korean Newspaper Editors’ Association bemoaned in its closing statement the decline of the traditional press role of reform due to outside pressures, but could suggest only vague generalities and impracticable measures to reverse the trend.)

What is offered here comprises a varied sampling that may serve to stimulate interest and point the direction for specialized scholars to follow in the future.

The editor wishes to thank Mr. Paik Seung-gil of the
UNESCO magazine *Korea Journal* for advice and assistance in planning this issue, and to express his gratitude for the sympathetic co-operation of the contributors.

James Wade

Seoul

December, 1969
FOREWORD

This issue of the Royal Asiatic Society Transactions, going beyond its usual area of interest in Korea’s history, language and culture, will take a look at mass communications.

Korea rightly takes pride in her early achievements in the field of written communication. The thirteenth-century publication of the Koryo Tripitaka alone, whose original 81,137 printing blocks are preserved today, together with 4,745 blocks of earlier date, is a singular reminder that the Koreans had attained a high degree of social communication at an early time. Their invention of movable type in 1234, well in advance of Gutenberg, and the creation of hangul, the Korean alphabet, in 1446 are other monuments erected by Koreans in the history of the printed word.

However, the modern press is a late arrival in Korea. So Chae-pil’s Independent came as the first modern newspaper in 1896, declaring: “It is at this moment when Korean society is in a plastic state that we deem it opportune to put out this sheet as an expression at least of our desire to do what can be done in a journalistic way to give Koreans a reliable account of the events that are transpiring, to give reasons for things that often seem to them unreasonable, to bring the capital and the provinces into greater harmony through a mutual understanding of each other’s needs, especially the need that each has of the other.”

The Independent became not merely Korea’s first modern paper; it also spelled out a sound theory of the press which is still relevant today and continues to inspire the contem-
temporary press world. What is called for is essentially "a free and responsible press."

In Korea as elsewhere, we can observe the rapid growth of mechanisms of social communication. The newspaper, fulfilling the mass media's primary criteria, that is expressiveness, permanence of record, plus swift and wide diffusion, constitutes the main force in the field in Korea. Radio is rapidly growing as a main carrier of information, and the recent moon landing initiated the entire world into a new era of electronic journalism. Books continue to play an unrivalled role in depth communication of ideas and knowledge. The film has become and will gain as a powerful vehicle of mass culture. Korea today has developed a system of mass communications commensurate with the level of her national development.

Thus mass communication is a formidable fact of life. Creature of the modern world, it is engaged in a unique manner in the creative process of the modern world. The field may be approached from diverse ways opened up by practical needs. These range from study of propaganda, opinion and communication to audience research, opinion polling, study of communication effect, public opinion, etc. However, as the Lasswell formulation has it, mass communication boils down to "who says what to whom, with what effect?" Research is just beginning on mass communications in Korea.

One thing the Korean media acutely need is a proper theory of mass social communication which is in tune with the times. The Korean media have spawned all sorts of communication theories... from reform press to nationalistic press, independence movement press, liberation press, wartime press, anti-communist press, anti-dictatorship press,
free press, libertarian press, democratic press, modernization press, etc.

With variations, it can be summed up, communication theory has swung in a pendulum between freedom and responsibility. The modernization press gave the media a constructive schooling in a sense of responsibility. But it was not without its own sin; it degenerated into a sterile political weapon in the course of the politics of modernization. New calls are presently being heard louder and louder for press freedom, and it appears now that the time requires a new school of free communication.

However, exercise in systematic formulation of mass communication theory is outside the limit of this presentation.

In this number, essays are collected which survey newspapers, radio and television, books, and films in Korea. This is by no means an attempt to build a theoretical picture of Korean mass media; instead, they relate a different viewpoint toward each medium. The approach is each author’s individual choice. Material on this subject is scarce, all the more so in English.

It is hoped, therefore, that the present collection will add not insignificantly to the knowledge and understanding of Korea’s mass communications.

Kim Yong-ku

Seoul
November 10, 1969
REFORM MOVEMENTS IN KOREAN JOURNALISM
From the Yi Dynasty to 1945

by James Wade

The history of Korea's journalism is, in a very real sense, the history of modern Korea; and the record of the reform movements, campaigns, and exposés of Korean newspapers constitutes, in effect, an account of the modernization process itself, with all its vicissitudes and setbacks. For in no other time or nation, it seems to me, has the journalistic profession been so closely linked with national destiny as it was in Korea during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Up to the time of the Japanese annexation in 1910, the Korean press was practically the sole means of articulating the urge toward political and technological modernization, so bitterly opposed by court conservatives. After the Annexation, and following a ten-year eclipse, Korean journalism waged a desperate twenty-year fight against crushing odds to oppose the Japanese policy of assimilation; to keep alive the spark of Korean national and cultural identity, increasingly threatened by the rising winds of pan-Japanism between the two World Wars.

Certainly there have been other instances of the power of the crusading press in history; one thinks of the period leading up to the American Revolution, or of the food and drug control reforms initiated by U.S. magazine exposés in the 1890's. But Korea, it would appear, is unique in that here the newspaper was the focal and generating point for much of the agitation for political and social reform, where-
as in most parallel cases elsewhere, newspapers have come into being as organs of expression for groups or movements already strongly established in their own right. In Korea, the press created its own movements, its own leadership—and readership—plus its own philosophy of function, truly constituting the "growing edge" of the society.

In view of the importance of the press in Korea’s modern history, it is surprising to discover the dearth of specialized materials relating to this field. In English there are a few brief accounts in reference books, interesting enough but of limited usefulness to the student because of the very nature of such entries, combining generalization with condensation. In Korean, so far as I have been able to learn, there is only one book available on the history of the nation’s journalism. This has been partly, and partially, translated into English. (Both strictures apply.)

In the matter of original materials, it is not surprising to learn that large gaps exist, considering the burning of newspaper offices by mobs at the beginning; the suppression and censorship by the Japanese later; and the wholesale destruction and looting during the Korean War. Fairly complete files for the Dong-A Ilbo and Chosun Ilbo exist, but of the earlier, long-discontinued papers, much less remains. Some of the most valuable of such material, including microfilms of rare items, is on deposit in the library of the Korean Research Center. The scarcity and scattering of this material have made this account much less detailed and comprehensive than I would have wished. There is indeed room for a specialized scholar in journalistic history to carve himself a career in the study of the early Korean press.

The present paper limits itself to an account of Korea’s journalism up to the time of the Liberation (actually only
until 1940, when all independent papers were entirely suppressed by the Japanese authorities who had battled them for so long. After 1945, the field expands bewilderingly, and contains ramifications that are still matters of lively political controversy. It has not been practical, nor did it seem wise, for me to go into recent or current affairs here. Let it suffice to say that Korean pressdom in the past twenty years has shown no abatement in its tradition of crusading zeal. Whether it still serves the same function in a maturing society as it did earlier is another, debatable matter.

Mr. Lew Chi-ho* states that, in a technical sense, the history of Korean journalism may be said to date back to the year 692 A.D., during the Silla Dynasty, when the first known court journals were issued. These were organs for transmission of official statements and announcements, directed solely toward court and government officials, and thus were not really newspapers in our sense of the word. Nor could they, by their very nature, be vehicles of reform, reflecting as they did only the official attitudes and policies.

The first independent paper we encounter in Korean history was issued in 1578, in imitation of a court journal. This publication was also intended for government officials and intellectuals, who were indeed the only group that would have been capable of reading the Chinese characters which were the sole form of writing known to cultivated persons of that period. We may infer, perhaps, that the reform movement in Korean journalism was already active by the fact that King Sunjo banned the paper and exiled its luckless staff. (He even exiled the courtiers whose official journal had been the model for the independent paper!) Of

* see Sources
the contents of this paper we know nothing, but the year 1578 remains as the earliest recorded instance of the long-continued persecution of the Korean press.

It may be assumed that some Koreans were reading foreign newspapers as far back as 1867, when protest was made against an article derogatory to Korea written by a Japanese in a Chinese newspaper. But the seed of Korea's modern press growth was sown in 1881, when a Korean mission headed by Pak Chong-yang went to Japan to tour her new westernized institutions and facilities. One of the members of that mission, Kim Ki-su, made a report to the king on the subject of Japanese newspapers as follows:

"The so-called newspaper, as found in Japan, is none other than piling types and printing them. The thing is read by both government officials and private citizens, and is greatly talked about among the citizenry.

"The person who publishes it makes a trade of it, and its reader is either delighted or disgusted at what he reads. The types are as small as sesame seeds, and are finely shaped.

"When there is nothing of matter, it keeps quiet, but when there is work it jumps up with alacrity. Even when it sees a small thing it leaps up and makes a thorough job of it. This I think is its nature."

This report was apparently instrumental in the founding of Korea's first modern newspaper, the *Hansong Sunbo*, in October, 1883. It was indeed intended as a court journal, whose regulations stipulated that official announcements be given priority in publication, and after these, articles "to enlighten the people, encourage industry, and foster growth of public moral standards." Every high government official

1. BHKP, 6
and office in both Seoul and the provinces had to subscribe, and the paper was available to the general public at a reduced rate. Its staff members were government officials paid by the Foreign Ministry or the City of Seoul. A Japanese progressive and educator named Yukichi Fukuzawa sent three reporters to Korea to train local journalists, plus experts in printing, typography, and type casting. At first the paper was printed in Chinese characters only, because of a lack of Korean types. Later a mixture of Chinese and hangul was used. The paper was published every ten days, and each issue contained sixteen pages.

Though these facts suggest simply the ordinary official journal with a little technical modernization, the Hansong Sunbo was in reality much more. As a rallying point of the progressive court faction, men like Kim Ok-kyun, Pak Yong-hyo, So Kwang-bom, and Hong Yong-sik, it was actually a powerful advocate of modernization, and came under attack by the dominant conservative faction at court. This is why I call it the first modern Korean newspaper, since I have identified the press movement here with the reform movement.*

The paper was accused of being pro-Japanese, which was no doubt true, and anti-Chinese; and even of aiding the spread of Western religions, which sounds like pure calumny under the circumstances. In 1884 it was sacked and burned by a mob instigated by the conservatives. Revived as a weekly called Hansong Chubo in 1886, it was permanently suspended two years later, leaving Korea without a newspaper of any kind for eight crucial years.

Many sources give 1896 as the year of the founding of

* Mr. Choe Chun, associate professor of journalism at Chungang University, agrees with this dating, however. See K.J.
the first modern Korean newspaper; and certainly *The Independent,* or *Tongnip Shinmun,* * established on April 7 of that year, was the most important and influential of all the early papers, despite its short life span. This publication, initially four pages issued three times a week, was entirely in hangul, though it did contain some articles in English. It was published, strangely enough, under a court subsidy that survived several overturns of power.

*The Independent* was the creation of one of the most remarkable of the early nationalist leaders, So Chae-pil, known later as Dr. Philip Jaisohn, who had been associated with the old *Hansong Sunbo.* Forced into exile because of reform activities, So became the first Korean to receive a degree from an American university. Moreover, he was a medical doctor. Finally, he had also obtained an American wife and American citizenship. It was this last that allowed him to be much more outspoken in *The Independent* than he could otherwise have dared to be.

*The Independent* came out strongly for nationalism and human rights. One commentator gives the paper a rare accolade indeed: it was "progressive but not politically factional." * In the first issue, So stated the journal’s purpose as follows:

"We publish *The Independent* for the first time today, and declare our policy both to the foreigners and Koreans in Korea.

"We are, first of all, not biased. We are not related to any party. We make no distinction of both the upper and lower classes. We will treat them all alike as Koreans, and

* One volume of a projected facsimile reproduction was issued in the 1950’s; it is now out of print, but may sometimes be found in used book stores.
2. UKS
will speak fairly for the sake of Korea only.

"Not only for the citizens of Seoul but for all the people of Korea we will speak. We will also tell the people of what the government is doing, and the government of the conditions of the people. If the people know clearly what the government is doing, and also if the government is acquainted with the affairs of the people, nothing but good will come of this communication, removing dissatisfaction and suspicion.

"Since we publish the paper not for profit's sake, we have fixed the price at a low rate. We use the Korean alphabet exclusively, so that both men and women, the noble and the lowly, may read it. We punctuate and space the sentences and phrases so that reading may be easier.

"Since we act according to what we believe is right, we will speak out even when government officials err. If we detect corrupt and covetous officials, we will disclose their injustices to the world. Even private citizens who commit lawlessness we will expose and explain in the paper. Since we are the people of Korea, loyal to the king, our sovereign, and to Korea, our paper shall not carry partial arguments or reports with favoritism..."  

*The Independent* urged a constitutional government based on democracy. "It criticized the court for selling out Korean interests to foreign concessions. If it favored any foreign power, it was probably China, because China was the least ambitious in this matter of concessions."

There were several exposés in each issue. Typical of So's muck-raking, perhaps, is an item which reads: "We are informed that the mayor of Pyongyang has been doing

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3. *BHKP*, pp. 17-19
some fine work in the line of squeezing, and that consequently the people are on the verge of revolt.” This almost gossip-column approach was much used. A favorite target of the scientifically-inclined So was sorceresses, and he also struck hard at Japanese encroachments:

“...When was it that Japanese subjects were accorded the privilege of travelling at will about the country without passports, to be protected by the Korean government at a risk of $5,000 a head? ...But how stands the other side of the account? The Korean Repository strikes the nail on the head when it says, ‘Kill a coolie in an alley—$5,000; murder a queen in her chamber—gomen nasai.” (May 2, 1896)

The Independent set the style for Korean press typography, orthography, punctuation, and spacing for many years to come. So’s insistence on the use of ‘hangul’ only irritated court officials, one of whom wrote the paper that he could not read the “vulgar onmun script.” So’s response was to publish an announcement in the next issue that “the editor will not bother looking into any communications written in Chinese ideographs.”

Ministers and officials were dealt with peremptorily by the paper, but the royal family was handled discreetly, for So felt that only the king could move to enforce the reforms demanded by The Independent. Indeed, the king did publicly promise to make many of the changes advocated by So and the Independence Club that had grown up around the newspaper, but by that time he did not have the power to do so, trapped as he was between the conservative court faction and the pressure of pro-Japanese elements. Steadily, these enemies sought for a means to get rid of the newspaper and break up the Independence Club.

The inevitable end came when the paper reported rumors
of an impending forced sale of the southern port of Masan to Russia. This added another empire to the list of So’s opponents. It is said that the Russian ambassador to the United States approached President Theodore Roosevelt directly to exert pressure for the recall of So. The fiery Korean editor’s government subsidy was cut off and his position in Seoul became untenable. In 1898 he left Korea to practice medicine in Philadelphia, returning only once for a visit to Korea in the late 1940’s, shortly before his death.

The two pioneering papers so far discussed may be considered to embody the Young Progressives movement. With the stimulus of *The Independent* which, though largely suspended with the departure of So, continued in an English edition under the missionary Henry Appenzeller until 1899, many additional papers sprang up. These may be regarded as belonging to the period of Japanese Encroachment, and we will examine here only three of the more important journals.

The *Hwangsong Shinmun*, or *Royal City Daily*, was founded in 1897 by Chang Chi-yon. It consisted of four pages and was issued twice weekly, becoming a daily in 1898. This was perhaps the most influential among a number of early papers having a Protestant Christian orientation. These included the *Korean Christian Review* (Chosun Hoibo) of Henry Appenzeller, the *Christian Messenger* (Christ Shinmun) of H.G. Underwood, and even the *Taehan Shinbo* of a Japanese Christian missionary society.

The *Hwangsong Shinmun* had a rather literary tone, as most of its writers were scholars of classical Chinese. Its
policy embraced the advocacy of Westernization, and exposure of the stealthy extension of Japanese influence, exemplified by this report from an early issue: "Of late, Japanese merchants in Chingogae, in dealing with Koreans, instead of referring disputes to the law courts when such arise between them, which is fair and honest, beat them up with force, and take them to their own police station, where the Koreans are imprisoned for weeks and are most grievously handled, according to reports. This kind of barbarity is neither good for the friendship between the two countries, nor becoming to a country that has awakened earlier than ours. The practice is most regrettable, and we urge the authorities concerned to act always according to the laws of the nation."  

The paper had a rather dramatic demise. In 1904, when the Protectorate Treaty of Japan over Korea was signed, Hwangsong Shinmun published a front-page editorial entitled: "This Day We Weep." In order to escape Japanese censorship, which had already been instituted earlier that year under the pretext of military security during the Russo-Japanese War, the paper was distributed very early on the morning of November 21. It reached its readers, but Publisher Chang was arrested and the Hwangsong Shinmun disappeared forever from public view.

It was not until 1907 that the Japanese forced the promulgation of newspaper regulations justifying the de facto censorship that had been going on for three years. Their sensitivity to the influence of the Korean press is explained by these remarks by a Japanese commentator: "The people considered the newspaper as a kind of protest against the

5. BH p. 26
ruler. The small papers spread throughout the country, not only in the capital but in its adjacent areas. After a subscriber read them, he sent them to his neighbors in the village, and sometimes one copy had 200 readers. At that time, people did not have adequate economic means, and transportation facilities for distant localities were lacking. 6

The second influential paper of this era was the Maeil Shinmun, which first appeared in 1898. It was published under several names, which has led some commentators to ascribe to it a much shorter life span than was actually the case. Not counting numerous suspensions and deletions, it appeared under various headings until the final press blackout in 1910.

The Maeil Shinmun was always closely associated with the pioneering Paijai Mission School, and certainly the young Syngman Rhee had much to do with the paper in its early days. However, it seems an exaggeration on the part of Rhee’s biographer Richard S. Allen when he writes: “Rhee with other students bought a press and began his own newspaper in 1896 (sic).” 7 It is true, however, that Rhee wrote many of the early editorials in this all-hangul publication. After his arrest in 1898, it is said that he continued to smuggle articles from jail which were published anonymously in Maeil Shinmun; and that these gained the sympathy of Lady Um, consort to the king, who learned the identity of the author and was instrumental in gaining him lenient treatment in prison.

When Korea signed a treaty with Japan in 1904 giving the latter the right to advise on political administration, as a preliminary to the actual Protectorate Treaty late the next

6. BHKP, pp. 41—42
7. KSR, p. 15
year, the Maeil Shinmun protested forthrightly: "The right to advise is, after all, the first step of aggression."

It was in this period that the long history of persecution of misprints began. When a paper called Cheguk Shinmun attempted to print the phrase "mansci," or long life, to the king, it came out "mangsei," or perdition. The president of the paper was arrested.

The case of the Taehan Maeil Shinmun, established in 1905, shows certain parallels with that of The Independent of the preceding decade. Both papers escaped censorship and fended off persecution due to the fact that their proprietors were foreign nationals; both became so influential and dangerous to the Japanese overlords that elaborate efforts were made to get them out of the way. And in both cases, unfortunately, such efforts were at last successful.

The Taehan Maeil Shinbo was registered under the name of Ernest J. Bethel, a British journalist in Seoul who had become sympathetic to the cause of Korean independence. Yang Ki-tak was its Korean editor. The paper first appeared in mixed Chinese and hangul; but its phenomenal success, reaching a record peak circulation of 16,000, permitted the establishment of separate all-hangul and English editions.

These papers stood at the forefront of the anti-Japanese movement, setting the pace for their contemporaries which, however, did not dare to go to the lengths permissible for the foreign-registered Taehan Maeil Shinbo.

"So keen, vigorous, and influential was this daily in voicing Korean protest against Japanese domination that the Japanese governor-general,"8 Hirobumi Ito, stated:

"The power of newspapers in Korea is extraordinary. One
sentence by them moves the Koreans more effectively than a hundred words of Ito. Besides, a foreigner is publishing the Taehan Maeil Shinbo and continually agitating the Koreans by exposing various proven instances of Japanese misgovernment, for which the resident-general must be responsible..."9

The paper was, of course, harassed in every possible way by the police, and Bethel once put a sign on the door stating: "No Japanese Allowed."

But, inevitably, the handwriting was on the wall. No matter how tenaciously Korea’s patriots and friends might struggle on her behalf, it appears in retrospect that the political situation had long been hopeless. Mr. Lew Chi-ho, in his perceptive thesis on the Korean press, suggests that the crucial period in Korea’s political history during this era fell roughly between the years 1888—1896, when there was not a single newspaper in the entire country to inform, guide, and rally progressive patriotic opinion.

Thus the press revival from 1896 to 1905, vigorous and even heroic though it seems, was foredoomed to failure. The crucial events were occurring outside the country, where Japanese military and diplomatic successes, climaxed perhaps by the Portsmouth Peace Conference, were winning gradual acquiescence from the Great Powers in accepting the island empire’s broadened sphere of influence, including hegemony over Korea.

Assured of support—or indifference—abroad, the Japanese net began to close around Ernest Bethel and the crusading Taehan Maeil Shinbo. On April 17, 1908, the paper featured a story of the assassination in San Francisco of the vaca-

9. BHKP, pp. 40-41
tioning American advisor to the Japanese resident-general by Korean patriots. Bethel was accused of disturbing order and inciting unrest with a view to encouraging hostilities between the Korean government and people, on the basis of this and two other articles.

The complaint was lodged with the British legation, which invited a judge from Shanghai to come to Seoul to conduct formal appellate court proceedings, held in the British consulate in Chong-dong, Seoul, on June 15, 1908. Bethel was found guilty and sentenced to a three-week jail term, which he served in Shanghai.

After his imprisonment, the determined Briton returned to Seoul, stating: "My fight for Korea is heaven-ordained. I will work, regardless of my personal safety."

However, perhaps in part due to the great pressures under which he had been placed, Bethel was by now drinking excessively, and fell ill in early February, 1909. He died of complications on May 1, at the age of 38. Quite appropriately, Korean press circles in 1964 set up a monument to mark the grave of this doughty fighter for Korean independence in the Seoul Foreign Cemetery.

The unexpected death of Bethel left his newspaper a helpless prey to the Japanese authorities. The governor-general had for some years been pursuing a policy of subsidizing rival papers, which in effect became covertly pro-Japanese organs, for the purpose of confusing and splitting Korean public opinion. The relative failure of this policy made him more than ever determined to gain outright possession of that festering thorn in his side, the Taehan Maeil Shinbo.

Even before Bethel's death, the government had begun persecution of Yang Ki-tak, his Korean lieutenant, accusing
him of bond issue embezzlement. The courts threw out the case, however. With Bethel out of the way, the paper came under the management of his secretary, a Mr. Manham, who was made of no such stern stuff as his erstwhile employer. Under pressure, he was persuaded to sell the paper's copyright to the resident-general's office, and to leave the country in June, 1910.

The Japanese had won, and as if to emphasize their victory, they made the captive *Taehan Maeil Shinbo* (dropping the first word of its name) their principal official organ for a number of years. With the signing of the Annexation Treaty on Aug. 10, 1910, they were able to suppress under one pretext or another all the remaining independent papers, leaving only approved Japanese and pro-Japanese publications. This state of affairs continued for some ten years.

The Mansei uprising, or peaceful demonstrations, staged by Koreans on March 1, 1919, left the Japanese in a quandary. Signs of discontent were so widespread in Korea, and outrage at Japanese brutality in retaliation so strong in certain quarters abroad, that at least some superficial reforms in the colonial administration seemed called for. The first ten years of the occupation had been largely administered by the military, which could thus be made to serve as a scapegoat — though this would not have been possible a few years later. Accordingly, a new civilian-dominated administration was appointed by Tokyo, with the civil police as the organ of coercion or enforcement.

Actually, this made little difference; and in effect it marked the beginning of an even more insidious Japanese policy, that of cultural assimilation, under which eventually Korean history, customs, language, and even names
were to be gradually prohibited in favor of their Japanese counterparts. This movement, if successful, would have presaged the death of the spirit rather than that of the body. But the usurpers had not reckoned with the tenacity of their intended victims, a border people who for many centuries had had to withstand direct and indirect incursions of stronger and more ancient civilizations than Japan could boast. And they made a singularly obtuse error in permitting the Korean language press to resume during this period.

The plan was to license a strictly limited and stringently censored press, government control over which would be tight enough to prevent any serious opposition from gaining expression. As a matter of fact, there was trouble from almost the very beginning.

At first, only three papers were to be permitted, carefully selected for balance of viewpoints, to serve as a window-dressing to the outside world. These papers, all originating in 1920, were the Dong-A Ilbo, with an avowedly nationalist outlook; the Chosun Ilbo, originally mildly pro-Japanese; and the Sisa Shinmun, an outspoken organ of pan-Japanism, which quickly failed as a commercial venture. In the middle 1920's the Chosun Ilbo was reorganized as a nationalist paper, and began a brief flirtation with socialist leanings that proved disastrous. In 1925 came the Sidae Ilbo, which stood against the socialist trends of the day.

It is not the purpose of this account to trace the vicissitudes of these or later papers during the following twenty years: their management and economic difficulties, and their adherence to this or that faction of the underground or exiled independence movement. It is sufficient for our purposes to emphasize the tenacity with which the journalists fought what seemed at the time to be a losing, and even-
tually lost, battle.

As Prof. Choe Chun writes: "Because of the Japanese monopoly in the fields of politics and business, many Koreans in those years took great pride in investing their wealth and talent in the newspaper or magazine publishing business. Fatal blows such as confiscation or suspension of publication were dealt the newspapers frequently. Although they were sure to lose, investors continued to support newspapers despite the enormous financial requirement... It is especially significant that publishers were well aware of the difficulties of managing a newspaper. They continued to invest anyway...

"Due to strict censorship on reporting of political activities, they focused more or less on the advancement of social life and culture... Thus, the newspapers served to enhance the spiritual modernization of the Korean people under the Japanese colonialism." 10

That Korean papers never gave up the attempt to comment on political matters is, however, amply documented by statistics on their suppression. The Dong-A Ilbo alone in twenty years was confiscated 489 times, sale was banned on 63 occasions, and it was censored 2,423 times. Confiscation averaged 15 times a month between 1920 and 1923. The paper was suspended indefinitely four times, these bans ranging from a few weeks to a number of months. In addition, the arrest, imprisonment, and torture of reporters, editorial staff members, and even executives of all papers were frequent happenings.

The triviality of the Japanese censorship is illustrated by this episode, recounted by Mr. Lew Chi-ho: "A Christian missionary weekly, the Christian Messenger, in 1920 produced

10. K.J.
an editorial leader on Spring. It was the usual semi-poetic outpouring... how fine was the rebirth of the year when all things are again new and fresh and green, and men are heartened anew thereby. Japanese officials censored it, saying that the editorial was suggestive of a revolt against Japan."

The Dong-A Ilbo, in its inaugural issue, put forward a challenge that must have seemed revolutionary in its time, for it spoke confidently of a future that was scarcely in sight:

"...The 20 million people of Korea, in this rose-of-Sharon-decorated corner of Asia, are now to behold a new light and breathe a new air. Truly, we are alive again now. We have been resurrected. Devoting our entire energy to our goal, let us march forward. Our goal is none other than freedom and progress." 11

As a part of its campaign for "freedom and progress," the paper in the same year began an attack against antiquated Confucianism, leading off with an editorial entitled: "Knock the Heads of Falsely Learned Persons." This enraged the strict Confucianists, who attempted a boycott of the paper.

Only a few months later, though, the editors were at it again, this time with an article ostensibly attacking idolatrous superstitions, but also rather obviously poking fun at the sacred objects of the Shinto religion. This resulted in the first indefinite suspension of the paper, which lasted over three months.

In 1922, a new government tactic was initiated, that of broadening the number of papers to be licensed, but imposing an even stricter censorship. The Dong-A Ilbo commented that this was like "offering food and taking away

11. BHKP, p. 77
the spoon to eat it with.”

A dispute over a tenant farmers’ movement erupted in 1924. It started with the arrest of five farmer and labor leaders of Sunchon-gun, Cholla Namdo, by Japanese police on March 13, 1924, under a false accusation of thievery. All the youth groups in the area held a public rally denouncing the police action, and demanded a formal apology from the police.

_Dong A-Ilbo_ said in an editorial: “Unparalled brutality, indiscriminate torture, and trampling of human rights by the colonial police are now a daily occurrence. They seem to be made such that if they don’t indulge in such atrocities, they itch. Such police forces exist only in Korea, and they are ubiquitous in this country. Besides, they boast a 15-year history of inhuman activities. How many innocent citizens of this land must have suffered and shed silent tears during those fifteen years!... The so-called authorities may interpret resistance as an evil, and continue to oppress the people. However, sinful are those who drive the people to resist, not those who rise up against oppression.”

In the same year, the president and executive editor of the paper were beaten and threatened with a pistol by pro-Japanese functionaries after publication of an article critical of Korean collaborators with the Japanese.

_Chosun Ilbo_, on the other hand, got into difficulties due to its espousal of the newly-introduced Socialist movement. An editorial published on Sept. 28, 1925, said in part:

“Korea has reached a breaking point both politically and economically, and a breakthrough of the present situation is urgent. The shortest road to achieve this is to abolish imperialism in the political sphere and capitalism in the economic field, and bring in other reasonable systems. The
movement must be put forth in line with the world-wide revolutionary work initiated by Russia...”

The paper was suspended, and only after a purge of 17 staff members did it reopen under a more strictly nationalist policy. Thereafter it gained increased popularity with the addition of a crude but effective comic strip called “The Fool,” which satirized current topics, a new form of journalism in Korea, since then widely used.

Around this time, the resentment of the police toward the newspapers was so strong that the Tongdaemun Police Station placed a sign on the door reading: “No Dogs or Reporters Allowed.” Press pressure was such that the police were forced to remove the sign and apologize.

Japanese sensitivity toward leftist movements in Korea was so marked that in 1925 the Dong-A Ilbo was suspended for carrying a congratulatory telegram from a Soviet farm association on the occasion of the anniversary of the Sam Il Movement. Again in 1930, the same paper suffered its third indefinite suspension merely for carrying a congratulatory anniversary wire from the editor of The Nation, an American magazine. The gist of this message was: “Under the present circumstances of Korea, the mission of your paper is great.” This is so innocuous that the only possible objection would seem to be that at this period The Nation was considered a left-leaning and Communist-sympathizing publication.

The 1930’s were a time of increasing hardship for the Korean press. The Japanese adopted ever more stringent censorship regulations as they edged closer to outright aggressive warfare in the Far East. Provisions of a 1937 press code included:

“1) Never handle articles or pictures in a way that may debase the dignity of the Imperial household. When handling
such articles and pictures, special caution should be exercised to avoid misprinting letters.

“2) Do not use ‘Majesty,’ etc., for Korean kings... The titles of emperor or empress may not be used for Kojong, Sunjong, or their queens.

“3) Do not enter historical facts about the Japan-Korea annexation or events thereafter. In sentences referring to the period after the Japan-Korea annexation, do not use such phrases as ‘our dynasty,’ ‘this dynasty,’ ‘imperial court,’ ‘heavenly court,’ ‘heavenly ambassador,’ ‘heavenly general,’ ‘heavenly army,’ etc. Do not carry articles that encourage respect to Ming and hatred to Ching, which may be taken to imply anti-Japanese sentiments; sentences or phrases that excite sorrow over the historical fact of Japan-Korea annexation; or sentences praising persons who opposed the annexation. Do not show many of the names of those who opposed the Japan-Korea treaty of annexation. Do not carry articles about persons who destroyed Japanese corsairs. Do not carry articles praising the loyal subjects at the end of the Koryo Dynasty, thereby comparing the situation of Korea after the annexation with that period. Do not carry articles concerning the Hideyoshi invasion, representing Japanese armies committing excavation of tombs, arson, rape, etc., nor words such as ‘enemy’ or ‘thief’ in this regard. However, suitable words such as ‘the enemy general,’ ‘the Japanese,’ etc., may be used. Do not suppress articles concerning the participants and helpers in the Japan-Korea annexation.

“4) Do not handle speculative articles concerning the appointment or dismissal of the governor-general.

“5) It is a pity that there are so few articles concerning the unity and harmony of Japan and Korea. In the future
this should not be so formalistic. Handle such good articles often and sincerely.

“6) In referring to things Japanese, care should be taken not to make Japan or the Japanese appear like a foreign country and foreign people.

“7) In compliance with the policy of the government-general to use the national language as much as possible, handle more articles in the future written in the national language (Japanese).”

One last incident, which is perhaps the most widely-known story in all the annals of Korean journalism, is that of the famous Olympic photograph. In the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, Son Ki-jong set a world record in the Marathon, entered, of course, as part of the Japanese team. The photo of his victory was air-mailed to Seoul, but when it appeared in 

_Dong-A Ilbo’s_ August 2 edition, the Rising-Sun flag on the breast of the athlete had been painted out. For this affront, the paper received its last indefinite suspension, lasting nine months. Ironically, another paper, the _Chosun Chungang Ilbo_, had done the same thing on its own initiative, but the authorities hadn’t noticed. Nevertheless, this paper voluntarily suspended publication as a gesture of solidarity with _Dong-A Ilbo_. This seems a fitting final symbol of the ideals of Korea’s crusading press.

The situation under these conditions gradually became impossible. In November, 1939, the police bureau chief asked for the voluntary suspension of both _Dong-A Ilbo_ and _Chosun Ilbo_. The papers stubbornly held out until August 10, 1940, when for the third time in little more than half a century, an ominous pall of silence descended over Korean journalism.

12. BHKP, pp. 133–135
When that pall was raised in 1945, a very different world, with new trials, new opportunities, and new responsibilities, faced both veterans and newcomers in the galvanically revived Korean press.

But that is another story. (1966)
SOURCES AND ABBREVIATIONS:

BOOKS:

ARTICLES:

(Library material and files were sampled at the Korean Press Center, Korean Research Center, and *Dong-A Ilbo*, and certain selections translated by Mr. Lee Tae-yong.)

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POSTWAR DEVELOPMENT OF THE KOREAN PRESS

by Koh Myung-shik

The latter half of the 20th century has been characterized by an increasing number of developing nations stepping onto the international stage, making their presence known, and consequently, exerting influence on the balance of world power. When they gain independence, they among others formulate their own system of mass media. Nowadays two distinct mass media systems are observed: one is the libertarian system in a number of Western nations and the other is the controlled system prevalent in a number of Communist nations. Other mass media systems are variations of these two main systems with a certain degree of shading or gradation.

Mass media are the cultural arms of industrial systems. In many areas of the world today, the media of competing systems play increasingly important roles. Through selection, treatment, emphasis and tone, mass media (1) help define their own set of significant realities, (2) structure the agenda of public (and, increasingly, of private) discourse and (3) make available dominant perspectives from which realities, actions and policies might be viewed. ¹

Lucian W. Pye points out that in the countries of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, the communications pattern possesses two distinct levels: the urban or elite level and the village or mass level. The media of mass communications

based on Western technology are to be found in urban centers serving the most Westernized elements of a society. Outside, the communication process is still largely dependent upon the traditional level of technological aspect. This communications pattern may be a media aspect of the "dual structure of society" in developing nations.

In an analysis of the relation of communication growth to national political system in the less-developed countries, Richard Fagen categorizes the developing nations into four groups: (1) modernizing autocracies—committed to modernization using authoritarian political procedures; (2) modernizing democracies—committed to modernization using democratic political procedures; (3) status-quo autocracies—not committed to modernization and using authoritarian political procedures; (4) colonies—non-independent territories ruled in a variety of ways.

Thus it may be postulated here that the development of mass media in a developing country is conditioned by its political development and the economic stage it has reached. In the following analysis, Korea is considered one of the developing nations, having gained its independence at the end of World War II, and the period of the analysis is from 1945 to the present.

For the sake of convenience, the stages of development of the Korean press will be divided into (1) a period of ideological conflict from 1945 to 1950 when the Korean War

broke out, (2) a period of political struggle against the Rhee dictatorship from the armistice of 1953 to the April student uprising of 1960 and (3) a period of economic reconstruction from 1960 to the present.

According to figures released by the U.S. military government in South Korea on September 26, 1947, 85 daily newspapers, 68 weeklies, 12 bi-monthlies and 154 monthlies were then being published throughout South Korea. The total circulation of the daily newspapers was not available but the circulation and tendencies of individual dailies published in Seoul were as follows:

**Leading Daily Newspapers in Seoul** (as of September 26, 1947)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Daily</th>
<th>Circulation</th>
<th>Tendency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kyunghyang Shinmun</td>
<td>61,300 (62,000)</td>
<td>Neutral (Middle-of-the-road)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seoul Shinmun</td>
<td>52,000 (52,000)</td>
<td>Neutral (Neutral)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dong-a Ilbo</td>
<td>43,000 (43,000)</td>
<td>Right (Extreme right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chayoo Shinmun</td>
<td>40,000 (40,000)</td>
<td>Neutral (Neutral)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doklib Shinbo</td>
<td>25,000 (40,000)</td>
<td>Left (Extreme left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nolyawk Inmin</td>
<td>(32,000)</td>
<td>(Extreme left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chosun Ilbo</td>
<td>35,000 (25,000)</td>
<td>Neutral (Right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyundai Ilbo</td>
<td>25,000 (25,000)</td>
<td>Right (Extreme right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwangmyung Ilbo</td>
<td>(25,000)</td>
<td>(Left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hansung Ilbo</td>
<td>23,000 (24,000)</td>
<td>Right (Right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daidong Shinmun</td>
<td>13,000 (23,000)</td>
<td>Right (Right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minju Ilbo</td>
<td>(20,000)</td>
<td>(Right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chung-oi Ilbo</td>
<td>(20,000)</td>
<td>(Left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minjoong Ilbo</td>
<td>12,000 (12,000)</td>
<td>Right (Extreme right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choong-ang Shinmun</td>
<td>10,000 (10,000)</td>
<td>Neutral (Neutral)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toklib Shinmun</td>
<td>6,000 (6,000)</td>
<td>Right (Extreme right)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Circulation</th>
<th>Political Affiliation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sekei Ilbo</td>
<td>6,000 (6,000)</td>
<td>Neutral (Middle-of-the-road)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wuri Shinmun</td>
<td>(5,000)</td>
<td>(Middle-of-the-road)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minbo</td>
<td>(4,000)</td>
<td>(Left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chosun Choong-ang Ilbo</td>
<td>2,000 (2,500)</td>
<td>Left (Middle-of-the-road)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munwha Ilbo</td>
<td>(2,500)</td>
<td>(Left)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soosang Kyungje Shinmun</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Neutral( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kongup Shinmun</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>Neutral( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kajung Shinmun</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>Right( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seoul Times (English)</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>Neutral( )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: 1) ... denotes data not available.
2) Figures in parentheses show estimates made by the Voice of Korea, Korean Affairs Institute, Washington, D.C.

The political history of Korea under the U.S. military government shows that the U.S. military government initially took an approach of appeasing the leftists but later switched to whole-hearted support for the rightists. It is not known whether or not the above figures were collected by scientific methods. However, they suffice to present a general idea as to the distribution of political influence among the competing indigenous political forces. Grouped together, the ideological lineup of the Seoul dailies in 1947 was, as shown in the table, right.

The methods or criteria used by the U.S. military government and the Korean Affairs Institute in making such estimates were probably different, even though both estimate about the same number and circulation for rightist and neutral (including middle-of-the-road) dailies. This is so in the light of the fact that a number of leftist papers adopted neutral tendencies following the adoption of a licensing system by the U.S. military government on May 26, 1946. However, it
is quite apparent that the influence of non-rightist dailies was far greater than that of all the rightist dailies combined. 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Dailies</th>
<th>Combined Circulation</th>
<th>Tendency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>144,000</td>
<td>Right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(178,000)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>27,000</td>
<td>Left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(123,500)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>220,300</td>
<td>Neutral and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>middle-of-the-road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(177,500)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Figures in parentheses show the estimate made by the Voice of Korea, Korean Affairs Institute, Washington, D.C.

Regardless of the consequent political situation during and after the days of the U.S. military government, the numbers and circulations of Seoul dailies may be construed to indicate that ideological conflict contributed to lively and diverse opinion-formulating activities by Korean newspapers. This period was one in which a number of diverse opinions clashed violently like "the controversy among one hundred schools." An inquiry into the reasons why ideological conflict failed to be elevated to the level of national consensus, however, will not be attempted here.

The rightist political forces established the government of the Republic of Korea in 1948 and the Korean War broke out in 1950, ending with the signing of an armistice in 1953. By that time most of the leftist and neutral dailies had disappeared, for this was the period when newspapers were aligned around the rightist-conservative political line. From 1953 until the 1960 student uprising, political struggle

against the Rhee dictatorship and opposition journalism prevailed.

According to the Taehan (Korean) Newspaper Annual published in 1958, 45 daily newspapers with a combined circulation of 1,900,000 were published throughout south Korea as of 1956. The annual did not indicate the official source or the criteria of this estimate and thus the credibility of the circulation figure is very doubtful. But the fact remains that the number of daily newspapers decreased from 85 in 1947 to 45 in 1956. In the Report of the Korean Newspaper Editors' Association to the United Nations on the state of the Korean press, published in March, 1960, the fluctuation in the number of daily newspapers is given as 48 in 1954, 45 in 1955, 43 in 1956 and 41 in 1959. The report listed, as the reason for the decline in the number of daily newspapers, the reluctance of the government to issue new licenses, a stance taken by the government from 1952 on.

If the April 1960 student uprising is considered an explosion of the pent-up desire of the Korean people for modernization, the fact that the number of daily newspapers suddenly increased to 115 shortly after the popular uprising illustrates the transitory nature of the phenomenon of "rising expectation," reminiscent of the same phenomenon shortly after the liberation of Korea from Japan in 1945. However, the task of modernization requires a centripetal force to channel the energies of the people. Hence, it was a rather natural consequence that among the multitude of newspapers, 75 dailies were purged following the May military revolution.

7) See Shinmun Yungu, Kwanhun Club, No. 1 (Spring, 1961), pp. 91-100.
8) Shinmun Pyungwon, Korean Press Institute, No. 3 (June, 1964), p. 17.
in 1961. 9

As a result of the purge carried out by the military government, the number of daily newspapers throughout south Korea decreased to 37, and the number of major daily news agencies dropped to 12 as of August 1962. These numbers remain almost unchanged up to the present. 10

It cannot be denied that the scope of political lines taken by or permitted Korean newspapers has been drastically reduced since the days of the U. S. military government, when there was a violent clash of leftist and rightist opinions, to the present time, when the anti-Communist law acts as a powerful restraint on the free expression of opinions and facts. To sum up, Korean newspapers have experienced during the years since 1945 a period of ideological conflict under the U. S. military government (1945—48), a period of political struggle as journalism of opposition (1948—60) and a period of press control in the process of modernization since the May military revolution (1961—present).

It is only since the May 1961 revolution that credible figures and statistics concerning the Korean press have been available. According to a survey conducted by the Ministry of Public Information, the circulation of daily newspapers throughout south Korea (street sales and government subscriptions to various newspapers were excluded from this household survey), the circulation of daily newspapers throughout the country was 742,256 copies as of September 1961, and 790,261 copies in January 1963.

Thus, in two years, there was a six per cent (48,000 copies) increase in circulation. The figure rose to 1,096,120 copies in September 1965, an increase of 305,859 copies, or

9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
39 per cent, and to 1,539,561 copies in July 1967, an increase of 443,441 copies or 40.5 per cent.\textsuperscript{11}

The total circulation was 2,052,747 copies as of July 1967, if street sales and government subscriptions were added. The total circulation figure means that there are approximately 40 copies of daily newspapers per 1,000 persons in the population. The goal set by UNESCO for developing nations is 100 copies per 1,000 persons in the population.

Korea’s population has increased by an average of two per cent per annum since 1960. Newspaper circulation, in contrast, has increased by an average of over 10 per cent per annum since 1960. The ratio of copies per 100 persons shows a slow but steady increase: 2.9 copies in 1961, again 2.9 copies in 1963, 3.9 copies in 1965 and 5.1 copies in 1967 (street sales and government subscriptions excluded). When the rise in newspaper circulation is crosschecked with the economic indices, it is foreseeable that newspaper circulation will maintain its present ascending tendency. For instance, the school enrollment from kindergarten up to middle school; that is, the number of potential readers, shows an average increase of five per cent a year.\textsuperscript{12} In fact, the growth in school enrollment has shown a slight decrease over the years—six per cent in 1964, 5.6 per cent in 1965 and 5.2 per cent in 1966.

However, in light of the fact that applicants for enrollment in schools outnumber school facilities, the growth in school enrollment, the potential reading population, will rise faster than the natural growth rate of the population if there were more school facilities available. In the economic sector, the gross national product (GNP) has also maintained an average


increase of seven per cent per annum since 1960.

Regardless of the non-economic factors in the growth of newspaper circulation, such as the political or ideological climate and the cultural contents of newspapers, the socio-economic factors such as the increase in school enrollment and the increase in the GNP give rise to the supposition that newspaper circulation will increase even more in the foreseeable future. When each growth average is set: two per cent a year for the population, seven per cent for the GNP, 5.6 per cent for school enrollment, and conservatively six per cent for newspaper circulation, population within ten years will reach about 36 million and newspaper circulation about 3,400,000. Then the goal set by UNESCO, 10 copies per 100 persons, will almost be achieved in Korea.

Now, the observation of Lucian Pye on the dual pattern of developing countries should be examined here so as to determine to what extent his observation is applicable to Korea. To maximize the contrast between urban and non-urban population, the populations of Seoul and Pusan, the two largest cities in Korea, were totaled and compared with the rest of the population.

The ratio of newspaper copies per 100 persons in Seoul and Pusan was 6.4 in 1963, seven in 1965 and 10.5 in 1967. Therefore, the ratio for newspaper copies to the whole population in Seoul and Pusan had already reached the UNESCO goal in 1967. On the other hand, the same ratio to the rest of the population (outside Seoul and Pusan) was 2.2 in 1961, 2.9 in 1965 and 4.1 in 1967. This ratio shows a slow rise, but it is always less than half of the ratio for Seoul and Pusan. Statistics compiled by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry show the balance of payments

13. Ibid. p. 935.
of a farming household at the end of each year—940 won credit in 1961, 10,170 won credit in 1962, 11,070 won credit in 1963, 17,940 won credit in 1964, and 4,760 won credit in 1965. Economic growth in the primary sector in 1966 recorded a decrease of 0.5 per cent in comparison to the previous year.

It may be concluded here that newspaper circulation increases faster in Seoul and Pusan than in the rest of the country, and that the slow growth in newspaper circulation outside of the two largest cities can be attributed to slow improvement in economic conditions in rural communities. Thus, the increase in newspaper circulation depends mainly on such socioeconomic factors as an increase in school enrollment and an increase in the income of farming communities among others.

For increased newspaper circulation, school enrollment, rural income and overhead capital for communications, transportation and telecommunications must first be expanded. However, these constitute but part of overall national development programs which should be carried out in their entirety around the leadership of the central government. However, from the aspect of media, there are some factors which should be developed for the sake of newspaper development. These are, for instance, training and enhancement of the status of professional journalists, improvement of newspaper facilities so as to meet the need of an ever-increasing number of readers, an increase in income from advertising to guarantee the rational management of newspapers, availability of sufficient newsprint, etc. The training of journalists and improvement of facilities must be discussed elsewhere. Here, the question of advertising income and supply of newsprint will be briefly touched upon.

According to a survey conducted by the Institute of

Mass Communications, Seoul National University, in 1964 on the status of newspaper management, the average ratio of income from subscriptions and advertising is 52 to 47. As economic activities grow, the demand for newspaper advertising will also increase. However, some newspaper publishers are not willing to organize an auditing bureau for newspaper circulation; 33 per cent of publishers favor such an organization, while 71 per cent either oppose or are non-committal.

As to the size of newspapers, the number of pages has decreased since 1962. In 1962, each newspaper published 48 pages a week, whereas in February 1964 the number was 40 pages per week, 38 pages a week in June, 32 pages in August, and 36 pages in September of the same year. In November 1965, the number of pages per week hit an all-time low of 28. Since November 1966 each newspaper has published 36 pages per week.

The small size of newspapers is a result of rising cost of newsprint and low production of newsprint. Domestic production of newsprint increases by 9.1 per cent per annum, while the demand rises by 14 per cent per annum. Some 40 newspapers affiliated with the Korean Newspaper Publishers' Association use about 30,000 tons of newsprint a year; in 1967, some 5,000 tons of newsprint had to be imported to meet the rising demand. In this connection, self-sufficiency in regard to the supply of newsprint is urgently required in order to meet the rise in newspaper circulation and to go along with the government policy of achieving self-sufficiency in all fields of the national economy.

16. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
As seen in the foregoing, the Korean press has grown physically since 1960 in pace with the economic growth of the nation, and it is expected to maintain its growth tendency in the years to come.

However, it should be remembered that the development of the Korean press must be coordinated with the goals and aspirations of the nation as a whole.

If the modernization task of a nation is to pursue harmony in the fundamental goals of modernization, that is, nationalism, industrialization and democracy, the basic role of newspapers should consist of creating a national consensus with regard to national independence, industrial growth and establishment of democratic procedures. In this connection, the mere physical growth of the press alone cannot serve as a yardstick to measure its development. Rather, the physical development of the press should be considered a means of realizing the national task of modernization.

In order to fulfill this task, newspapermen must attain a firm, subjective posture of self-reliance and establish a democratic behavioral pattern. Newspapers should be in a position to serve as a bridge for the free flow of information and ideas between the people and the government, so that the modernization process can be carried out in a democratic way.

The theme "more information, more promptly, to a larger audience" could easily be abused to manipulate the masses more simply for purposes other than modernization. In such a case, it is quite possible that the rising expectations of the people will change to rising frustration. 19

This possibility is a warning to us that the physical development of the press need not necessarily be considered the development of the press \textit{per se}.

The improvement of the quality of newspapers in pace with their physical development is a task that must be shouldered by the newspaper industry itself if the press is to function satisfactorily to create national consensus within the framework of the pan-national process of modernization.
The advancement of the mass media in the formation of the people's awareness, and if it is to express the internalization of the people's will, it must be linked to the spread of ideas and the intellectuals. The people must learn to think for themselves, to express their ideas, and to act on them. The advancement of the mass media has paved the way for the idea of mass communication, that is, the process of communication that involves the mass media. This process involves the mass media in the formation of public opinion, the expression of ideas, and the dissemination of information. In this process, the mass media play a crucial role in the development of the mass media. The mass media must be seen as a means of informing the people of the changes that are taking place in their lives. The mass media must be seen as a means of informing the people of the changes that are taking place in their lives. The mass media must be seen as a means of informing the people of the changes that are taking place in their lives.

In order to fulfill this task, newspapermen must adopt a more positive posture of self-reliance and establish a democratic behavioral pattern. Newspapers should be in a position to serve as a bridge between the people and the government, so that the modernization process can be carried out in a democratic manner.

The mass communication process, more precisely, to a larger audience, could easily be abused to manipulate the masses more simply for purposes other than modernization. In such a case, it is quite possible that the rising expectations of the people will change to rising frustration.
PUBLISHING IN KOREA
An Historical Survey

by Han Man-nyun

I. ORIGIN OF PUBLISHING INDUSTRY IN KOREA

1. First Publications of Korea

A controversy may arise as to the origin of the book publishing industry in Korea. According to documentary evidence, however, the first publication by movable type dates back to the reign of King Hyonjong of the Koryo dynasty (1011 A.D.) when a collection of Buddhist sutras was printed from wooden types, or to the reign of King Kojong of the same dynasty (1230 A.D.) when the Sangjong Yemun, a textbook on civilities, was printed from copper types.

The copper types used in the printing of this textbook preceded the invention of movable cast types in Germany by Gutenberg (1394—1468 A.D.) in 1446 A.D. by more than 200 years.

There are four books extant today—Puksa Sanasol, Taehak Yonui, Sipch’olsath’an Kokum T’ongyo and Songjo P’yojol Ch’ongyu—which were printed from bronze types at a foundry established in the third year of the reign of King T’aejong of the Yi dynasty (1403 A.D.). The printing of the books preceded the printing of the first Bible by Gutenberg (in 1446 A.D.) by half a century.

2. Invention of Hangul

Before the invention of hangul, the Korean nation was
dependent on Chinese characters, an ideographic script, for its literary life. The difficulty of reading Chinese letters, together with the monopoly of them by the aristocracy, excluded the general public from the benefits of literacy.

In 1446 A.D., King Sejong of the Yi dynasty devised and promulgated hangul, an alphabetical system of a highly scientific structure which is easily learned by the masses, with the name of Hunmin Chongum. The alphabet has since gradually attained wide use as hangul.

The invention of bronze types and creation of the hangul alphabet formed the basis of publication in Korea in the early stage.

Such an early start, however, was not kept up after the invention and use of metal types. For long, our publications were dependent on hand-copying or the use of wooden plates; printing from such metal types as Kyongja-ja (1420 A.D.), Kapinja (1434 A.D.), Ulhae-ja (1455 A.D.) or Kapchin-ja (1484 A.D.) was limited to rare occasions.

This failure to make full use of metal types by our ancestors resulted in stagnancy of Korea’s publication activities.

While publishing methods remained primitive in the feudal age, our ancestors printed and published a vast number of books in the face of many adversities. Books were printed and published by private individuals as well as by the state.

Publications of this era include Buddhist sutras, Confucian teachings, and many annotations. The publishing activities were far more advanced than those of other countries in terms of both volume and quality.

The state published the Hunmin Chongum, Yongbioch’onga and Wolinch’ongangjikok as the tools of the propagation of
hangul, which, however, was slow to be accepted.

At about the same time, books were introduced from China, to foster further the publishing industry. Many books came to be included in the objects coveted by foreign powers invading the country.

As demand for printing paper and need for storage of books increased, the Paper-Making Office was established in the 15th year of the reign of King T'aejong of the Yi dynasty (1415 A.D.) to improve the quality of printing paper and increase its production. The result was that high-quality hand-made Korean paper was exported to foreign countries after satisfying domestic demands.

The invention and use of metal types and the creation and propagation of hangul, two epoch-making events which marked the history of publishing in Korea, were both accomplished either by the monarchy or under its leadership.

We shall study major causes which hampered the development of metal types and hangul before embarking on a study of modern publications, in order to deepen our understanding of the history of publishing in our country.

First, continuous development of metal types was undermined by shortcomings in casting technique. The lack of alignment in the process of melting, casting, use, supplementation of raw materials, remelting, recasting and reuse, together with shortage of matrices, must have required the same amount of work in the casting of type as is required in the casting of a bell.

Second, the efforts of the state to guide and lead the publishing industry lacked consistency and constancy.

This is ascribable to the fact that there emerged no kings gifted enough to uphold and further the aspiration of King Sejong, as reflected in the invention of hangul, as well as
to the frequency of coups d’état which rendered consistent leadership on the part of the throne impossible.

In short, the inner shortcomings of the political structure exerted adverse effects on the development of the publishing business.

Thirdly, there were frequent foreign incursions. Frequent invasion and occupation of the country by Japanese and Chinese forces inflicted heavy damage on Korea’s cultural heritage, including books and book publishing facilities. The Japanese forces especially coveted our books and metal types, making them primary objects of their pillage.

There are other factors which were detrimental to the growth of the publishing industry. However, due to the limited space allowed here, we shall skip the study of them.

Modern publishing made its debut with the introduction of power printing machines.

3. Introduction of Modern Publishing

The introduction of modern publishing techniques coincided with the introduction of Western civilization around 1884.

In 1883, when Occidental culture found its way to the Korean peninsula, the Pangmun-guk Publishing Bureau was established and the Hansong Sunbo, a newspaper issued every ten days, was published. Efforts were also made for the development of typography, but bore little fruit.

In 1888, the Catholic Church of Seoul established a typographical printing house for the publication of the Bible and other religious books. The following year, 1889, Henry Appenzeller (1858—1902) established a printing department in the Paijai School and invited the Rev. F. Ohlinger, who had been engaged in missionary activities in China, to head
the department.

The printing department of the Paijai School cast *hangul* and English types to print and publish the Bible and the *News of Korean Christians*, a weekly publication. The department established a bookbinding center in cooperation with the printing department of the school in 1896 to print and publish the newspaper *Tongnip Sinmun*. The following year the *Hyopsong Hoebo* and the *Maeil Sinmun*, the first daily newspaper ever published in Korea, the *Mansebo*, a magazine, and textbooks were printed and published here.

With the advent of Western civilization, private publishing houses came into being one after another. The printing houses in operation at this time included Poson-sa, Huimungwan and Simmun-gwan. There was a lithographic printing house, Muna-dang, too. They used 10.5 point and 14 point types and operated printing machines of hand-operated or foot-pedal type.

Gradually publishing circles came to use printing machines operated with gasoline engines and imported printing paper.

The oldest of titles published in this period is *Kohwan-dangji* (1883), and the first publications ever to use Chinese characters and *hangul* in combination were *Nongjong Choallyo*, a guidebook on agriculture, and *Sogyonmun*, a travelogue written by a diplomat of the Korean kingdom, Yu Kilchun, after a tour of Europe and America.

Although the travelogue regrettably was published in Japan, it made a considerable contribution to the enlightenment of the Korean people about Western civilization.

The first translated book published in the country was *Pilgrim's Progress* by John Bunyan. The book was translated and published in 1886 by the missionary Dr. James Gale
and his wife. The work was followed by the translation by Yun Ch’i-ho of Aesop’s Fables and Gulliver’s Travels.

In 1887 the government established a national letter research institute where Chu Si-gyong set up a laboratory for the study of hangul.

A general tendency to disdain the act of selling books, however, undermined the marketing of books in the initial stage of the Enlightenment Era.

4. Stagnancy of Publishing

The first publishing house, Kwangmun-sa, was established in 1896. By the time the country was annexed by Japan in 1910, there were a number of publishing houses in operation. They included Tokhung Sorim, Kwangin-sa, Aedong Sogwan, Yongch’ang Sogwan and Pojinje.

The fledgling publishing world, however, was destined to suffer under the oppressive policy of Imperial Japan.

As publishing came into being to answer the demand of the times in the initial period of the Enlightenment Era, publishing circles could not exist apart from the demand of the times, before and after the March 1 Independence Movement of 1919.

Publications and persons engaged in publishing business plunged into the independence struggle against the colonial rule of Japan. Among persons who championed the cause of national independence were Ch’oe Nam-Son, owner of Sinmunngwan, and Kim Hong-Kyu, workshop supervisor of Posong-sa.

In the third year of the reign of King Sunjong of the Korean Empire (1909) the Japanese, who actually ruled the country in the capacity of vice ministers, enacted and promulgated Law No. 6, which subjected not only books on
political and ideological matters but also books on science to strict censorship.

Under such censorship, the publication of books of any value was rendered virtually impossible. Not only that, but books passing the double censorship were subject to sales bans and confiscation after they were put on the market.

As a result of the censorship, publishing circles sought an outlet in the publishing of literature. Consequently, poets and writers appeared one after another. Conscious of their role as the vanguard of the nation, they made unceasing efforts to inspire patriotic and anti-Japanese spirit in the hearts of the people, in the face of threat of bans imposed by the Japanese.

The cultural policy of the Japanese colonial government came to assume a new face in the wake of the March 1 independence movement. Turning to a more lenient policy, the Japanese authorized the publication of magazines and books.

New type faces were introduced for printing in a more refined style, and such large publishing houses as the Hansong Book Co., Ltd. came into being, making a great contribution to the publishing industry of the country until its building was lost in a fire after the Liberation.

Books published in this period include Abraham Lincoln, On Self-awakening, and speeches of U.S. President Wilson. These are books keenly reflecting the inclination of the Korean nation toward nationalism and democracy.

Foreign literature was also introduced energetically. The works of major foreign authors and poets began to be translated for publication.

Books written by Korean writers also began to appear. Such books written solely in hangul as Hyongum Choson Munion
(Modern Korean Grammar), Kugo Pogam (Korean Language Texts) and Choson Munbop Cheyo (Outline of Korean Grammar) bore witness to the birth of a nationalist culture.

Books serving as a tool for the study of foreign languages published at the time include Silyong Yongson Hoewajon (Practical English-Korean Conversation), and National Readers on English-Korean Letters. Ch'oesin Paekkwa Sinsajon was an encyclopedia bulky by the standards of the time. A strange phenomenon was the large quantities of genealogical records published. The records of pedigrees made up a substantial portion of the workload of the publishing industry.

By the 1930's, book-binding technique had made considerable progress and books bound in foreign style began to appear.

In 1938, the publication of such libraries as the Choson Mungo and Pangmun Mungo greatly accelerated the propagation of books among the people. It was in this year that Ch'oe Hyon-Bae founded the Chongum-sa publishing house for the purpose of publishing Uri Malbon (Korean grammar).

While the high illiteracy rate of the country and the propensity of the farming masses to limit their reading material to folk history books still hampered the propagation of books of quality, the number of intellectuals purchasing Japanese books rapidly increased. The consequent influx of Japanese books posed a threat to domestic publishing industry.

Although the Japanese did not establish their own publishing houses in Korea, they set up book marketing businesses in Korea with the opening of Nikkan Shobo and other bookstores.

5. Legal Suppression of Publishing Industry

In 1910, the Japanese promulgated a set of regulations
requiring registration of publishing houses operated by Korean nationals. In October of the same year they confiscated all school textbooks compiled by the Koreans.

With their endurance at an end, publishing circles organized in March 1923 an association for revision of the publishing law and newsprint law. The association sponsored a rally for denunciation of persecution of press and publishing organizations. The rally, however, failed to materialize when the Japanese police intervened and arrested its leaders.

Oppression grew in intensity after the promulgation of the Public Security Law in 1925 and its amendment and promulgation in 1928.

In 1931, publishers filed a seven-point request, which included a request for the abolition of censorship, with the Japanese Governor, but the request was of course turned down.

In 1938, the study of the Korean language was dropped out of the middle school curriculum as the Japanese intensified their drive to ban the Korean language altogether and force the Koreans to use Japanese as their daily language.

Imperial Decree No. 37 (on limitations imposed on newspaper articles) promulgated in 1941, and a later Decree (on publishing business) promulgated in 1943, dealt a coup de grace to the already suffocating press. The right to publish in Korean language was virtually deprived.

II. POST-LIBERATION ERA

1. Era of U.S. Military Government

On the heels of the Liberation in August 1945, five daily newspapers, three wire services and five magazines went into business. The Pangmun Ch’ulp’ansa and the Chong-
umsa made a renewed start as publishing houses, while a number of new publishing houses, including the Eul-Yoo Publishing Co. and Koryo Munhwasa, newly came into being.

In 1946, the number of weekly and daily newspapers increased to 60 and 140, respectively.

The number of publishing houses in operation amounted to 150. The number of book titles published mounted to nearly 1,000, and first print copies to about 5,000.

The remarkable increases in the number of titles and copies reflect the unlimited freedom of press and the vast demand for books which marked the post-liberation period.

The book market of this period was completely a seller's market.

However, shortage of newsprint and of printing equipment soon plagued the publishing industry.

In the face of the material shortage, the U.S. Military Government encouraged the importation of newsprint and granted the publishing industry the privilege of business tax exemption.

Publication of periodicals was subject to licensing by the U. S. Military Government. This licensing system and the Military Government's sole control of newsprint gradually caused minor publications to disappear.

At about the same time, ideological confrontation between the Right and the Left grew in intensity. On March 15, 1947, publishers belonging to the democratic ranks organized the current Korean Publishers' Association in a countermeasure against the organization by leftish publishers of the Publishers' Council.

The Korean Publishers' Association advocated the reconstruction of the fatherland along democratic lines.
2. Establishment of the Republic of Korea Government

In 1948, the government of the Republic of Korea was established in free general elections held on the basis of a United Nations resolution.

Korean society was not yet recovered from the disturbances caused by the Communist rebellion which erupted in the Yosu-Sunch'on region in that year. Unrest was observed elsewhere, too.

As a result, book sales were extremely limited, despite the considerably improved quality of printing, binding and decoration.

The number of copies printed per title began to dwindle. Although several publishing houses made fortunes out of publishing and marketing textbooks and school reference books in vast quantities, or hitting on best sellers, lack of co-ordination and co-operative relations between publishing houses and book stores caused delays in the recovery of costs.

The Korean Publishers’ Association started its journal, and resolved on a 25 per cent wholesale book discount rate.

The number of publishing houses continued to increase until 1949, when they numbered as many as 847 firms. Many of these publishing houses, however, existed in name alone, and less than half of them were actually in operation.

Although publishing houses experienced severe fluctuations of fortune in the early post-liberation years, a great number of titles was published during this period to fill the shelves of book stores in the country.

3. Korean War Years

The Communist aggression of 1950 dealt a devastating blow to the publishing industry. The equipment, facilities
and stock on hand, which were concentrated in the capital, were left to the mercy of the Communists, who occupied Seoul within three days after the outbreak of the war for three months until the recovery of the city by the United Nations forces.

The number of publishing houses registered with the Office of Public Information after the recovery of the capital was 185 and book titles published by them only 15.

The intervention of the Chinese Communist forces resulted in the removal of the site of the capital once again to Pusan. In the face of the adversity, publishing circles barely sustained themselves by the publication of textbooks and school reference books for the autumn semester of schools.

Titles published in that year were extremely limited in number, due to shortage of working capital and of printing equipment. The following year, 1951, however, 387 publishing houses registered with the government and titles published by them numbered 1,322.

The speedy revival of the publishing industry reflected the ambition of publishers to satisfy demand for books, which rapidly increased as a result of the loss of book stock on hand and a temporary suspension of publishing activities.

4. Post-armistice Period

A runaway inflation plagued society and the economy as an after-effect of the war. On top of this, the blow of the currency reform of 1953 forced the publishing industry into another vacuum.

Awaiting the publishing industry in recaptured Seoul were greatly risen prices of equipment and increased production costs, dwindled purchasing power, and a further deteriorated relationship with book sellers.
The wholesale book discount rate, which was 25 per cent before the outbreak of the war, rose to 35 per cent during the time the government settled itself in Pusan. By the time the seat of the government was moved back to Seoul, the discount rate had risen to 40 per cent.

Publishers had to surmount great difficulties in collecting bills.

The sale of books and collection of bills for books sold came to spell life or death for the publishing industry.

In December 1953, publishers convened a meeting to discuss effective means for the collection of bills; and in 1954 the Korean Publishers' Association established a committee for the promotion of a joint marketing network in its eighth regular meeting.

These moves, however, produced little effect, and the rate of sales declined in reverse ratio to the increasing rate of production costs. In 1956, a number of publishing houses were compelled to dump paper matrixes and books on hand, opening the way for the book dumping market of the East Gate and rampant dumping practices.

Book stores vied with one another in raising the discount rate in a drive to overcome depression. Wholesale book sellers began to close their doors one after the other.

In the depression, the average number of copies printed per book title dwindled to 1,000, and publishing houses came to compete with one another in trying to win contracts for the publication of textbooks recompiled under a government project. As a result, titles published in 1957 were as few as 1,006.

In 1958, when the publishing industry was on the verge of total collapse, the Hagwonsa Publishing Co. published an encyclopedia in 12 volumes. This feat was followed by the publication of *K'unsa* (Larger Dictionary) in six volumes.
by the Eul-Yoo Publishing Co.

A new vigor was infused into the industry as a sales system, under which books were sold by salesmen visiting offices and firms on installment payment basis, offered a new stimulation to demand for books.

At this time, the masses of people were in a severe financial plight, because most available financial resources were concentrated on the economic rehabilitation of the country. The publishing industry was of course no exception to the general hardship. Yet efforts were never neglected for improvement of printing types, refinement of scripts and introduction of modern printing equipment with U.S. aid. Thus, in the face of severe economic adversities, the quality of publications was brought close to the international standard.

In the meantime, pulp paper and high quality white printing paper came to be manufactured by a number of manufacturers. The quantity made by domestic paper-makers, however, was far from satisfying domestic demand. Also, the quality and price of printing paper made at domestic plants fell short of meeting the demand.

5. After April 19 Student Revolution

After the student uprising of April 19, 1960, toppled the dictatorial regime of Dr. Syngman Rhee, the Second Republic was inaugurated. The government of the Second Republic was characterized by rupture within its party, and social order was all but nonexistent amid floods of public demonstrations for this cause or that. Despite such chaos, the number of titles published in the year increased slightly over the previous year to 1,618.

A characteristic of this period was the influx of Japanese books and publication of translated Japanese books. This,
of course, was a result of the relaxation of tension existing between Korea and Japan.

The sales of books, however, remained low. The publishers of magazines, who until then had enjoyed a relatively more profitable business by comparison with the publishers of books or other categories, also came to suffer from general stagnancy.

Under such circumstances, the Korean Publishers' Association petitioned the government for a tax-exemption measure, and later in February 1961 for the lifting of the import ban on high quality white printing paper, a ban which caused the price of the paper to rise.

Meantime the Association, which had sponsored a national book exhibition in 1947, made the exhibition an annual event from 1958.

In 1960, the Association sponsored the fifth exhibition on April 28. Over 9,000 titles were displayed at the exhibition.

6. Post-Military Revolution Period

Social chaos caused by political crisis and disorderly public demonstrations furthered the stagnancy of the publishing business.

The revolutionary government which was established following the coup d'état of May 16, 1961 undertook bold reform measures. It canceled registration for publishing houses with no publications to their credit, and transferred work related to the registration of publishing houses to municipal and provincial boards of education from the Ministry of Education.

Thanks to the priority given by the government to the development of agriculture, the publication of books on agriculture vastly increased. Also, books on medicine, engineering and other specialized knowledge came to contain more
substantial contents and have improved in external appearance.

The publishing industry, however, suffered a severe financial setback from the currency devaluation of June 1962 and the readjustment of the exchange rate of 1964. The situation was confounded further by the government closure of schools and colleges amid student demonstrations protesting the Korea-Japan normalization talks. Demand for books naturally decreased drastically as the book market was narrowed.

Despite all these adversities, the number of titles published in 1963 amounted to 3,042. However, it decreased to 2,750 in 1964 due to the recomilation of textbooks designated or authorized by the government (See Table 1).

One prevailing tendency of the publishing industry at this time was to sell books on installment payment basis through a network of salesmen who visited homes, offices and firms for the sale of books.

A number of publishers began to plan publication of books specifically for students and intellectuals, and the publication of series became a revived boom.

With the coming into effect of the Library Law, many high quality children’s books went on the market to satisfy the increased demand of school libraries and reading rooms.

Publishers resorted to the bolder business method of investing large capital in production and advertisement, in an effort to discard the tradition of small business which characterized publishing business in the past. The fruits of such new ventures, however, are yet to materialize.

III. RECENT STATUS OF KOREA’S PUBLISHING CIRCLES

1. Trends of Publishing

Books

Thanks to the ambitious economic development effort of
the government, the industrial structure has steadily been undergoing a process of modernization, and social overhead capital has been vastly increasing.

Gross national product grew by 8.1 percent in 1965 and 13.4 percent in 1966.

Amid such rapid economic growth, the publishing business alone wallowed in chronic stagnancy.

As shown in Table 2, the number of titles, excluding textbooks, published in past years has been on a gradual decline.

According to statistics on titles registered with the government, titles published in 1965 numbered 9,294. The number decreased to 9,005 in 1966 (97.4 per cent of titles published in 1965) and to 6,364 in 1967 (68.8 per cent of titles published in 1965).

Although decrease in the published volume of school reference books and children's books is chiefly accountable for the decline, the publication of trade books also rapidly declined over the years: titles published decreased from 2,215 in 1965 to 1,810 (81.7 per cent) in 1967.

According to statistics, the number of printed copies increased from 13,420,000 in 1965 to 18,260,000 (136.1 per cent) in 1966. This increase in the number of copies printed, however, is chiefly accounted for by the twofold increase of copies of children's books, which account for 59.0 per cent of titles published.

The number of printed copies of books on general subjects, on the contrary, decreased from 8,198,160 in 1965 by 707,590 to 7,490,570 in 1966. The number decreased further by 800,000 in 1967.

More serious than the decreases in the number of printed copies is the problem of the composition ratios of book
categories.

School reference books and children's books together made up 76 per cent of the total number of titles published in 1965 and 1967. Books dealing in specialized subjects comprised less than 30 per cent of the total.

School reference books made up 25.3 per cent of titles published in 1966. Literary books, books on social science and on religion accounted for 17.6 per cent, 13.1 per cent and 10.2 per cent respectively.

The ratios were revised to 23.5 per cent for literature, and 18.3 per cent for reference books in 1967. Books on social science and religion followed them in that order.

In other words, the ratio of school reference books declined markedly, while that of literature increased.

As for the number of copies printed, school reference books in 1966 made up 48.1 per cent of the total with about 3,600,000, followed by books on religion (11.5 per cent), literature (11.1 per cent) and books on social science (7.4 per cent).

In 1967, the volume of school reference books was reduced to half. However, this book category still headed others with a composition ratio of 37.5 per cent, followed by literature (15.7 per cent), religious books, and books on social sciences, in that order.

We see that demand for religious books registered a marked decrease over the years.

As shown in Table 4, 343 translated titles were published in 1967 (of which two were reference books) to make up 18 per cent of 1,810 titles of general books published in that year.

The translated titles are broken down as follows:

- Literature: 184 titles (60.4 per cent)
- Technology and science: 14 titles
Socials science 29 titles
Pure science 1 title

The active translation of foreign titles in a country where the introduction of books serves as a tool for dissemination of information on manpower and technical development is most desirable, but reflects, as the Korean Publishers' Association pointed out in its proposal for the establishment of a book bank and a book development council, the narrowness of the book market, the limited number of book reading population, and delays in the turnover of capital. These are factors which drive publishers to concentrate their efforts on the publication of books in limited categories.

These circumstances call for plans for development of books and active government support of the industry.

As of the end of 1967, the number of publishing houses registered with the government was 1,392 in Seoul and 120 in the provinces. Of these, 736 firms were affiliated with the Korean Publishers’ Association.

In the same year, the average number of titles published by a publishing house was only 1.2. The average number was no more than 2.5 even in the case of publishing houses affiliated with the Association.

The meager figures eloquently bear witness to the stagnation of the publishing business.

The number of translated titles increased by 64 in 1965–1966, but decreased by 51 in 1967. Books on social sciences, science and technology, and pure science showed slight increases.

The majority of publishing houses is still handicapped by the small scale of capital. Government measures for the fostering of the publishing industry are urgently called for.
Textbooks

Since July 1966, all State-designated textbooks for first and second semesters of 1967 of the primary school sixth graders were published after recompilation. The compilation of 49 textbooks for technical high schools to be used beginning in 1968 was completed.

The government in 1965 had authorized and approved 200 books in 90 categories for middle schools. It authorized and approved an additional 200 textbooks in 1966, accepting recommendations made by publishing circles for improvement of textbooks.

As for textbooks to be used by high schools beginning in the 1968 academic year, the government authorized and approved the publication of 418 titles in September 1967 from among lists submitted in June 1967.

A number of scholars and publishers in Korea confidently call for the transfer of the Education Ministry's textbook policy from government designation to government approval. Scholars and publishers have repeatedly lodged protests with the Education Ministry to have the ministry's textbook policy rectified. The forced implementation of such textbook policy has added to dissatisfaction among the scholars and publishers.

This is a major problem, and the problem remains a major object of serious controversy between the education authorities and the academic world.

It is expected that this problem will soon reach the point of explosion, since all textbooks used in vocational high schools were published under the government-designation system from 1968, whereas the textbooks used in ordinary high schools were published under the government-approval system from the same year.

The controversy grew all the more serious as the govern-
ment recently disclosed its plan to strengthen drastically vocational education in the ratio of 60 per cent to 40 per cent for humanities courses.

The following are the highlights of conflicting viewpoints between the two sides:

1) The government-designated textbooks can be provided at lower cost than the government-approved textbooks, because the government authorized textbooks are only one for each subject.

2) All kinds of textbooks, including even textbooks which ordinary publishers refrain from publishing because of lack of interest, can be published in disregard of interests in publishing them under the government-designated textbook policy.

3) Accordingly, government objectives in publishing textbooks can be attained if all textbooks are published under the government-designation system.

4) The burden on the part of students can be eased as the textbooks used in all vocational high schools can be published at lower cost by publishing all humanities and vocational textbooks under the government-designated system.

5) As to the contents of the textbooks, the quality will be improved when they are published under the government-designation system, and as for the contents of the textbooks used in vocational high schools, the specialities of vocational education can be fully met only by publishing them under the government-designation system.

6) Financially, the publication of textbooks under the government-approval system will cost much more than under the government-designation system, since one textbook can be published for a subject under the government-designation system, whereas ten kinds of textbooks may be published
for one subject under the government-approval system.

7) Under the Korean circumstances, the need of publishing textbooks under the government-designation system is very urgent.

8) Accordingly, the decision on whether to adopt the government-designation system or the government-approval system should be made in consideration of national education and the national economy.

Those who support the government-approval textbook policy say:

1) Textbooks should be of various kinds so that anyone can freely choose one.

2) The monopolistic publication of textbooks in which only a few textbook writers can participate should be rejected. The quality of textbooks can be improved only when a majority of textbook writers can participate in free competition.

3) The burden of students for textbooks is very slight compared with other educational charges, including those required for stationary, note-books, school uniform, etc. The cost gap between the government-designation and the government-approval systems should not be too much stressed, simply over the "specialities of vocational education."

4) Textbooks in low demand should be published on subsidies from the government or by other means. The burden on the part of students cannot be eased even though textbooks used in all vocational high schools be published under the government-designation system.

5) The arbitrary government-designation textbook policy without any legal grounds runs counter to the Constitution.

6) Accordingly, when we decide whether to adopt the
government-designation system or the government-approval system, we have to take into account the “Korean circumstances” in passing judgment on this problem.

7) The so-called “waste of national treasury” can be forestalled by advance order and advance distribution of textbooks.

8) Moreover, the monopolistic approval given to a purely private publishing organ which is not a government-run enterprise gives a tremendous benefit to the chosen firm, under the pretext of the protection of interests of students. In any case, the right to publish textbooks should be allowed to any capable private publishing enterprise.

9) The government’s textbook policy planners should not forget the grand premise that the publication of textbooks must be allowed to all publishers under a publication policy to strengthen the nation’s publication world.

Table 10 shows the kinds of application for publication of government-designation and government-approval textbooks, the total amount of supply, and the current total volume.

Magazine Publishing

The current world of magazines in Korea, it can be said, is a place of intense competition among almost the same kinds of magazines addressed to almost the same class and limited number of readers on the one hand, and of an outflow of worldly and popular magazines on the other.

The appearance of new magazines, backed by such organs as newspapers rich in financial resources and powerful in advertisement, has posed a grave threat to many magazine publishers who have thus far exerted every possible effort to develop the nation’s magazines with the spirit of pioneers.
The first magazine to appear in Korea was Sonyon (Boys), published by Choe Nam-Son in 1908. Ever since, numerous magazines have made appearances and disappearances without cessation under the pressure of the Japanese colonial rule, and in line with the ups and downs of political and economic conditions.

It is desirable that a classification of readers and magazines would be made to locate new readers and to save the magazine publishers from excessive competition among themselves.

The Korea Magazine Publishers' Association, an organization under the supervision of the Public Information Ministry, has recently succeeded in obtaining the same treatment allowed to newspapers by the government for the procurement of paper.

But it is feared that this might not succeed since, even before the first shipment of the paper made under the special tariff-free treatment accorded to newspapers arrived, discussions are reportedly underway among ministries concerned over the possible repeal of the special treatment.

Magazines registered with the Ministry of Public Information as of the end of June 1967 total 221, of which commercial magazines make up 185. Those newly registered with the Ministry in 1966 number 95, and those which had their registrations revoked in the same year amount to 94. This clearly indicates the convulsions which the magazine publishing world undergoes.

The total circulation of 209 monthly magazines is estimated at 2,130,000 copies, an increase by approximately 34 per cent over the 1,590,000 at the end of August 1966.
Publishing Circles

Book printing business, in particular, slumped in the latter half of 1966, due to inactivity in sales, revision of textbooks, and what not. Such printers as P’yonghwa-dang, Kwangmyong and Samhwa, on the other hand, imported and put into operation electronic color separators, and brought in various kinds of up-to-date automated printing and publishing machines, including two- and four-color offset printing machines.

Korea’s printing technique has now reached the international standard, and orders from the U.S. for bonded typesetting are increasing. For bonded typesetting for Japanese customers, a program which began in 1964, the Kukche Munhwa Kyoyok Co. was inaugurated in April 1967 with an annual capacity of 10,000 pages. The printed matter exported in 1966 amounted, for the first time, to some $550,000.

Efforts to increase exports through printing, however, began to face difficulties due to hot competition for orders, excessive expenditures for facilities of the same kinds, and training of newly-hired workers in foreign letters. Some printers have already averted their faces from foreign clients. Those still taking orders from foreigners also have problems of their own.

The difficulties facing Korean printers are applying pressure on Korean printing circles in many respects—the most outstanding being shortage of workload and rises in operating costs. Some express apprehensions on the grounds that Korean printing plants are being transformed into contractors or affiliated plants of foreign printers.

Book binding remains to be mechanized, and requires
pre-modern manual processes. Hence, the inducement of modern facilities is desired, but uncertainty of mass-production prevents Korean printers from readily undertaking the program.

It is open to question whether mass supply of cheap books is made possible by acquiring the ability to mass-produce, or whether large demand for books is prerequisite to mass-production.

In offset printing, the tendency toward expanding facilities of mass-production from single color to two to four colors is remarkably shown among printers, but in movable type printing, expansion of such facilities as rotary press for printing books, multi-color gravure printing machines, and automatic book-binders remains to be undertaken.

2. Trend of Book Supply

The Korean Publishers' Cooperative, as of the end of 1967, had a membership of 100 companies, 33 provincial suppliers, two provincial cooperative stores and 33 cooperative stores in Seoul. The amount of books supplied for the past five years is shown in Table 6.

Sales in general show a rising trend: Seoul recorded a rise to 30 per cent in 1967 from 23 per cent in 1966. The trend in the provinces, however, shows a gradual decrease.

The number of kinds of books handled by the Cooperative totaled 3,485 at the end of June 1967, of which 1967 editions numbered 360, 1966 editions 661, and 1965 editions 770. The remainder, 1,695, were published in 1964 or before. These books, numbering one to two thousand copies unsold four to five years after publication, indicate a facet of the business slump facing the Korean publishing world.
Book Stores

Book wholesalers were compelled to turn into retailers, and wholesalers now find little room to exist. According to statistics compiled by the Federation of Booksellers’ Cooperatives, the number of book stores throughout the country decreased to 2,000 in 1967 from 3,500 in 1966. This decrease testifies that the rise and fall of book selling business is not normal either. A majority of book sellers had to suspend business or find other business since 1966.

The retail margin has been reduced to 10 to 15 per cent, making it difficult even to compensate for operating expenses. Disorder in the market system may be called one of the major factors reducing book sellers to poverty.

To overcome the business slump, some printing houses introduced a monthly installment sales system under which salesmen call on clients with a variety of benefits. Some thrived under this system, but it was not long before they went bankrupt because of excessively hot competition. Printers not only suffered severe losses, but found an even worse situation: some printing houses on the verge of bankruptcy had to dump their books in stock.

Dumping book sellers are currently running printing businesses as well, and publishing low-quality books intended for dumping purposes only. These low-quality books and shortage of requirements have become a perilous factor which endangers the printing world.

Production Cost

Prices of paper for publishing books have soared more than twofold over those of the international market (see Table 7), and advertisement fees rose in 1967 by as much
as 25 per cent over the previous year. Hence, the production
cost is rising at a higher rate than ordinary commodity prices.

Fixing prices, however, would not keep pace with the
wholesale trends of ordinary commodity prices. Besides, dis-
counts have become a practice common to all book sellers,
and collection of sales takes long. The printing business thus
confronts a drastic fund shortage. The shortage is becoming
worse and worse because printers, unable to raise funds on
mortgage, have to rely on usurious loans (at an annual
interest rate up to 60 per cent), since they cannot get bank
loans (26 per cent annual interest).

Printing houses are thus hoarding their stock, estimated
to value 2 to 3 billion won, in their warehouses and book-
stores. The number of these books approximates twice or three
times their annual production.

Import and Export of Books

The IMG funds (about $400,000 per year), a program
started in 1963, terminated in March 1967, and the book
sellers had to rely solely on Korean foreign exchange. Ac-
cordingly, they can freely import foreign books, but find
the prices of such books on the domestic market rising because
of difficulties in D/A and credit import.

Japanese books imported for the one-year period from
June of 1965 amounted to $540,000, and those imported in
the following year totaled $645,000, an increase of $105,000.
Western books imported under IMG and KFX funds increased
from $327,000 to $418,000. Requirements for foreign maga-
zines under the UNESCO coupon system show a gradual
increase. The status of foreign books imported in 1967 is
shown in Table 8.

Export of books is in a really insignificant situation. Those
exported to Japan in 1967 amounted to $40,000, those supplied to European and American nations on order nearly $30,000, and those for international exchange supplied through libraries about $5,000.

The orders from European and American nations dealt mostly with materials for the study of Korea and the Orient. A majority of these orders, however, have not been met. Hence, it is desired that the government take steps to promote exportation, including reproduction of rare books and pioneering the overseas book market.

3. Trend of Book Reading Population

Library

Libraries throughout the country as of the end of March 1967 total 3,220, as shown in Table 9, and they have a total of 10,690,000 books. This shows an increase of 801 libraries and 2,090,000 books over those of the previous year.

Of the libraries, 57 are public libraries with some 820,000 books. Of these books, some 1,020,000 were read in 1967. This shows a decrease of some 290,000 books preserved and some 200,000 readers from those of the preceding year. An analysis indicates that the decreases were attributable to shortage of books preserved, and inadequacy of facilities and publicity.

University libraries number 117, and their books increased to some 4,380,000. The readers and books read, however, decreased by 630,000 and 310,000 respectively. Although the decreases are said to have been caused by the smaller number of days when the libraries were open, due to the closure of universities, efforts to attract readers remain insufficient.

School libraries take up nearly 90 per cent of the total number of libraries with 2,956, an increase by 772 in one
year. Books kept in these libraries number 4,680,000, an increase of some 1,780,000.

The number of special libraries increased by 18 in one year, and their books also increased by some 90,000. But the number of readers and books read showed a remarkable decrease.

*Village Library*

According to statistics released by the “Village Library” headquarters, a total of some 10,000 village libraries were established by the end of 1967, and are contributing to the enlightenment of farmers and fishermen. An annual plan, now under way by the headquarters, calls for establishment of libraries in a total of some 49,000 villages.

Book reading, however, has yet to become a common practice. Investment rates in schooling in Korea are high, and schools of all levels are well distributed throughout the country. The number of students is on the increase (see Table 5), and students occupy a major portion of the Korean reading population. Such popularization of education and economic growth are encouraging factors to the increase of reading people and requirements for books. Prevailing in Korea now is a tendency to set up a long-range book development plan and assist and foster publishing business by realigning administrative organizations related to publication.

4. *International Cultural Exchange*

Efforts for exchange of information and strengthening of friendly relations among nations through books are well manifested by Korea’s joining the International Publishers’ Association in April of 1957; by the sending of a four-man delegation to the general meeting of the IPA convened in
Copenhagen, Denmark; and by the dispatch of two representatives to the conference of standing member nations held in 1958 in Munich, West Germany. Korea has been represented in all conferences of the IPA since, and the Korean representative was elected vice chairman at the 16th general meeting.

In 1962, Mr. Chang Chun-Ha, publisher of Sasanggye magazine, inaugurated a fund called "Independence Cultural Award" with the prize money he received as winner of the Magsaysay Award.

Korea sent a two-man delegation to the meeting of publishing specialists in the Asian region held in Tokyo in May, 1966; and another two-man delegation, consisting of a government representative and Publishing Association representative, to the East Asia copyright seminar held in January 1967 in New Delhi, India, under the sponsorship of the International Association for Protection of Immaterial Assets. Korea also joined the Asian Area Book Reading Data Supply Center of UNESCO in June 1967 in an effort to further exchange of information with other nations.

Korea also participated in international book exhibitions: the World Children's Book Exhibit in 1954, Tokyo International Book Exhibits (six times), book exhibits held in the U.S. (four times), those held in Frankfurt, West Germany, and Hong Kong (twice each) and other exhibits large and small.

5. Campaign for Development of Publishing Industry

At the conference of Asian area publishing specialists held in Tokyo in May 1966, goals were set at increasing the annual per capita supply of educational books to 80 pages and that of other books to 80 pages by 1980. For the achievement of these goals, discussions were held on the ways of
possible and effective assistance in the acquisition of facilities and materials needed for the development of books, and establishing a book development plan organization in each nation.

The Korean Publishers' Association, accordingly, submitted recommendations to the President and related government agencies on measures studied, including the "Publications Development Plan Aimed at Contributing to the Fatherland's Modernization Tasks." A survey team led by Mr. Stanley Barnett, chief of International Operations of the Wolf Business Management Research Institute, made a factfinding trip to Korea on the status of book development plans in Korea in June 1966 at the request of AID.

A survey report made by the team cited the following as factors restricting the book market of Korea: 1) lack of professional and specialized technique in publishing; 2) correspondingly high prices of books; 3) shortage in the number of public libraries and collections of books; 4) high postage and freight charges for shipment of books and educational data; and 5) lack of ties with the international copyright agreement.

The report recommended the following as means of solving the pending problems confronting Korean publishing circles: 1) analysis of the current practice of supply of books and research for increased circulation by Korean publishing circles under the assistance of USOM and the Asia Foundation; 2) survey of pricing policy of paper manufacturing concerns in Korea; 3) promotion of merger of publishing firms; 4) campaign for increasing export of books; and 5) strengthening of ties with the international copyright and translation agreements.

When Mr. Malhotra, vice president of the Indian Pub-
lishing Association, visited Korea in October 1966 as a UNESCO delegate, Korean publishing circles briefed him on the status and difficulties facing them, and asked for international cooperation toward overcoming the difficulties.

Mr. Curtis Benjamin, president of the McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., who visited Korea in March, 1967 as a member of the U.S. private investment and trade promotion mission, held talks with Korean publishing businessmen, and Mr. Barnet revisited here for review of the realities of the Korean publishing circles.

Dr. McAffrey, managing director of the American Textbook Publishing Association and former advisor to the Tokyo conference, also visited Korea in July of the same year on a leg of his tour of Asia for observation of the book development situation at the request of AID. He made first-hand observation of the Korean publishing world and furnished valuable advice for the development of books in Korea.

The Korean Publishers' Association, meanwhile, requested the National Economy Research Institute of Kukmin University to conduct a survey on the status of sales by Korean publishing circles in October 1966, under financial assistance of the Asia Foundation.

A survey report by the institute emphasized the need of a healthy wholesale organization for the normalization of the book suppliers’ structure in Korea, and recommended the government promote a book development plan to meet international standards and study ways of protecting, fostering and supporting the publishing circles. The recommendations were made on the basis of an analysis of the supply and demand of books in Korea, marketing structure, and financial status.
The 20th regular meeting of the Korean Publishers' Association, held in November 1966, adopted the following recommendations to the government and related agencies, noting the need of establishing a new organization to take charge of publication administration, as provided under the Government Organization Law, and to carry out recommendations contained in the two survey reports:

1) Establishment of a Book Development Council to set up and promote development objectives on a national scale, such as establishment of a publication and book development plan, determination of the per capita reading volume, long-range estimate of per capita paper consumption, review of supply and demand plans for paper and prices of paper, study of the taxation system on publication and accounting for publications, arrangement of long-term low-interest loans, and expansion of book exports and overseas markets;

2) Establishment of a Book Bank to take charge of such duties as furnishing financial support needed for the promotion of a book development plan, providing scholars subsidies for publication and assistance in publishing, as well as promotion of the turnover of sales credit for books;

3) Reimbursement for books delivered for registration with the government.

In 1967, a series of round-table meetings was held among government officials concerned, publishers, and book store operators to seek measures to develop the publishing business and normalize the circulation of books. In July, the publishers submitted a petition to the government authorities, asking for effective measures to overcome difficulties in obtaining paper for books.

Recommendations were again submitted in November, as resolved at the 21st general meeting, on the establishment
of a Book Development Council and a Book Bank, as well as on lowering postal charges and rail freight charges on books.

No budgetary measure, however, was taken for establishment of the Book Bank in the government budget for 1968. The publishing business is still faced with a difficult situation because of financial shortages, increasing manufacturing costs, disrupted marketing structure, and decreasing demand for books on the domestic market.

Efforts should be made, therefore, to develop the publishing industry in Korea with cooperation rendered by various foreign agencies, including UNESCO.

Both domestic and foreign personages concerned in the publishing of books seem to have little understanding of these problems. It is desirable that they realize national development begins in the minds of men, and is hardly attainable without development of a book industry. This important task of establishing a publishing policy for setting a nation's mind in the right direction by means of books should not be ignored by leaders and policy-makers. It is now urgent to seek some new measures to promote government activities to find a solution to such problems.
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Books and School Reference Books</th>
<th>Others</th>
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<th>Remark</th>
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<td>—</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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(Source: Korean Publishers Association)
### Table 2

#### Kinds of Books Delivered for Censor and Circulation

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Kind</th>
<th>A) Books</th>
<th>A/D %</th>
<th>B) School Reference Book</th>
<th>B/D %</th>
<th>C) Others</th>
<th>C/D %</th>
<th>D) Total</th>
<th>D) %</th>
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<td></td>
<td>2,215</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
<td>972</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>6,062</td>
<td>65.5%</td>
<td>9,249</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,320</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
<td>784</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>5,901</td>
<td>65.5%</td>
<td>9,005</td>
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<td>(107.7)</td>
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<td>(80.7)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(97.3)</td>
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<td>(97.4)</td>
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<td>1,810</td>
<td>28.7%</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>4,148</td>
<td>65.2%</td>
<td>6,364</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(81.7)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(41.8)</td>
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<td>(68.8)</td>
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<th>E/H %</th>
<th>F) School Reference Book</th>
<th>F/H %</th>
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<td></td>
<td>3,890,970</td>
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(Source: Korean Publishers' Association)
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<td>Circulation</td>
<td>Printed Average</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>(4.9)</td>
<td>161,200</td>
<td>1,771</td>
<td>(2.4)</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's Books</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>(7.4)</td>
<td>232,800</td>
<td>1,712</td>
<td>(7.9)</td>
<td>36,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Reference Books</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>(18.4)</td>
<td>1,656,900</td>
<td>4,873</td>
<td>(18.0)</td>
<td>194,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,849</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td>4,243,960</td>
<td>2,295</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td>697,900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 4

**Statistics on Books Translated by Title and Language (1967)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>38.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>273</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KDC</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Science</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pure Science</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>60.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children’s Books</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Reference Books</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>273</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
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</table>

(Source: Korean Publishers’ Association)
Table 5

Number of Students and Number of Copies of Textbooks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textbooks</th>
<th>No. of Copies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Primary School)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Textbooks</td>
<td>50,192,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Secondary School)</td>
<td>2,451,523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Textbooks</td>
<td>67,541,493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sec.) Authorized/Approved Textbooks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60,185,286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>No. of Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>4,491,345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7th to 9th grade)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior High</td>
<td>751,341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10th to 12th grade)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior High</td>
<td>426,531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-Year Training School</td>
<td>7,623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior College</td>
<td>15,536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers' College (2 Years)</td>
<td>5,920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College (4 years)</td>
<td>105,643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5,803,939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Ministry of Education)
### Table 6  Books Supply Status of the Korean Publishers Cooperative (1963-1967)

| Date of Survey | Number of Books Surveyed | Total of Tagged Price per Kind | Average Price | Total of Wholesale Price | Average Wholesale Price per Kind | Wholesale Price Ratio (%)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>62 12 31</td>
<td>2,770</td>
<td>380,308</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>293,053</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>0.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63 12 31</td>
<td>3,203</td>
<td>524,667</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>419,335</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64 12 31</td>
<td>3,536</td>
<td>700,163</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>566,680</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>0.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 12 31</td>
<td>3,502</td>
<td>830,517</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>678,626</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66 12 31</td>
<td>3,625</td>
<td>991,764</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>810,962</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67 12 31</td>
<td>3,695</td>
<td>1,224,695</td>
<td>331.40</td>
<td>1,000,952</td>
<td>270.80</td>
<td>0.81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Amount</th>
<th>Sales</th>
<th>Total Increase (%)</th>
<th>Marketing Ratio (Seoul: Province)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>Provinces</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>70,351,636</td>
<td>18,949,342</td>
<td>51,402,294</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>71,440,513</td>
<td>22,382,168</td>
<td>49,058,345</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>75,538,458</td>
<td>25,865,303</td>
<td>49,673,155</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>80,232,778</td>
<td>27,871,229</td>
<td>52,361,549</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>90,836,618</td>
<td>34,282,022</td>
<td>56,554,596</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>103,070,404.85</td>
<td>44,536,501.90</td>
<td>58,533,902.95</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Korean Publishers' Cooperative)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>World Market Price</th>
<th>World Market Price converted into Won</th>
<th>Domestic Price</th>
<th>Price Margin</th>
<th>Ratio of Domestic Papers to Imported Papers (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U. S. A.</td>
<td>50 LBS</td>
<td></td>
<td>U. S. $3.77</td>
<td>W1,027.33</td>
<td>1,550</td>
<td>522.67</td>
<td>151.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of China</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
<td>U. S. $3.50</td>
<td>953.75</td>
<td>596.25</td>
<td>162.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>1,065.48</td>
<td>484.51</td>
<td>145.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Wood-free Paper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>World Market Price</th>
<th>World Market Price converted into Won</th>
<th>Domestic Price</th>
<th>Price Margin</th>
<th>Ratio of Domestic Papers to Imported Papers (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japanese High quality</td>
<td>70 LBS</td>
<td></td>
<td>U. S. $8.68</td>
<td>W2,365.30</td>
<td>3,100</td>
<td>735</td>
<td>131.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese Med. Quality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7.34</td>
<td>2,000.15</td>
<td>2,800</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>140.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese Low Quality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5.70</td>
<td>1,053.25</td>
<td>2,800</td>
<td>1,747</td>
<td>265.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) Art Paper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>World Market Price</th>
<th>World Market Price converted into Won</th>
<th>Domestic Price</th>
<th>Price Margin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>90 LBS</td>
<td></td>
<td>U. S. $18.66</td>
<td>W5,084.85</td>
<td>3,916</td>
<td>177.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18.75</td>
<td>4,718.75</td>
<td>4,282</td>
<td>190.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) Manila Board Paper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>World Market Price</th>
<th>World Market Price converted into Won</th>
<th>Domestic Price</th>
<th>Price Margin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>280 LBS</td>
<td></td>
<td>U. S. $25.03</td>
<td>W6,820.68</td>
<td>1,820</td>
<td>126.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>240</td>
<td></td>
<td>23.12</td>
<td>6,300.20</td>
<td>2,440</td>
<td>137.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>240</td>
<td></td>
<td>23.12</td>
<td>6,300.20</td>
<td>2,440</td>
<td>137.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>295</td>
<td></td>
<td>23.27</td>
<td>6,341.08</td>
<td>2,299</td>
<td>136.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>240</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8,640</td>
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</table>

(Source: Korean Publishers' Association)
### Export-Import Status of Books

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Cultural Science</th>
<th>Natural Science</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Titles</td>
<td>Copies</td>
<td>Amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>Ratio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>37,916</td>
<td>247,427</td>
<td>384.100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. S. A.</td>
<td>6,947</td>
<td>64,640</td>
<td>208.045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>3,806</td>
<td>9,990</td>
<td>27.691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Germany</td>
<td>1,025</td>
<td>6,812</td>
<td>550.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>8,362</td>
<td>17.397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of China</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>5,773</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>808</td>
<td>877.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>59.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Humanities</th>
<th>Natural Science</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Titles</td>
<td>Copies</td>
<td>Amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>Ratio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>1,957</td>
<td>12,007</td>
<td>17,741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. S. A.</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>4,412</td>
<td>7,311.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Germany</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>612.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>180</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>3,336</td>
<td>810.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Titles</th>
<th>Copies</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>2,385</td>
<td>20,335</td>
<td>30,475.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. S. A.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Germany</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>138.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>3,336</td>
<td>810.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>300.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Korean Publishers' Association)
Table 9  
Number of Libraries and Collection of Books

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kind of Libraries</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1965</th>
<th>1966</th>
<th>1967</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Number of Libraries</td>
<td>Collection of Books</td>
<td>Number of Libraries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Libraries</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(108.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Libraries</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(100.9)</td>
<td>(107.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Libraries</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>1,422</td>
<td>1,944,737</td>
<td>2,184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(153.6)</td>
<td>(207.9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Korean Publishers' Association)
School System and State Textbooks

(White areas show government-approval textbooks,
grey areas government-designated textbooks)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Graduate School</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical College</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College of Dentistry</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical College</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior College</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational College</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers' College</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational High School</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal High School</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(All subject textbooks compiled by the State)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational High School</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal 40%</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational 60%</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle School</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary School (Compulsory Education)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(All subject textbooks compiled by the State)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

open their eyes to the new age of electric machines. It was
a shocking and magical phenomenon when people heard
voices and sounds from the tiny machine.
RADIO AND TELEVISION IN KOREA

by Kim Kyu

The history of Korean radio and television broadcasting can be divided into four stages of development and change. The first period is the advent of radio under the Japanese colonialism (1927—1945); the second, post-World War II radio (1945—1954); the third, free competition broadcasting system (1954—1960); and the fourth and present period, the early age of television, from 1960 onward.

First period (1927-1945): Advent of Radio Broadcasting.

It was on February 16, 1927 that radio broadcasting in Korea was initiated. This was two years behind the first Japanese radio started in Tokyo, and seven years' difference from the first American radio station, Pittsburgh's KDKA, established in 1920.

The time was still full of stress and struggle under the Japanese colonial policy, and the aftermath of the 1919 March 1 Independence Movement vividly remained in the hearts of the Korean people. To calm and appease the hostile local sentiments and encourage cooperation with the Japanese rulers, they thought of setting up a radio station in Seoul as a part of the so-called "new cultural policy." Since the illiteracy rate was relatively high due to the continuing policy of discouraging the use of the Korean alphabet during the Yi dynasty, the idea of starting a radio system in Korea seemed very clever.

But the importation of radio sets made the common people open their eyes to the new age of electric machines. It was a shocking and magical phenomenon when the people heard voices and sounds from the tiny machine, though it was not
so clear and full of variety as we hear today.

The Japanese Governor-General provided the initial installation budget for the JODK radio station in Chung-Dong, Seoul. It was a 1-kw powered, medium-wave station equipped with two small studios. The operation budget was subsidized mostly by fees collected from the set owners. The air time was approximately ten hours a day, and the dual language system was adopted in the beginning. But when a direct program relay from the Japanese main station became possible from 1929, approximately 70 per cent of the total program time was filled by programs in Japanese.

However, this preponderance of Japanese language programming invited complaint and dissatisfaction among the Korean listeners, and from March 1930 the major portion of the evening programs, including prime time, was allocated to programs using the Korean language. The pressure to increase the programs in Korean remained high, and in 1934, 610 KC frequency was newly allocated for programs in Korean language only. The purpose of setting up this separate channel was mainly for the farmers, women and country folk who could not understand Japanese.

But great significance is found in the promulgation of the standard Korean language among the common people, and the cultivation of Korean arts, especially folk music, folk songs and folklore. The number of sets in use at the time was approximately 25,000.

The monitoring of the programs by the Japanese authorities was so strict that it was said there was one monitor for each announcer. The national network was gradually expanded, and by 1945 14 local stations were completed, covering nearly 80 per cent of the peninsula, and set owners had access to any of the programs, either in Korean or Japanese. During
World War II, almost all the programs were heavily influenced and dominated by the wartime mood; military songs, marches and war news comprised a major portion of the content. By 1944, the number of receivers reached 280,000.

Though the analysis of program content of the time indicates the heavy influence and effects of Japanese colonialism and imperialism, we should not neglect to recognize the opening of the Korean people's mind to the immensely wide new horizons of the outside world brought by this new medium called radio, and particularly the actual physical setup of the national network system represented noteworthy progress. Thus when we evaluate the impact of radio broadcasting in the early 20th century in this land, the political misuse of the medium under Japanese colonialism can be balanced with the socio-cultural significance, which can be considered highly successful in that, in the long run, the medium played a key role to bring the people to the threshold of modernization. However, unlike the newspaper medium, which was owned and operated mostly by Koreans, radio as a news and information medium naturally failed to promote the peoples' resistance against the Japanese occupation. This fact is closely related with the ownership and control of the media.


When the war was over, Koreans took over the control of the Chosun Bangsong Hyophoe, or Korean Broadcasting Corporation, from the Japanese management. But as the country was divided into two parts, south Korea could control only the eleven stations located south of the 38th parallel. All the programs were aired in Korean, and from August 1948 the Office of Public Information undertook management of its operation. The government owned and operated Korean
Broadcasting System was thus officially started. In October 1947, the International Telecommunications Union allocated HL to the Korean peninsula as the broadcasting call sign letters.

To look back on the program contents of the time, we can find a heavy emphasis on the need for education of a democratic people. Audience participation was actively encouraged for the mutual communication or feedback effect. Another program trend of the time was emphasis on children's programs and quiz programs. In this period, the ever-popular radio dramas were started. Many programs adapted dramatization form, and various kinds of experimentation were undertaken. People paid keen attention to the radio.

Clearly it was the heyday of KBS radio, until the war broke out on June 25th, 1950. The war shattered all the efforts and accomplishments to date. In the early phase of the combat a memorable event occurred when President Syngman Rhee made a special speech on the war in Taegon on the way to Pusan, three days after the war started, and it was relayed to the Seoul station. It was a time of confusion and chaos. To promote the war spirit and encourage the people in the communist-occupied territory, a Marine radio station operated along the east coast, and the Pusan station was a key station until the recapture of Seoul.

When the armistice agreement was signed on July 27, 1953, the main transmitters of KBS in Seoul resumed operation.

Third period (1954–1960): Free Competition

The granting of a license to HLKY Christian Broadcasting Station on December 15, 1954 brought a new era in Korean broadcasting history. It was the first non-governmental commercial radio, bringing an end to the government owned and operated monopolistic system of broadcasting in this country. Though CBS is a religious radio, it completed a network
system consisting of four local stations in major cities, and the key station in Seoul boosted its transmitting power from 5 kw to 10 kw in the same year. This was about the same time KBS emphasized its anti-communist broadcasts to the north, and overseas programs, with a particular emphasis on Japan. Japanese-Korean relations became a major concern of the people at the time.

In May 1956, the first television in Korea was tested. HLKZ-TV, financially affiliated with Radio Corporation of America, telecast two hours of daily programs for the estimated 1,000 television receiving sets in the Seoul area. This continued until February 1959, when the station burned down by accident. The initial effort of television broadcasting, though on a small scale, heralded a new era of mass media in Korea, and helped in accelerating the coming of the television age.

In 1959, a sort of laissez-faire mood was created in the field of Korean radio broadcasting when Moonwha Broadcasting Company, Korea’s first purely privately-owned commercial radio, and The Evangelical Alliance Mission radio station in Inchon started regular broadcasting. MBC pioneered commercial messages and formed listeners’ habits to dial to commercial radio from this period. It used open and unhidden hardsell methods when it first started, and people felt shock when they first heard the radio medium used to sell goods. Until then, radio was an altruistic medium owned by the government for the purpose of news service, enlightenment and official public relations. MBC has expanded its outlying network stations as the sole commercial radio in Korea, and enjoyed a powerful monopoly until other commercial stations, Donga and Tongyang, came out.

*Fourth Period* (1960—): Early Age of Television

As in other fields after the May 16 Revolution of 1961,
the new revolutionary government launched a vigorous modernized program of public relations activities in the broadcasting field. Setting up the new medium, television, seemed a most effective way to modernization in mass-communication, as studies and statistics suggested. It was late in 1961 when KBS-TV started its telecasting from Namsan Hill. Gradually it has increased air time as the number of receiving sets increased. To boost the television boom, the government imported a large number of television sets free of tax in its initial stage and distributed them on a monthly installment payment system. This policy helped temporarily speed up distribution of the sets, though it brought a slowing down of domestic manufacturing efforts. By 1962, approximately 30,000 TV sets were in use in Seoul and vicinity.

KBS-TV adopted a unique method in its operation. As it found an enormous need for financing its budget after one year of operational experience, the government granted KBS permission to carry commercial messages for advertising revenue, while also collecting subscription fees from the set owners. This created vast dissatisfaction and complaints on the part of the audience, especially when the strictly commercial TV, based on advertisement revenues only, Tongyang TV, started three years later. This situation continued until MBC Radio opened its own television station.

As in other countries, the trend was for newspaper publishing companies to own electronic media. This was true in Korea in the case of the newspapers Dong-A Ilbo and Joong-ang Ilbo. The former owned Dong-A Radio in 1963, and the latter merged Tongyang radio with its publishing company. The two complexes have proved themselves as the most powerful integrated mass-media, both in electronics and publishing.

It was late 1964 when KBS-TV encountered a full-fledged
competitor: The Joong-ang Mass-Communication Center with its daily paper, AM and FM radio stations, and television network. Consequently, the audience could choose between two stations, and this brought severe competition between the two, insuring faster progress both in management and programming. Though there were many shortcomings in technique and in production of programs, Korean television has kept up steady growth from the beginning. Some receiving sets are now produced domestically, though the bulk still depend on importation.

Advent of another TV network, MBC-TV, in August 1969 has brought over-saturation and over-competition in major cities. Since MBC has its network affiliate stations in provincial cities, it has to present something different from the existing KBS-TV and TBC-TV to attract the audience. But MBC-TV, owned and operated by the May 16 Scholarship Foundation Group, was a quasi-government type organization, and little difference was found in their programming.

There are approximately 250,000 TV sets in use in Korea today. Of them, one third are outside the Seoul area. Considering the advertising budget and set saturation, the three TV networks are too many to be self-sufficient. Besides, the four commercial radio stations have to face keen competition among themselves. This may bring down-grading of programming, lack of sound management, and an unhealthy atmosphere in the broadcasting industry as a whole.

What the Korean broadcasters lack most today is well-intentioned pressure groups. The government and the political parties may be pressure groups, but the general audience simply accepts passively what it is given by the stations. It becomes worse when the stations do not put any sincere effort into finding out what the audience needs and wants. There is not
a single publicly organized survey group in this field in Korea. Some schools carry on surveys or studies on programs or audience on an irregular basis, but it is doubtful how professional and practical these may be.

Just as paper circulation data is not accurately known, so the share of audience between broadcasting stations is not made public in Korea. This is a backward tendency in the development of mass media, and has to be improved. There must be active groups that exercise positive pressure upon the broadcasters, for what the people need, and what the community requires. Otherwise the broadcasters will seek profit only, and broadcasting will end up pure commercialism.

As we all know, broadcasting media, with their powerful impact and influence, particularly on uneducated people and children, have to be reminded of public service responsibility. This was why the TV channels and radio frequencies belong to the people, and why the qualifications of the broadcasters are carefully examined and constantly re-evaluated.

Lack of professionalism is also an important fault to be improved. Few broadcasters are qualified as to managerial staff, producers, directors, engineers, etc. Almost none of them has received formal basic training in schools, because there were no schools offering this kind of education when the first commercial TV and radio stations started in Korea. It was through apprenticeships or on-the-spot, irregular training experience that staffs acquired professional skills or technique. This may affect also their belief or basic philosophy about the media, which needs strong reinforcement. But fortunately, the general tendency shows that the intellectual and professional levels of the new recruits from colleges are rising every year, as the importance of the mass electronic media is recognized gradually.
Newton Minow's "vast wasteland" speech and Senator John Pastore's complaint about violence can be applied to many Korean TV programs. Radio programs here adopt a commercial expensive all-comprehensive type programming system. This emphasizes in reality violence-ridden action dramas, sexy and meaningless situation comedies, and low-class home dramas, which are still the highest-rated programs; and simple, monotonous popular songs which are heard all day long whenever you tune in.

The powerful Broadcasters' Ethics Committee is a self-regulatory group without having any enforcing rights. Foreign-made TV films are imported without considering the end result, purely for the sake of earning ratings. The school programs or children's programs are becoming less helpful, since they are inadequately produced and slotted in unpopular time segments. There is much room to improve program quality, both in TV and radio, and it should be done by the combined concern and efforts of both the broadcasters and the audiences.

As a news purveyor, the electronic media in Korea lack commentary or editorial outlook. Radio or TV editorials are hard to find, and the commentaries are unskilfully carried out and sometimes vague. This is partially due to the political or social atmosphere, but we must remember the fact that radio or TV is basically a community service medium, which can cultivate untouched areas in order to bring more active public attention. Still, the majority of broadcasters think radio and TV are primarily entertainment media; but this is a misconception or misunderstanding. They are an Aladdin's lamp that can create good or evil according to how they are used.

Like the newspaper, the Korean radio and TV find it
difficult to discard the habit of opposition or resistance inherited from the time of Japanese colonialism. Therefore they oppose or resist first, before they think or study in most cases. This attitude must be changed fundamentally.

Since the world has shrunk to a village-like community, as mentioned by Marshall Macluhan, people are constantly exposed to the happenings and events of the outside world. The full use of the television medium in our daily life has changed, in some aspects, the pattern of our everyday life, and the concepts we have cherished for a long time. The simultaneous carrying out of many space projects and the landing of human beings on the surface of the moon have brought to the people many incredible things, changing their way of thinking and acting. "Seeing is believing" can be rightly justified in the television medium.

Though both media, radio and television, may have many unwanted adverse effects on the audience if not used properly, the fundamental merit and potentialities of the media working for public interests, convenience and necessity are undeniable. The blame is not in the media themselves, but in the people who use them. The broadcasters have to remember the basic concept of the media, which is public service-oriented. The channels and frequencies belong to the public.

There are still many cases of misunderstanding or misuse of the media by Korean broadcasters, who exercise ultimate power of control in this business. This, in my opinion, is overt one-way communication, not reflecting the views of recipients through sheer lack of study and research.

The broadcasters have to find out ways and means of feeding back the audience’s response, and must constantly pay attention to the various social groups that may exercise pressure or influence over the station for better service.
Experimentation with new and fresh programs should be allowed the staff by the managerial group of the station, and sincere efforts for enhancing program quality should be properly rewarded.

When we look back on some local trends of programming, we find too many generalizations and popularizations. Too many domestic drama type programs are constantly on the air. This is also true in the case of cheap comedies, action dramas, and popular music programs. Good broadcasters should be courageous and audacious to find their own path and keep going on it.

As for the advertising field, over-commercialism, exaggeration, hard-selling, loud and abusive tactics against competing products, and misplacement of commercial messages (such as placing of two competing products in consecutive sequence) are easy to find.

Graver professional conscience and more rigid self-regulatory activities will eliminate these kinds of malpractice, which bring more harm than good to the public, considering the powerful impact and influence of electronic mass media, which no other form of human communication ever devised can match.
Though both media, radio and television, are by nature unique, the difference is not always easily discernible. The relationship between them is complex, and it is important to understand how the two media interact and influence each other. In a society where communication is a cornerstone of the media, which is public service-oriented, technical channels and frequencies belong to the public.

There are still many cases of misunderstanding or misuse of the media by certain broadcasters, who exercise undue power over control in this business. This, in my opinion, is one way communication, not reflecting the views of the people, through lack of study and research.

The broadcasters have to find new ways and means of reaching back the audience's, experts, and must constantly pay attention to the various social groups that may exercise pressure or influence over the station for better service.
THE CINEMA IN KOREA
A Robust Invalid

by James Wade

(The author wishes to express his gratitude to the following persons for assistance in research on which this article is based: Paik Seung-gil, Associate Editor, UNESCO Korea Journal; Yang Jong-hae, documentary film producer for the Ministry of Culture and Information, Republic of Korea; Bae Sok-in, independent writer-director of features and documentaries; and Yu Hyon-mok, independent director. None of these, however, is responsible for matters of opinion or interpretations expressed below, though all have contributed personal insights as well as factual data, enabling the writer to formulate at least tentative judgements in areas not hitherto explored in an international publication.)

I. HISTORY AND BACKGROUND

A reviewer at the 1968 Cork (Ireland) Film Festival, approaching a South Korean\(^1\) motion picture entry with obvious trepidation, seemed rather relieved to be able to report that "it could be classified as a pleasant surprise inasmuch as it reaches a technical standard comparable to a Japanese B production, and that's a compliment. Also, it proved never dull, another compliment."\(^2\)

1. For obvious reasons, this essay can deal only with cinema in the Republic of Korea (South Korea), omitting any consideration of the Communist northern zone (People's Democratic Republic of Korea), terra incognita for any American, except unlucky, unwilling guests such as the crew of the U.S. intelligence ship Pueblo.

Whether or not the Koreans, with their long-standing dislike and jealousy of the Japanese, would consider this verdict flattering, it is probably a fair general evaluation of the current state of Korean cinema, and reflects—no doubt unintentionally—the close connection between the film histories of the two neighboring countries.

In all probability, the first showing of a motion picture in Korea occurred in 1904, during the period when Japan was maneuvering to establish a protectorate over the weak, backward "Hermit Kingdom." Thus it is not surprising that this film is said to have been a primitive newsreel documenting the victory of the Japanese navy over the Russian fleet in the Sea of Japan, just off the Korean coast, during the brief Russo-Japanese War of that year. The sequence was in all likelihood shown privately to high-ranking Korean officials in an effort to convince them of Japan's invincibility, and therefore of the inevitability of the protectorate treaty.

About the same time (some say a year earlier), the first movie designed for the general public was introduced: a brief advertisement intended to promote an electric streetcar line just completed in Seoul by an American firm. This innovation had earned the disapproval of conservative Koreans, and the film sequence was evidently intended to help popularize the novel means of transport.

Imported Western-made films began to be shown in theater engagements during the following decades. Early hits with Korean audiences are remembered as "King of Kings," "Broken Blossoms," "Way Down East," Fritz Lang's Siegfried films, and Douglas Fairbanks as Robin Hood.

It is generally agreed that the first feature motion picture

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3. This was accomplished in 1905, with full annexation coming in 1910 and lasting until the end of World War II in 1945.
made in Korea was “Chun Hyang” (“Spring Fragrance”)(1921) an old legend of true love, long-suffering virtue, political corruption, and the ultimate triumph of Confucian principles. (This story, the most popular folk tale of the Korean people, has appeared in virtually every conceivable artistic form, and has been filmed a total of seven times; its importance is such that we will return to a detailed consideration of it later, in an examination of themes in Korean cinema.)

An important and unique innovation of this era was the employment in movie houses of a live story-teller called a pyonsa, who explained the plot to the audience as the picture unreeled, and supplied dialogue for all the parts. The origins of this practice may perhaps be traced to the strolling player who from time immemorial had chanted long traditional ballad cycles called pansori, the principal theatrical diversion of the common people.

The pyonsa not only obviated the need for expensive subtitling, and translation of subtitles of foreign films; he was also able to inject into local films an element of political satire and protest against Japanese domination, which became outright oppression after the annexation in 1910. Thus the 1928 film “Arirang” (titled after a Korean folk song that, similarly, had no political overtones, but which nevertheless became a resistance symbol), made by the first great Korean actor-director, Na Un-gyu, is considered patriotic and anti-

4. Some claim that “Wol Ha Eui Maeng” (“Oath Under the Moon”) came first, and assign “Chun Hyang” to 1922.
5. Including oral ballad cycle, drama, traditional opera, three Western-style grand operas (one by a Japanese composer), several comic parodies, and two Broadway-style musicals (one by an American Jesuit).
6. Na died prematurely of tuberculosis in 1937, and in true Hollywood fashion was recently honored with a biographical film on his life, also called “Arirang” (1966).
Japanese, although this must certainly have resided more in
the pyonsa's explanations than in the film's visual elements,
which the Japanese could censor, though they could scarcely
control what the pyonsa might say in Korean, a language
few Japanese ever learned to speak well. 7

With the advent of sound films in 1928, the pyonsa of
course began to disappear, 8 and Japanese movies—especially
the early "samurai epics"—started to take over the Korean
market, in part due to the Japanese government's policy to
propagandize Korea with its new belligerence, which soon led
to the 1937 "Manchuria incident" and the subsequent invasion
of China by way of Korea.

Nevertheless, Korean producers did make a few sound
films before the war, the first being the inevitable "Chun
Hyang" in 1935. From 1938 until the end of the Pacific
War in 1945, cinema activities were exclusively in the hands
of the Japanese, and directed entirely toward crude propa-
ganda ends.

With Liberation came political chaos and the tragedy of
national division, the north being occupied by Soviet forces
which set up a Communist dictatorship, and the south by
the American army, which—lacking any practical policy
directives from Washington—was never sure exactly what it
was supposed to do, surrounded as it was by contentious
local political factions that mushroomed after long suppression.

Despite the political and economic disruption, lasting until
the establishment of the Republic of Korea government late-

7. No prints of any pre-1945 Korean films survive, so any evaluation or
description of them is entirely guesswork.
8. The usage may in a sense be said to survive in the present practice of
professional "voice actors" dubbing sound tracks instead of the stars who
appear on the screen.
in 1948, about 20 feature films (mostly silent, in 16 mm., though including a few 35 mm. entries) appeared in the five-year period before the Korean War. Almost all of these are recalled as being extremely inept, due to lack of equipment, experience, and financing. Only one, titled "Chayu Mansel!" ("Hurrah for Freedom!") (1946), made a strong impression and started a cycle of nationalistic anti-Japanese films which—understandably in the circumstances—broke all box-office records, but which will be ignored here as being of negligible importance to the overall view of Korean cinema.

The Korean War (1950–1953) shattered the fledgling industry. Even the obsolete equipment and facilities previously available were lost or destroyed as large parts of the peninsula were fought over not once but in some cases three or four times. The movie industry was reborn only after the war, when the U.S. foreign aid program and several private foundations, realizing the importance of films as an educational and socially cohesive factor, brought in new equipment and set up a modern studio complete with sound stage.

These facilities were under ROK government control, but available on rental to qualified private producers. For its part, the government began producing newsreels for local consumption and documentary shorts for overseas publicity. Many fine cultural films have been made, an outstanding example of which is the film on Korean Buddhism called "Nirvana," produced by Yang Jong-hae, which won the prize as top documentary in the 1965 Asian Film Festival.

Soon after the government studio opened, a private movie center was also set up in Anyang, just south of Seoul. (It should be remarked here, perhaps, that by 1968 directors were again complaining of the obsolescence of equipment,
especially the cameras, probably caused by overuse, carelessness, poor maintenance, and lack of spare parts and skilled repairmen.

As a final catalyst precipitating the revival of the postwar Korean film industry, the government, also in 1955, removed the heavy entertainment tax from movie tickets, for the first time making it possible for a successful film to be reasonably profitable to its makers.

The first smash hit in the Renaissance of Korean cinema was, predictably enough, "Chun Hyang" (1955), directed by Lee Kyu-hwan, which was seen by 90,000 people during its 21-day first-run showing in Seoul. Composed in simple, graceful shots, with sharply contrasted black and white photography, well acted, artfully paced and cut, this version (in the opinion of the present writer) is the best of all postwar filmings of the celebrated story, and the first surviving Korean screen classic. Others may prefer the later color adaptations, but these seem to get slower and more elephantine all the time. Brevity, dictated by scarcity of film stock, may have helped make the 1955 version memorable!

The next year came a very different and even more popular hit, "Chayu Puin" ("Free Wife"), the story of a college professor's wife who flouts convention by having an extramarital love affair. That this Korean equivalent of "A Doll's House" had such an immense success indicates that the rigid Confucian moral order was in process of change; but no systematic research has so far been undertaken to determine accurately the role of films in initiating or crystallizing such changes. It may be noted, however, that a group of college professors protested the showing of this film, on the grounds of general danger to public morals and specific defamation of their profession. This pattern of attempted suppression
was to appear persistently at a later date.

In 1958, the first locally-processed feature film in color was completed. It is probably superfluous to mention that it was "Chun Hyang" again. The initial full-length animated color cartoon, "Hong Kil-dong", a folk tale Disneyfied for children, came in 1967.

At the time of the revival of Korean sound films in 1955, nearly all movies used music tracks taken from pirated imported phonograph records, since Korea is not a member of the international copyright convention. Korea soon began to dispense with this practice, however, unlike other non-copyright areas such as Taiwan. By the 1960's, most features boasted original sound tracks by leading composers such as Kim Dong-jin and Jeong Yoon-joo. The generally excellent scores are still handicapped by the use of underramed, under-rehearsed pick-up orchestras and slipshod recording techniques.

In the field of foreign film imports, the government has established an import quota to protect domestic producers. Through a rather complicated system, the minimum quota for imports is allocated among Korean producers on the basis of their own yearly numerical production levels, to which may be added various bonuses for producers whose products have been shown abroad, entered competitions, or won festival prizes. In the early 1960's, imported films approximately

9. Two more Cinemascope and color remakes of this durable classic had appeared by the mid-1960's, as well as a wild black and white spoof, in which the traditionally-garbed characters rode in convertibles, drank Scotch, and danced to a juke box.

10. In the 1966 Asian Film Festival held in Seoul, the jury awarded the Peet Music award to the "composer" credited with the score of the Taiwan entry "Orchid," oblivious of the fact that the music had been pieced together from recordings of Rachmaninoff, Wagner, Saint-Saens, etc.
equalled domestic production; but foreign film imports have steadily declined since then (see Tables I and II).

Judging by recent imported hits, Korean audiences favor French and Italian love stories (though these are heavily cut in nude and erotic scenes), lurid documentaries of the "Mondo" series type, the Italian-made "macaroni" cowboy movies, and U.S. musical, crime, and Western dramas, approximately in that order. "Cleopatra" had a successful run, and the Disney True Life Adventures keep coming back over and over, with good audience response.

Due to the cautious government attitude in regard to recently (1966) re-established diplomatic relations with Japan, no commercial features from the neighboring country have been shown in Korea since 1945. The exceptions to this comprise entries, shown before invited audiences only, to the Asian Film Festivals held in Seoul in 1962 and 1966. To these, it is generally agreed, Japan sends "second-string" entries, both to avoid taking the lion's share of the prizes due to her technically more sophisticated productions, and also to save her best films for more prestigious festivals.\(^1\)

II. THEMES AND IMPACT

The Korean film, apparently from its earliest examples

\(^{11}\). But the exception in turn to this occurred in the 1962 festival, when Japan sent the brilliantly photographed "Uco Muite Aruko" ("Keep Your Chin Up"), inventively directed by Toshio Masuda—an upbeat forerunner, in a sense, of "West Side Story" (which in its film version had then yet to appear). This fine movie launched the meteoric Occidental career of Japanese singer Kyu Sakamoto, whose performance of the film's catchy theme song in Japanese later made a hit in U.S. record markets under the meaningless title "Sukiyaki." Festival audiences in Seoul heard it first! (The present writer has always wondered why the Japanese did not dub and export this exhilarating, if rather simplistically sentimental, film.)
over 40 years ago, has reflected the special qualities of the Korean people, sometimes known as "the Irish of the Orient," and the characteristics of their ancient theater arts: earthiness, irony, volatility, violence, nostalgia, and sentiment. Not that other peoples have failed to express their nature accurately in film and drama; but the modern Korean actor or director—deeply instinctive, extrovert, and unburdened by traditions of stylization or restraint—throws himself into film making with an uninhibited physical and temperamental involvement that evokes instant empathy in any audience.

The risk, in other words, is not that a Korean film will be dull or static, but that it may be flamboyantly melodramatic—to the point of caricature, so far as a Western audience is concerned. The best directors have avoided such excesses, and even approached New Wave boredom, whether deliberately or not; but the tendency remains marked in most films.

Every Korean movie, for instance, is equipped with at least one lengthy and harrowing scene of the heroine weeping. (Sometimes men will be drawn into such a scene in subordinate roles like that of the premier danseur; but, as in the case of ballet, it is essentially a virtuoso female performance.)

Sophisticated or Westernized Koreans (the terms tend to be synonymous, at least when used by foreigners) deplore these crying jags, but the producers insist they must use such devices to guarantee popular success—and not only in rural areas.

There are also signs of a rather morbid dwelling upon wounds, torture, bloodshed and mortal illness in many movies.

Both these tendencies, of course, can be seen—and in more extreme form, occasionally—in both Japanese and over-
seas Chinese films; and may have had their cinematic origin in these, so far as Korea is concerned. Also, parallel or overlapping common factors in the legends and traditions of all three countries suggest much earlier mutual influences, which have been documented exhaustively by scholars.

To glimpse the special Korean twist to these and other themes, let us examine the perennial favorite "Chun Hyang," an 18th century story filmed seven times already, and still going strong.

The son of a provincial magistrate, Yi Do-ryong, meets Song Chun-hyang, lovely young daughter of a former kisaeng (geisha) and thus socially unacceptable as the wife for a scholar-aristocrat. Nevertheless, they fall in love and marry secretly (upward social mobility is an important theme 12). But Do-ryong's father is transferred to the capital, and Do-ryong must go too, in order to take the annual Confucian academy examinations that lead to political preferment.

The new magistrate, Pyun Sat-do, is a villain who squeezes the poor farmers and commandeers the fairest girls of the district to glut his sensuality. Hearing of the beauty of Chun-hyang, he sends for her, but she refuses to become his mistress, saying that she is already married. Pyun has her beaten and thrown into prison, threatening to execute her as part of the entertainment at his impending birthday banquet unless she accedes to his demands (political oppression and injustice are recurring themes in both Korean literature and cinema).

Do-ryong returns in rags as a beggar, stating that he has failed his examinations and been disowned by his father. He visits Chun-hyang in jail, and she has her obligatory weeping

scene as the doomed wife faithful to death (marital fidelity is a much-valued traditional virtue in Korea—but only for wives).

However, Do-ryong has lied: having passed his examination with highest marks, he is now a secret emissary of the king, travelling in disguise to seek out and redress injustices. Thus at Pyun’s birthday party Do-ryong interrupts and denounces the magistrate as an enemy of the people—in an elegant, allusive Chinese poem that proves he is no illiterate beggar. Royal troops hidden nearby break in and the villain is led away to punishment, while Chun-hyang, rescued on the very brink of execution, is reunited with her husband for a future of bliss. (The theme of reform within the established system is an obvious corollary of Confucian thinking.)

That the hero let his wife believe until the last moment that she was about to be executed seems wantonly cruel, since he could have told her the truth, or at least held out some hope to her, during their clandestine meeting in the prison the night before. This suggests, when viewed with other similar cliff-hangers, that one major theme of Korean cinema is, “Women must suffer—that’s what they’re for.” (Indeed, in one old version of the story, the heroine dies immediately after her rescue, of tortures received in prison.)

Traces of this theme in more up-to-date garb may be found in the fine comedy-drama “Sarang Bang Sonnim Kwa Omoni” (“Mother and the Roomer”), directed by Shin Sang-ok, which won a top prize in the 1962 Asian Film Festival. The story takes place in the early modern period, and is seen largely through the uncomprehending eyes of a child. A young widow rents her spare room to a handsome bachelor in order to make extra money. They fall in love,
but the old-fashioned mores of the community frown on remarriage of a widow. They decide to part, rather than risk social ostracism and persecution of the woman’s young daughter. This plot permits plenty of latitude for grief as well as comedy, as the little girl fails to understand the situation. It also provides a virtuoso part for the Cute Kid stereotype, of which Koreans are quite fond.

Suffering is again the theme in “Ji-ok Mun” (“Gate of Hell”; not to be confused with the Japanese film of the same title), directed by Lee Yong-min in 1962. A tyrant king during one of the ancient dynasties practices unheard-of cruelties, such as the graphic drowning of an enemy and his young son in an immense palace cesspool (Korean cruelty as well as humor tends toward the excremental). Finally the king and his evil cohorts die and go to the Buddhist hell, where they are visited by a monk who left the court and entered a monastery after being sickened by the abuses of the tyrant. The monk is traversing hell to bring absolution and salvation to the spirit of his dead mother, who had been one of the wicked courtiers.

The most effective scenes are those showing the tortures of the damned, done with excellent special effects, in color. Thus the film is an equivalent of the average Hollywood “Biblical spectacular,” where a casual cloak of piety covers the real purpose: depiction of violence and depravity.

Following up the excremental humor theme for a moment, there is one memorable sequence in the first Korean science-fiction film, “Wang-magui” or “King-Size Monster” (1967). When the giant ape from outer space begins to tear down the scale model of Seoul in the accepted international ritual, a street urchin leaps from a collapsing building and lands atop the monster’s head. He crawls into one ear, travels
through the Eustachian tube (apparently) into the nasal passages, and peers rogously out one immense nostril as the ape continues to destroy the city. Suddenly the monster halts, roars, and begins to slap madly at his head: the scene shifts to a fleeting shot of the boy urinating against the wall of its nasal passage!  

Korean films, like those of other nations, tend to go in cycles. The earliest period, 1921-1938, seems to have comprised "modern problem" stories and a few old legends, with anti-Japanese elements suggested in the former as much as possible. After the immediate postwar orgy of anti-Japanism, the industry groped a long time before a new trend appeared: juvenile rebellion and glamorized gangsterism, in a cycle starting in the late 1950's. Most native observers agree that these films had a demonstrable—and unhealthy—effect on the speech, dress, and thinking patterns of Korean youth, producing a tough-guy or would-be delinquent image as the social ideal. (The James Dean and motorcycle gang movies from the U.S. about this time may have had appreciable influence too.)

The number of actual war films has been surprisingly small, due to a combination of reasons. Staging modern battle scenes is prohibitively expensive, and depicting Communist characters is politically touchy, as several film-makers have learned to their regret. Even the Vietnam War, in which Koreans are genuinely proud of their participation, has inspired few films.

The most successful military film was Shin Productions'  

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13. The picture was a commercial flop: apparently the Koreans are not as fond of the cinematic spectacle of their cities being destroyed as the Japanese—perhaps harboring a guilt complex—seem to be, judging by Godzilla and his many quaint successors.
"Ppalgan Mafula" ("Red Scarf") (1964), about the jet fighters of the ROK Air Force. The government assisted this production by providing the expensive aerial camera work and various stock footage.

Historical epics such as "Yonsan Kun" ("Prince Yonsan") (1961), directed by Shin Sang-ok, who might with some justice be called the De Mille of Korea, had a vogue in the early 1960's, followed by rather "arty" adaptations of modern literary pieces, such as "Manch'u" ("Late Autumn") (1967). These stressed melancholy moods, nostalgia, and doomed love, with misty atmospheric scenic effects and restrained, naturalistic acting.

Starting in 1966 there was even a brief fad for quasi-travelogues, led off by the Cinemascope and color feature "Paltogangsan" ("Sights of the Eight Provinces"; dubbed in English as "Six Daughters"). This film has an interesting origin: the government wished to produce an upbeat documentary stressing economic and social gains made under its aegis, as part of the buildup to the 1967 national elections. Bae Sok-in, a director of official documentaries, was assigned to the task, and top stars recruited. The finest facilities and equipment were made available, together with an unusually generous budget.

Realizing that the propaganda would have to be adroitly sugar-coated to be successful, Bae wrote a clever script in which a comic old couple sets out on a tour around Korea to visit six married daughters. Each episode includes an entertaining human vignette, a glimpse of regional development, and a scenic-musical travelogue, well integrated into the plot. Korea's most popular stars participated, headed by Kim Hee-kap, who has been playing foxy-grandpa roles so long that it is difficult to realize he is only in his mid-40's.
This film is an obvious example of the social-mobility theme: Bae even cannily included one sequence of a family living in poverty and privation, all the while saving to invest in a fishing boat that would eventually boost them from rags to relative riches.

The picture was a smash box-office success, and the incumbent party won re-election, whatever the connection between the two facts may have been. But every Korean movie fad seems to burn itself out at meteoric speed, as director Bae found when he quit his government job to make further independent feature-documentaries that were only moderately successful.

The most tenacious type of Korean film, always popular when well done, is the family comedy-drama, sometimes based on well-known radio soap operas or newspaper serial stories. This genre is popular with foreign viewers, too, since the films usually have variety and pace, which many Koreans movies lack.

The typical plot will involve the vicissitudes of a big family of three generations living in the same house (the sly, silly, bibulous, witty old grandfather is always Kim Hee-kap): parental problems, job troubles, in-law troubles (including the marrying off of a son or brother of the head of the house), and especially the generation gap, stressing all the imaginable scrapes newly-emancipated Korean youth might possibly get into.

The actors are lively and attractive, the tempo frenetic, the pantomime diverting, and nothing is taken too seriously, unless it is the Weeping Scene. The family is always of the upper-middle or lower-upper income group, underlining audience aspirations for self-improvement (somebody is always getting ready to go to the States), as well as general disap-
proval of the very rich, who appear in these films as loud-mouthed, vulgar bosses or *nouveau riche* snobs.

III. TWIN BURDENS: Financing and Censorship

Korean movies today are dominated by a rigidly stratified star system. The top dozen or so players, incredible as it may seem, sometimes act in as many as 20 to 30 different films shooting simultaneously. The competition for their services is so keen that they can command salaries of as much as $2,000 per picture, making them among the highest-paid of all Koreans, as revealed by income tax statistics. 14

The reasons for this fantastic situation, and the cause of many long-standing deficiencies in Korean cinema, lie in the method of financing films, one of two major drawbacks the industry has yet to conquer.

Bank loans, source of most business and industrial funds in Korea, are not in general available for film financing, which is considered a risky and precarious investment. Money to make movies usually comes from the theater owners themselves, the only group with a vested interest in seeing to it that films are made at all.

The theater owners naturally have strong ideas about what succeeds at the box office, with perhaps more justification in experience than the famous “New York bankers” who tend to get all the blame for Hollywood’s alleged mediocrity. The independent producer must sell the idea for a new film to a major theater owner in order to secure a

14. The question of whether Korean movie stars have strong influence over their public is moot; but that international stars have strong influence on Korean stars is indicated by the fact that, at the height of the Elizabeth Taylor-Richard Burton affair, the Korean screen idols Kim Ji-mi and Choi Moo-ryong offered their own version, which got them temporarily jailed for adultery in rather puritanical Korea. (See *Time*, Nov. 16, 1962, p. 31.)
loan, and the latter will be interested only if the services of big-name stars can be assured; and will also feel free to insist on changes in the scenario and screen play.

If the completed picture has a two-week first run, with an audience of from 50,000 to 60,000, it is considered a success. Profits are divided between producer and exhibitor on a 65%-35% or 70%-30% basis. After paying back the loan, the producer is free to contract for second-run and provincial showings. If the first run was not successful, his profits from these later engagements must go to pay off the debt, and he often winds up in the red. (See Table III)

Under these circumstances, as one movieman put it, the producer is a salesman first, impresario second, and an artist last, if at all. Only a few quality productions are undertaken each year, mostly for entry in overseas competitions. The producers and even the public tire of the same faces of established actors, but the conservatism of the financiers inhibits giving new talent a break.15

An average production (1968) costs between 10,000,000 and 20,000,000 won ($37,000 to $74,000 by 1968 exchange rates). Only 5% to 10% of this is paid as salary to director and technicians. Most of the rest goes for the actors, film stock, lab work, and editing, leaving a bare minimum for sets, costumes, and other niceties.

In such a situation, it is not surprising that every attempt must be made to conserve expensive imported film stock. Ratio of footage shot to that used is 2 to 1 on the average, never more than 6 to 1. In some cases, only 15,000 feet are

15. Dominance of the established star system, and shakiness of financing, are suggested by the saying in Korean movie circles: “For location shooting, actors travel in their own cars, the director in a taxi, and the producer by bus.”
shot to produce a 9,000-foot final print.

These figures refer to black and white shooting. In recent years, the popularity of color movies has elicited pressures from exhibitors for more of these, sharply increasing the risks of the already overburdened producers.

### TABLE I

**Number of Korean Feature Films Produced 1955—1968**

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### TABLE II

**Source and Number of Foreign Feature Films Imported by Korea 1960—1968**

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<th>Year</th>
<th>U. S.</th>
<th>British</th>
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<th>W. German</th>
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Sources: 1960—1966: Motion Picture Producers Association of Korea; 1967—1968: Ministry of Culture and Information.
TABLE III

<table>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Theaters</th>
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<td>1966</td>
<td>534</td>
<td>156,336,340</td>
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</table>

Source: Korea Cinema 1967, published by Motion Picture Producers Assn. of Korea

If the caution of theater owners constitutes a de facto censorship over Korean motion pictures, the outright censorship of the government, as exercised by the Ministry of Culture and Information, is at least equally discouraging to serious film makers.

In response to the government's continued claim of "clear and present danger" as justification for all types of censorship (sincerely believed by some knowledgable Koreans), the movie makers as a whole contend that self-censorship within the industry would suffice.

"We film people have common sense," one well-known director told this writer. "If there were no censorship, there would be little tendency toward extremes. We too went through the Korean War, and we know more than enough about Communist cruelties to be able to show Communism as it really is, without needless exaggeration or childish distortion.

"There should be a committee of about 20 independent civic leaders set up to police the industry. At present, there is a so-called advisory council to the government on films, but in actual fact the decisions are made entirely by three government officials, who have no set standards, no experience in films, and no competence in artistic matters."
Despite nearly half a century of extreme vicissitudes, and the chronic continued crises in which it presently exists, the cinema in Korea has proved to be a robust invalid indeed. As an industry it has survived and expanded; and as an art form, it has helped enlighten, encourage, and entertain its public, holding a mirror—however flawed—to the face of a society in rapid, pandemonic transition, and preserving a kaleidoscopic record of social change and historical upheaval.

Its future, if one may hazard a guess, looks just as perilous, exciting, and unpredictable as its hectic past and present.
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

JAMES WADE, journalist, critic, composer and editor of this issue, has lived in Korea for ten years, and has taken a special interest in the mass media here. He is author of two books and over a thousand articles and stories, mostly related to Korea or Asia in general.

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Despite nearly half a century of extreme vicissitudes, and the chronic uncertainty that may exist, the return of Korea has proved to be a robust, an invalid indeed. Antibiotics, chemotherapy, immunosuppressant therapy, and surgical intervention have led to spectacular improvements in the survival and quality of life of patients, but the task of restoring patients with burned and injured tissues remains challenging. The achievements of the plastic surgeons in South Korea are renowned for their skill and dedication to their craft. In the upcoming year, South Korea is expected to continue its leadership in the medical and surgical field, with advancements in tissue engineering and regenerative medicine set to redefine the limits of what can be achieved in the realm of reconstructive surgery.
Maggie Barrett
(1895—1968)

The Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society numbers one of the widest circles of the friends of Mrs. Margaret Barrett, biographic officer in the American Embassy, Seoul, 1958—62 and long a Council member of the Society. All who knew her will be saddened to hear of her death in Mexico City on February 28, 1968.

She had moved to her house in Miami after her return from Korea and subsequent retirement from the State Department, and lived behind her gorgeous Bougainvillea vine as quietly as she was capable of doing, visiting and receiving visits from her daughter, son-in-law and four grandchildren. In the summer of 1967 she suddenly became ill, and entered months of constant pain.

Her daughter and son-in-law prevailed on her to live with them in Mexico; she sold her Miami house and drove with them to Mexico City around New Year’s 1968 where, in a few days, my wife and I had the pleasure of a reunion with her. Maggie was beautifully dressed and coiffed, and impressed us with the vigor and courage with which she had come through her months of ordeal; she was, indeed, always a person with deep sources of personal morale. She seemed better, in less pain, and we were hopeful for long years with her joyous Mexican clan which she deserved.

It was not to be.

Maggie died peacefully at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Francisco Escalante, Ibarra 37, Mexico 19 D.F., Mexico.

Maggie was everyone’s unforgettable person. Raised in
the then rural home of an old Georgia family near Atlanta, she drew constant strength from her native soil, its deep sense of identification, its own sharp perspective, its sense of reminiscence and comment. The words and phrases of country Georgia were never far from her lips, and she brought them to bear on all she saw with a magician's touch. Her encouragement to me in my own long tussel with a manuscript had a B'r'er Rabbit ring: "'Kep' at it," said the cat as she et the grindstone."

Only Maggie in Korea ever had hog's jowl breakfasts, occasions whose natural unfamiliarity to non-Georgians was enhanced by the mysterious resonance these syllables assumed in Maggie's deep voice as they rolled out over the telephone. She knew darn well most guests wouldn't know what they were getting before they came—including this Yankee!

Widowed after only five years of marriage, when her husband fell in action at the end of World War I, and never again married, Maggie had to find within herself the springs of joy. None who met her ever doubted that she had. Self-reliance, a stout heart, an impish humor were in every toss of her head and shone from those bright, intense dark eyes. At a time when most women might think their journeys mostly done, she set out on hers for Korea; there the Royal Asiatic Society became, with its rising schedule of trips, her special gateway on a new world.

Hundreds have enjoyed these trips; none with more relish than Maggie. Cane swinging, cigarette at the lips, an unathletic frame forgotten in the recesses of pants and sweaters, she strode the hills, valleys and temple precincts of Korea, absorbing every sight and smell and drawing out from rock and hall alike uncanny imprints of the past, imagined settings, personal meaning, all divulged in jestful dicta.
Her vocations of these excursions, published in series in the Korea Times, enshrine this side of the Society’s activities as nothing else has or could. The last time we talked, she longed to continue this writing.

Perhaps some of the deep joy she had from her Korean ramblings lived on in her final wishes. She asked to be cremated and that, on the first day when all the Mexican volcanoes reappear, her daughter go to scatter her ashes over the Tepoztlan valley. But we who knew her in those years are sure that something of her spirit, more than ashes, will remain also with the valleys of Sorak and Songni-san.

——Gregory Henderson
the then-named homestead an old Georgia family near Atlanta.

She was constant, affectionate, and romantic, and her admirers called her a siren. She wrote many poems and songs, which became her childhood memories and comments. The words and music of country tunes were never far from her lips, and she brought them to bear on all her time, with a musician's humor, her encounters to her daily work. She often wrote and sang her own songs, and she was known to be the most eloquent and amusing of the house. She was the toast in the house. Only Maggie in Korea ever had her music and her humor.

In Korea, she would sing, "I wish I were a Yankee!"

She loved to sing, "I wish I were a Yankee!"

She knew damn well the Yankees wouldn't know what they were getting before they came, including our Yankee sources. She often sang, "I wish I were a Yankee!"

Widowed after only five years of marriage, when her husband fell in action at the end of World War I, and never again married, Maggie had to find within herself the springs of joy. None who met her ever doubted that she had, self-reliance, a stout heart, an impish humor were in every vein of her head and soul. From those bright, intense dark eyes, at a time when most women might think their journey most done, she set out on her own for Korea, there: the Royal Asiatic Society, believing in its strong schedule of trips, her special gateway on a new world.

Hundreds have enjoyed these trips more with more relish than Maggie. Once swinging, cigarette in her lips, unshapen, loose, forgotten in the recesses of pants and sweaters, she strode the hills, valleys, and temple precincts of Korea, shot stop and start until sure, taking out, from rock and null, every meaning, every imprint of the past, imagined setups, personal meaning, all divulged in joyful diets.
RAS Meetings During 1968

The dates of the meetings, the speakers, and their subjects were as follows:

February 21— Mr. John Bannigan
“Neutralism in Cambodia and Laos”

March 6— Mr. Melvin P. McGovern
“Specimen Pages of Korean Movable Types”

March 20— Dr. Joseph S. Chung
“North Korea”

April 3— Dr. Song Ki-song
“The Computer in Korea Today”

April 17— Prof. Paek Nak-chung
“Creative Writing and Criticism”

May 1— Movie Showing
“Six Daughters” (Paltogansan)
(National Film Production Center)

May 8— Movie Showing
“Six Daughters”

May 14— Mr. Humphrey Leynse
“Movie on the Life of a Korean Family”

June 5— Special Movie Showing
“Six Daughters”

June 19— Dr. Edward Wagner
“The Ladder of Success in Traditional Korea”

July 3— Dr. Spencer J. Palmer
“Korean-American Relations”
July 24— Dr. Moon Seung-kyu
    “Decision Making in American and Korean Rural Families”

August 14— Dr. Gari Ledyard
    “Korea Meets the Dutch”

September 18— Dr. Koh Hae-sung
    “Problems in Korean Research in the United States”

October 2— Dr. Lee Hahn-bin
    “A Study of Korean Public Administration, 1945—1968”

October 30— Prof. Hahm Pyong-choon
    “The Korean Political Tradition and Law”

November 13— Dr. Martina Deuchler
    “The Opening of the Ports of Inchon”

November 27— Mrs. Bonnie Crown
    “The Korean Tradition” (Seoul Club)

December 11— Prof. Pi Chon-duck
    “The Romantic Tradition in Korean Poetry”

(All meetings were held at the National Medical Center unless otherwise indicated.)
1968 RAS Tours

The Society, during 1968, sponsored 22 tours and special events, ranging from one-day to four-day trips. The dates, places visited, and number of participants in parentheses follow:

April 7— Secret Garden & Changdok Palace (65)
April 4—7— Cheju Island (30)
April 13— West Five Tombs (42)
April 19—21— Haein-sa (30)
April 27— Nam Han Fortress (35)
May 4— Suwon (16)
May 11—12— Popchu-sa (39)
May 18— Chong-myo and Nakson-jae (20)
May 26— Nine Kings Tombs (34)
June 1— South of the Han River (24)
June 8—11— Ullung-do (Island) (25)
June 15— Yoju Area & Silluk-sa (31)
June 22— Taegang-nung (30)
June 29— Changdok Palace (45)
Aug. 30—Sept. 2— Cheju Island (30)
Sept. 21— Nakson-jae (73)
Sept. 28—29— Kum-gok & Chung Pyung (15)
Oct. 5— Kyongbok Palace (20)
Oct. 13— Suwon (28)
Oct. 18—20— Sorak Mountains (26)
Nov. 3— Tae-nung & Kang-nung (33)
Nov. 17— North of Samgak-san and Tobong-san (46)
RAS Meetings During 1969

The dates of the meetings, the speakers, and their subjects were as follows:

January 15— Mr. Alan Heyman
“An Introduction to Korean Music”

January 29— Dr. Yu Chin-o
“Origin of the Korean Constitution”

February 26— Mr. James Wade
“Movies in the ROK”

March 12— Dr. Spencer Palmer
“Suk Jun—Remnant of a Grand Tradition”

March 26— Prof. Kim Jung-hak
“The Prehistory of the Han River Region”

April 9— Mr. Choi Duk-shin
“Status of the Century-old Movement, Chon Do Kyo”

April 23— Dr. Paul Crane
“World-famous Collection of Korean Celadon Held by Gompertz”

May 7— Prof. Hahn Byung-choon
Prof. Chung Hee-kyung
Miss Grace Kim
Prof. Yim Sung-hee
Roundtable discussion on “The Changing Role of Korean Women”

May 21— Prof. Geoffrey Bownas
“Development of Far Eastern Studies in
June 4—Bishop Richard Rutt
“Kim Man-jung’s Cloud Dream of the Nine (Ku Un Mong)”

June 11—Dr. Clarence N. Weems
“The Philosophy behind Homer Hulbert’s Writings”

June 25—Dr. Dick H. Nieusma, Jr.
Verb Wheel and Dial-A-Verb Glossary
“New Approach to Language Study”

September 3—Mr. Gregory Henderson
“Korean Ceramics”

October 1—Dr. Klaus Mading
“Hong Kong Society in Chinese Popular Literature”

October 15—Dr. Huh Jong-hyeon
“Accounting in Far Eastern Countries”

October 29—Dr. Harold F. Cook
“Kim Ok-kyun and the Background of the 1884 Incident”

November 12—Mr. Jan O. MacDonald
“Rural Korea in Transition”

November 26—Dr. Nam Se-jin
Mr. Kim Hak-mook
Miss Elvinah Spoelstra
Miss Chu Chong-il
Roundtable discussion on “Social Welfare in Korea”

December 10—Dr. Kim Won-yong
“The Evolution of Silla Pottery”

(All meetings held at National Medical Center)
1969 RAS Tours

The Society, during 1969, sponsored 24 tours and special events, ranging from one-day to four-day trips. The dates, places visited, and number of participants in parentheses follow:

March 23— Songgyun’gwan University (68)
April 5— Sosam-nung (35)
April 11—13— Cheju Island (28)
April 17—20— Kannahwa Island (26)
April 26— Nam Han Fortress (34)
May 2—4— Kyongju and Pulguk-sa (24)
May 11— Nine Kings Tombs and Kungok (44)
May 17—18— Sudok-sa & Shrine of Admiral Yi Sun-sin (28)
May 29—June 1— Chiri-san & Namwon (25)
May 25— Secret Garden (55)
June 7— Chong-myo & Nakson-jae (44)
June 14— South of Han River (17)
June 19— Restaurant, Woo Rae Ok (24)
June 28— Toksu Museum (28)
Aug. 29—Sept. 1— Sorak Mountain (27)
September 13—14— Popchu-sa (30)
September 20— Suwun (40)
September 22— Late afternoon trip to a swallow roost on the outskirts of Seoul (32)
September 27— Kwang-nung (20)
October 3—5— Kanghwa Island (25)
October 11— Silluk-sa in Yoojou (34)
October 18— Secret Garden & Changdok Palace (32)
October 24—26— Haein-sa (26)
November 1— Sosam-nung (17)
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