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**Translation, National Ideology  
and the Cold War  
in the Republic of Korea  
(1949-1950)**

Ye Jin Kim

Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

2017

Centre of Korean Studies  
SOAS, University of London

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## Abstract

There has been consistent stream of published works that underline the political and ideological role of translations and the historical objectives achieved. However, especially in the context of the Republic of Korea, research on the ideological and historical tasks given to translations or translators by political entities for political motives has been done sporadically.

This thesis seeks to address these gaps by investigating how translations produced for the cultural Cold War projects by the South Korean as well as the US governments were used to promote ideological narratives to build the nation they desired. Employing socio-narrative theories and evaluative language approaches, I will examine the key documents and translations in the most popular magazines published by the governments in Korea: *Shinchunji* and *Wolgan Amerika*.

The main contribution of this thesis is that it reveals the interplay between the two aforementioned governments. This research shows that “anti-communist” and “pro-democracy” narratives are embedded in the key documents of Korea and “American supremacy” narratives in US foreign policy documents. It also shows that the narratives cannot be separated from the governmental need: South Korea’s need to legitimate the purported “democratic” regime by demonising communism and communists and the need for the US to gain hearts and minds of Koreans to secure its hegemony in East Asia by implanting democracy with the consents of the Korean people.

The narratives detected in the translations are closely related to, and even more, are the exact reflection of, the narratives of both governments. The translators collaborated with the two governments and followed faithfully the policies of the translating institutions set by the governments. As a result, manipulations are detected at every level of translation. The translators of *Shinchunji* are faithful in framing anti-communist and pro-democracy narratives and the translators of *Wolgan Amerika* promoted narratives of American supremacy. Due to the popularity of the magazines, these narratives contributed to the formation of “communism-free” South Korea.

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## List of Abbreviations

<b>AMIK</b>	American Mission in Korea
<b>ASNE</b>	American Society of Newspaper Editors
<b>CIA</b>	Central Intelligence Agency
<b>CCF</b>	Congress for Cultural Freedom
<b>CPI</b>	Committee on Public Information
<b>DPI</b>	Department of Public Information
<b>DPRK</b>	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
<b>ECA</b>	Economic Cooperation Administration
<b>IIA</b>	US International Information Administration
<b>IIS</b>	Interim International Informational Service
<b>IIS (US)</b>	Interim International Information Service
<b>IIS (Korea)</b>	Information and Intelligence Section
<b>INP</b>	International Press and Publication Division
<b>KDP</b>	Korea Democratic Party
<b>KRAI</b>	Korean Relations and Informations Section
<b>MG</b>	Military Government
<b>NSL</b>	The National Security Law
<b>NSRRKI</b>	National Society for the Rapid Realization of Korean Independence
<b>OCI</b>	Office of Civil Information
<b>OIC</b>	Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs
<b>OIE</b>	Office of International Information and Education Exchange
<b>PG</b>	Korean Provisional Government
<b>ROK</b>	Republic of Korea
<b>SKIG</b>	South Korea Interim Government
<b>SWKP</b>	South Korea Worker's Party
<b>UNTCOK</b>	United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea
<b>USAMFIK</b>	United States Army Military Forces in Korea
<b>USAMGIK</b>	United States Army Military Government in Korea
<b>USIS</b>	United States Information Service
<b>VOA</b>	Voice of America

<b>CSI</b>	Culture-Specific Item
<b>ST</b>	Source Text
<b>TT</b>	Target Text

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## **Notes**

I adopted the McCune-Reischauer system for the romanisation of Korean names. However, in the case of the names of newspapers and magazines, I used the names which were officially used by the publishers at the time of publication.

As for the names, I put surnames first in the case of Korean authors. Also, for the first president of the Republic of Korea, I used his official English name, Rhee Syngman.

## Chapter 1 Introduction

This thesis focuses on how the governments of the newly-established Republic of Korea (ROK) and the United States sought to use popular magazines to reorganise Korean society and the Korean people into an anti-communist nation in the 1949-50 period. This period, which has not yet been discussed comprehensively, is significant because the new and separate South Korean government which was established in August 1948, against the harsh opposition of the majority of Koreans, quickly started shaping a national ideology for the fledgling nation. Soon after its establishment the ROK government was faced with a series of popular revolts. This government in which rightists and anti-communists<sup>1</sup> occupied key positions, therefore, had to mobilise a range of government policies in order to achieve ideological hegemony.

In this period, the other main actor contributing to the formation of South Korea's national ideology was the United States. The withdrawal of the United States Army Military Forces in Korea (USAMFIK) was completed in early 1949, and meanwhile the tensions between the Soviet Union, which backed North Korea, and the US increased. During this period of the Cold War, it was crucial for the US to maintain its hegemony in order to prevent communist expansion into the Pacific region. For the US, the implantation of liberal democracy was an urgent necessity.

History shows that it was necessary for both the US and Korean governments to gain the consent of the Korean people for their proposed political system, whether by coercive or co-optive means. This is the reason that I have focused on the magazines published in this period and used by the two governments either as a means of gaining consent or imposing their ideology and gaining hegemony over the Korean people.

After liberation in August 1945, magazines were one of the main means by which Korean intellectuals came into contact with Western ideas and international political affairs. As the prominent poet Kim Suyŏng mentioned, visiting the United States Information Service libraries and reading American periodicals was a regular

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<sup>1</sup> Rightists and leftists: In the first part of this thesis I used the term "rightist" to describe nationalistic people including people in Kim Ku faction and Rhee Syngman faction representatively. Leftists were used to describe people who were aligned with socialism and communism. However, after the establishment of the South Korean government, the term "rightists" meant people those who supported the government and "leftists" meant people who opposed to the government. I inserted information on those terms whenever necessary.

activity for some intellectuals,<sup>2</sup> whether it was motivated by their ambition to translate and sell articles to newspaper companies to make their living or by the sheer pleasure of acquiring new knowledge. It was therefore perfectly reasonable for the government to use magazines for the promotion of their ideology, targeting intellectuals who would play a leading role in shaping public opinion.

For this reason, I have chosen to study two magazines published in South Korea during this crucial period in the country's history. The first magazine is *Shinchunji*, published by the Seoul Shinmun company, which was reorganised by the government in mid 1949. The other magazine is *Wolgan Amerika* (American Monthly) published by USIS Korea, which was one of the overseas posts of the US Department of State. It is my hypothesis that the two governments used the magazines to promote their ideologies in South Korea during the formative period of the ROK.

These two magazines contained more translations than other contemporary magazines and the Korean intellectuals who translated articles for them understood how influential they were. I hope that my analysis of their translations in this thesis will reveal how the translators manipulated their source texts and also the reasons why they chose certain translation strategies. In addition, I believe the manipulated translations themselves will provide clues as to why the two governments engaged in the translation process and why the individual translators collaborated with them.

## 1.1 East Asian Translation

### 1.1.1 Translation and Social Change

translations, (...) were instead one of the *primary* literary tools that larger social institutions--educational systems, arts councils, publishing firms, and even governments--had at their disposal to 'manipulate' a given society in order to 'construct' the kind of 'culture' desired".<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Park CY, "Haebang", p. 466.

<sup>3</sup> Tymoczko and Gentzler, "introduction", p. xiii.

In East Asia, translation studies is a rising discipline but has not yet been recognised as an independent one. Though the discipline itself originated in Europe, scholars in East Asia endeavour to establish their own approaches to translation phenomena and history based on national experiences by borrowing from or diverging from the theories and approaches developed in Western countries.

Based on the research finding of this region, in the late nineteenth century to twentieth century, the three East Asian countries, China, Japan and Korea, started translating Western works, and “used” the translations as a means of overcoming foreign expansion. The experiences of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), and the defeat of China by Japan reorganised the hierarchical order between the three countries. Historical events such as the Opium War (1840-1842), the Kanakawa Treaty (1854) and foreign invasions and Japanese Occupation in Chosŏn (1910) changed the traditional way the countries thought about the Western countries. China that was the “Big Brother” to the other two countries, from which “advanced” knowledge had been imported was no longer the centre of the world. The West replaced China. It also changed the way they imported foreign works as well as their perception on translation. Paradoxically, to “learn” about the West and the Western knowledge and achievement through translation was considered to be an efficient means of modernising the nations and of making the nations strong enough to “overcome” western power.

In this sense, some scholars in China and Japan define translation strategies this period as using “progressive West to prevent the expansion of aggressive West”. Even more, “westernisation” through translation became their foremost aim in the process of modernisation.<sup>4</sup> Some scholars explain translation as active and cannibalistic activities which digest, manipulate and finally tailor the Western knowledge to the “nutritional needs” of the nationals.<sup>5</sup> Often, the governments backed the translation movements by establishing translation institutes.<sup>6</sup>

In Korea,<sup>7</sup> translations were used to trigger social changes at historically critical

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<sup>4</sup> Wong, L. W, “From ‘Controlling the Barbarians’”, pp. 109-131.

<sup>5</sup> Uchiyama, “Assimilation”, p. 85.

<sup>6</sup> Wong, L.W, p. 119.

<sup>7</sup> At the time Korea was called the Chosŏn Dynasty or Korean Empire. The Chosŏn Dynasty was a state which existed in Korean peninsula from 1392 to 1897. The Korean Empire succeeded the Chosŏn Dynasty and existed until annexation by Japan in 1910.

moments. After encountering the civilisation of the Western countries and experiencing the wonder of Western products introduced to Korea by Americans and missionaries, the intellectuals accepted the idea of Korea's inferiority. Under the influence of Social Evolutionism introduced via America and China,<sup>8</sup> they felt the need to learn about advanced Western civilisation for "self-strengthening". Korean intellectuals regarded translations as a critical means of achieving this goal. It was natural that translations and translation policies were aimed at the "enlightenment" of the people, and, as Hyun (1992) discusses, these translation policies had significant influence on text selection and the translation process.

In each of the three countries, translation projects were carried out in diverse areas such as international laws, scientific technology, and military modernisation projects. It was natural that they translated diverse topics since they believed their society was less advanced and less sophisticated in comparison to those of the West and some intellectuals thought most of their troubles were internal, and the problems could be solved by "civilised" Western ideas and values.<sup>9</sup>

Translations were used not only to catch up on the technological development of the West but also to change their political settings. Some people believed they needed to inspire people with the "modernised" political ideas contained in the works. Some Japanese, the initiators of the Japanese political movement of social reformation, who disliked the acceptance of Western culture imported and translated Tolstoy and Nietzsche as a way of lessening the influence of mainstream Western European thought and Confucianism.<sup>10</sup> Also for some Japanese, translations were

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<sup>8</sup> Influenced by Charles Darwin's *Origins of Species*, the pioneer of Social Evolutionism, Herbert Spencer claimed that people can evolve from simple and lower state to complex and higher state (Spencer 1972: 42). Applying this thought to society, he suggested that society can evolve through competition, and "the mental powers, skills and traits of character fostered by this struggle would be transmitted to future generations, resulting in constant material and moral progress" (Paul 2005: 217). In America, combining this theory with eugenics, some Americans came to believe that genetic traits determine the social hierarchy between races and nations. Therefore, they took it for granted that the notion that "white is superior and the colored is inferior". That is to say, this theory had been used to justify colonisation or deprivation of the weaker. In China, Liang Qi-chao who first accepted the theory focused on "artificial selection". Artificial selection means that if one finds out one's weakness, he would be able to change it and finally could make himself "the fittest". (Lee 2002: 34). Liang applies into social context and concludes that a nation could become stronger provided that the people of the nation are enlightened. Influenced by Social Evolutionism imported from the US and China, Koreans thought that the "fittest" society could survive, and "enlightenment" and "modernisation" through the import of western culture would make their country the "fittest" (Pak NJ 2005).

<sup>9</sup> Recited in Wang, "From 'Controlling the Barbarians'", p. 123.

<sup>10</sup> Konish, *Anarchist Modernity*, pp. 96-127.

means of imposing radical or democratic political ideas to achieve a more inclusive form of a constitutional government in the period of Meiji and hence to reform their government.<sup>11</sup>

Another point of importance is that magazines and newspapers were the main channel through which the western works could be circulated in those societies. Translations, especially of fictions, were serialised in magazines and newspapers to induce readers' interest and reduce the cost for publishers.<sup>12</sup> This kind of publication not only could broaden readership but also was susceptible to the policies of the publishing house.

Translation activities in the three East Asian countries in late nineteenth and early twentieth century show the distinctiveness of the relationships between those countries and external powers. As a means of self-empowering, the three countries imported works from the West although they threatened the security of the nations. Even Chosŏn which was colonised by Japan indulged in relay translations via Japan to overcome Japanese occupation. The three countries likewise added a new dimension to postcolonial approaches by suggesting that the active and voluntary import and acceptance of the works was not a kind of "assimilation" but a "resistance".<sup>13</sup> This resistance does not mean a direct resistance against the power as shown in the traditional postcolonial approach such as a writing-back, but an indirect resistance which was possible through the development of sufficient strength to avoid any possibility of occupation.

This East Asian translation tradition outlined above can be a foundation on which translation in Korea in the post-liberation period can be explained and understood. The trend of using translation as a means of "modernising" and "strengthening" the nation continued in the Liberation period though "modernising" and "strengthening" took on another meaning in the post-liberation period. The approaches described above also suggest the possibility that translations can be used to impose political ideas and to form political systems.

The tradition also suggests a new perspective on the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised in terms of translation studies. As the translators in the

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<sup>11</sup> Haag, "Translation", p. 31.

<sup>12</sup> Wakabayashi, "Translation", p. 50.

<sup>13</sup> Uchiyama, "Assimilation or Resistance?", pp. 73-91; Wakabayashi, "Translation", p. 35.

pre-liberation period considered translation as an important tool of making their nation strong, the translators of the postcolonial period in Korea showed the similar tendency to be more like their recent coloniser, the USA.

The tradition of using magazines or newspapers to publish translations continued in the post-liberation period. As an influential opinion leader, the magazine publishers published literary works as well as works on political and economic issues. The relationship between national needs and the intervention of publication institutions shown in the pre-liberation period will be a good reference for the period this research is looking at.

### 1.1.2 Translation in Korea after Liberation

The use of translation as a means of constructing a culture could be seen after liberation, too. The leftist and rightist intellectuals set out to translate books and articles provided by the Soviet and the US governments and tried to persuade Koreans to accept the political systems promoted by each ideological faction.

An article titled “Pönyöngnon (On Translation, 翻譯論)” published in *Shinchinji* in early 1948 revealed two major objectives of translation in this period. First, Chosön, perceived as a backward country compared to Japan and/or the West, would need to improve its power.<sup>14</sup> The second objective was to gain comprehensive knowledge of world affairs.<sup>15</sup> According to the writer, “improvement of the power of Chosön” means improvement of its unique cultural, political and economic system.<sup>16</sup> “Gaining knowledge on world affairs” means to learn about world politics and the interrelationship between powerful nations.<sup>17</sup> He also contended that these two objectives would have to serve the establishment of a democratic<sup>18</sup> system in Chosön.<sup>19</sup>

After the establishment of the Republic of Korea government, this trend continued but in a different direction. Translations began to be used for the propagation of the “democratic spirit.” In early 1950, the editors of *Shinchunji*

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<sup>14</sup> Hong HP, “Pönyöngnon”, *Shinchunji*, April/May 1948, p. 136.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, p. 136.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, p. 137.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, p. 137.

<sup>18</sup> In this period, “democracy” was used by both ideological factions to describe communism/socialism and (American) democracy.

<sup>19</sup> Hong HP, “Pönyöngnon,” p. 137.

carried out a survey on the objectives of translating activities, and what kind of works were to be translated. In this survey, literary writers and professors pointed out that foreign works would need to be translated regardless of genre because “the new government was inaugurated”; “translated works were too rare in Chosŏn”; and “foreign works which would help in promoting the ‘national spirit (民族精神)’” were urgently needed”.<sup>20</sup>

Cho Kyutong also supported the result of the survey by saying that foreign books would need to be imported to promote “national spirit.” In this article, he did not make it clear what “national spirit” meant. However, he gave an instance. He asserted that a British film titled *Mrs. Miniver*<sup>21</sup> was screened in Japan and said it must have influenced the Japanese people in promoting the “democratic spirit”. In this sense, the “national spirit” was not significantly different from political ideology.

Unlike the Liberation Period (1945-48) when the translation of works related to both communism and democracy was possible and actively being carried out with the support of the Soviet Union and the US, in this period when the purge of communists and the press was being intensified and the government was faced with both domestic and international crises, translations that dealt with communism or communist countries and figures became scarce. Anti-communism was adopted as the national ideology after the establishment of the Republic of Korea. Subsequently, it was mostly works from “democratic” countries that were translated. With the inauguration of the government in August 1948 and the impending withdrawal of the US Military Forces, in this period, the US became more actively engaged in disseminating the “American spirit” and initiating translation projects.

## 1.2 The Purpose of Research

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<sup>20</sup> “Sŏlmun (A Survey)”, *Shinchunji*, April 1950, pp. 212-213.

<sup>21</sup> Though the writer explained it was a “British film”, it is an American film produced in 1942. As a propaganda film, it described how the life of a family living in the rural area of London was threatened by the World War II and how the brave family overcame the danger. During the War, the family was threatened by a German soldier and the village where they live was bombarded. In spite of this hardship, the family did not give up their spirit to stand against the War. How influential this film was can be deduced from the facts that the Prime Minister Winston Churchill declared that it did more than a destroyer flotilla did and Franklin Roosevelt used it to promote morale of US Army. The director of this film, William Wyler, did not deny that the film was made out of the desire to promote the need for US to turn away from isolationism and to participate in the War. The most emotional last scene of the film, and a preacher asserted in a sermon that the War was against totalitarianism and that all people needed to stand firm despite the attack of the enemy (Wikipedia/ imdb.com/Naver).

The corpus of this thesis, the two magazines *Shinchunji* and *Wolgan Amerika*, published respectively by the Korean and US governments, are the most explicit examples of intervention by the two governments in the Korean cultural sphere. I will show that the magazines were purposefully used by the two government in order to introduce Western political ideas, world politics and the foreign policies of the US, in order to contribute to the process of building a “democratic” nation<sup>22</sup> and to transform Korea into the nation the US wished it to be.

In this sense, the two magazines and the translations contained in them could have profound significance in that they would show the diverse aspects translations can have. Firstly, it can show that political agencies or even governments themselves can intervene in the translation process. They could either set translation policies as translating institutions, or could recommend or force translators to follow them. Secondly, translators themselves can actively participate in imbuing their translations with their own world view and in framing the narratives needed to build their desired nation. This can lead to purposeful manipulation on the part of translators. Thirdly, the translation and the narratives embedded in translations can contribute to the formation of readers’ political opinions.

Based on these hypotheses, this research aims to address the following questions: Why did the South Korean and the US governments try to frame ideological narratives in Korea? What kind of narratives did the translators of the two magazines try to frame? How and why did the two governments get involved in the process of translation? To what extent did the translators collaborate with the governments to frame the narratives and for what reason? How was the framing of the narratives related to the formation of a national ideology and the building of the nation? I will address these questions in the following chapters.

In the next chapter, Chapter 2, I will study how the political events that took place in the early days of the South Korean government strengthened the anti-communist policies of the government, and how these policies were used to weaken political groups which opposed President Syngman Rhee. I will also examine the nature of the narratives the government framed targeting its political opponents.

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<sup>22</sup> Park CY, “Haebanggi Chisik Chang”, p. 447.

In Chapter 3, I will investigate how the anti-communist policies reorganised the cultural sphere as well as the media environment in Korea, and how the policies brought about the reorganisation of a prominent press, the Seoulshinmunsa, the publisher of the magazine *Shinchunji*.

Chapter 4 and 5 will be devoted to the analysis of translations published in *Shinchunji*. In Chapter 4, I will analyse translations in the issues published in the pre-reorganisation period (pre-1949), and in chapter 5, I will study those published in the post-reorganisation period (post-1949). For the analysis, I will examine every level of translation including text selection, topic selection, paratexts and macro-/ micro-level texts to see whether the translators manipulated the original texts. If text manipulations are found, I will analyse how the shifts contributed to the framing of the narratives and what is the nature of the narratives. Then, I will compare these results with the narratives promoted by the government discussed in the previous chapters. I will compare the translations of the two periods to uncover to what extent the ideology of the press and the magazine had changed, to what extent the government ideology and policies influenced it and, finally to what extent the change was reflected in the translation outcomes.

Chapter 6 examines the general post-war foreign policy of the US. I will explore the history of US foreign policy, focusing on cultural policies and the reason the US government was motivated to undertake cultural programmes. I will also analyse what narratives the government promoted through government policy documents and the speeches of key decision makers.

In Chapter 7, I will study US foreign policy with regard to the Republic of Korea. I aim to show how US policy targeting the ROK resonated with the general policies of the US. I will also analyse the narratives the US government hoped to promote among the Korean people. The chapter will research the roles of USIS Korea and the main features of *Wolgan Amerika*, a magazine published by USIS Korea and the US Department of State.

Chapter 8 will provide a detailed analysis of translations in *Wolgan Amerika*. I will investigate every level of the translations and examine the nature of shifts made during the translation process. This chapter also focuses on examining whether the translation outcomes correspond with the narratives promoted by the US government.

### 1.3 Literature Review

This thesis examines the background of the formation of the government policies and their influence on cultural policies as well as the production of magazines and translations. For this reason, this literature review is also divided into three parts, Korean history, US history and translation history.

#### 1.3.1 Korean History: the Formation of the National Ideology

In studying Korean history after the inauguration of the South Korean government, the Yösu and Sunch'ön Revolts<sup>23</sup> should not be ignored, because the revolts contributed significantly to the formation of governmental policies for the years to come. Works of Sö CS and Kim TC explore the outbreak of the rebellions and its relation to the formation of anti-communist national policies. Kim TC (2000, 2005, 2007 and 2009) elaborates how and why anti-communist “Reds” narratives were promoted by the ROK government and the supporters of Rhee Syngman, the first president of the Republic of Korea. He argues that both press and intellectuals including literary figures and religious leaders worked together to portray the purported “inflammatory and seditious” character of the rebels who broke out the Revolts. He also claims that based on the ideological legitimacy of the government gained through the narratives they promoted, the government executed a series of forceful policies. From the purge of the National Army, educational system, and teachers through the creation of the Student National Defence Corps<sup>24</sup> and National Guidance of Alliance (Bodo-League)<sup>25</sup> to the legislation of National Security Law and inauguration of “national movement (國民運動)”, the anti-communist governmental ideology came to permeate all aspects of civil life.

While Kim TC's works focus on the promotion of anti-communist narratives

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<sup>23</sup> Revolts which broke out in South Chölla area by the members of Korean Constabulary rejecting governmental order to be dispatched to Cheju to subdue the uprisings in the area. The revolts will be discussed in the following chapter in more detail.

<sup>24</sup> Organised in September 1949 to promote the unity of spirit and to support Ilminjuüi, the national ideology of Rhee regime, which will be discussed later in detail. This Corps consisted usually of students, and focused on collective military training and the education of anti-communism.

<sup>25</sup> The Alliance was organised in June 1949 to convert leftists to the right. Consisted mainly of converted people, this Alliance supported ROK government and opposed to DPRK government and communism. After the break of the Korean War, this Alliance committed massacre against its members.

and the consequent purge of Korean society, the works of Sŏ CS (1995, 1997, 2007, 2008 and 2009) mainly deal with the governmental attempts to remove their political rivals from the political arena and to consolidate the Rhee regime through anti-communist policies. In his works, he asserts that the revolts acted as a strong drive as well as a perfect excuse for the consequent anti-communist policies such as the legislation of National Security Law<sup>26</sup>, attack on and consequent closure of the Special Investigative Committee of Anti-National Activities<sup>27</sup>, the assassination of Kim Ku, a political rival of the first president Rhee Syngman, and the arrests of assembly members who opposed to the Rhee's policies after being labelled as "spies," "communists" and "Reds". These series of events and the demonising of the rebels and political opponents perpetrated fear into the Korean people (Sŏ CS 2009: 328), and anti-communism could be accepted as a national ideology.

There are many works which studied the historical meaning and impact of each event mentioned above. With regard to National Security Law (NSL), the work of Park WS (1997) is the most comprehensive which investigates in depth the legislation process, execution and the consequences. Also, Pyŏn TM (2007) proves that the majority of people prosecuted by the NSL were charged as being communist, and hence the NSL was used as a means of suppressing people who politically opposed to the government and governmental policies. Lee KS's works (2003a, 2003b, 2004 and 2012) on the Special Investigative Committee of Anti-National Activities highlight the process that the pro-Japan collaborators occupied the position as "nationalists" or "patriots" by charging the members of the Committee with collaborating with communists in North Korea.

Kim HS (1995), Kim SJ (2004, 2005), Fujii Dakeshi (2008) and Hong TY (2015) investigate anti-communism and its relation to Ilminjuŭi. There is a general consensus among these works that, though this ideology was promoted to enhance equality and to unite the Korean people,<sup>28</sup> its real aim was to convert the leftist,<sup>29</sup> to force uniformity of thought<sup>30</sup> and to consolidate his regime by suppressing internal

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<sup>26</sup> Law that was legislated to prevent anti-governmental activities. The nature of this Law will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

<sup>27</sup> A special committee organised in 1948 to prosecute South Koreans who collaborated with Japanese colonial government.

<sup>28</sup> Kim SJ, "Taehanmin'guksuripehik'u", p 375.

<sup>29</sup> Dakeshi, "Che-1-Konghwagugŭi", p. 119.

<sup>30</sup> Kim SJ, "'Isŭngmanŭi", p. 463.

unrest through the strengthening of the unity of Koreans.<sup>31</sup>

Whereas the works above discuss political issues, some works, though not many, deliberate on the relationship between national ideology and cultural and press policies. The two keywords which best describe the character of Rhee's cultural policy are "anti-communism" and "censorship." Lee PP discusses that the Rhee administration had strict control on the cultural sphere even before the Korean War. Not only had the government successfully completed conversion projects, but also it controlled the allocation of the limited financial resources which would be used for cultural activities. Lee suggests that the cultural policy aimed to stabilise this regime, and the Bureau for Public Information did the job by focusing on censoring cultural products like books, films and magazines rather than supporting the creation of new cultural products.<sup>32</sup>

Kim YH (2010, 2012) investigates in detail the character of the Bureau for Public Information of the ROK government. He emphasises that this Bureau not only focused on the propagation of hostility toward communism and promotion of governmental policies, but also focused on "triggering preparation for a war against communism".<sup>33</sup> This policy applied not only to theatrical performances and films but also to the publication of books and magazines. Kim (2012) asserts that the basic tenet of Rhee's media policy was the consolidating of anti-communism and the elimination of left-wing media. With the help of censorship, media companies which produced pro-governmental discourse survived, and media came to serve the interest of government.

All the works discussed so far indicate that the Revolts consolidated anti-communism and, accordingly, significantly weakened democratic autonomy in the political sphere and suppressed the political opponents of Rhee. In the process, cultural products and presses were also affected and were used to disseminate anti-communism.

### 1.3.2 US Foreign policies in the era of (Cultural) Cold War

As Charles K. Armstrong (2003) defines, this period can be called an era of "Cultural

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<sup>31</sup> Kim HS, "Chōngbu Surip", p. 337.

<sup>32</sup> Lee PP, "1950nyōndae", p. 412.

<sup>33</sup> Kim YH, "Che-1-Konghwaguk Ch'ogi", p. 328.

Cold War” when the US and the USSR tried to “win the hearts and minds of people in the other bloc” by “using more subtle, political and often clandestine methods”.<sup>34</sup>

To understand American foreign policy and its relation to cultural policies in countries under the US influence, research on US foreign cultural policy should be undertaken. With regard to the post-war history of (cultural) US foreign policies, the works of Michael H. Hart (2013), Nicholas J. Cull (2008), Douglas Field (2005), Walter L. Hixon (1997) and Thomas C. Sorenson (1968) are representative. Works of Cull (2008) and Hixon (1997) summarise the rise and fall of the agencies opened for US information programmes. According to them, the tension between the US and the USSR worsened after strengthening of Soviet propaganda programmes and the “Election Speech” of Joseph Stalin made in early 1946. In 1948, the US announced the Smith-Mundt Act which would make it possible to promote American values through cultural products such as books, periodicals, films, Voice of America and exhibitions.

Hart (2013), Hunt (2008, 1987) and Field (2005) focused more on the American perception on their supremacy and its impact on the character of the overseas cultural programmes. They argue that the Americans reflected their belief in their supremacy in terms of political, economic and cultural power in their overseas cultural programmes. They defined the programmes as an “ideological mission”<sup>35</sup> and as a “duty of more advanced peoples to uplift lesser ones and (...) drag them into modernity”.<sup>36</sup> The two authors generally accepted that the genuine aim of the policies was ideological expansion.

Brian Diemert (2005), Robert L. Ivie (1999) and Hinds and Windt Jr (1991) examine the metaphors and rhetoric embedded in presidential speeches and foreign policy documents based on the notion that political language and political rhetoric were employed to lead people to act in a desired way.<sup>37</sup> Hinds and Windt Jr (1991) examines how “rhetorical cold war” developed. The US government mobilised US newspaper companies to develop narratives that polarised the world into “moral” and “immoral” spheres. Consequently, the rhetoric used in the Marshall Plan speech, George Kennan’s “X Article”, and the Truman Doctrine described the USSR as “the

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<sup>34</sup> Armstrong, “The Cultural Cold War,” p. 71.

<sup>35</sup> Hart, *Empire*, p. 9.

<sup>36</sup> Hunt, *American Ascendancy*, p. 197.

<sup>37</sup> Hinds and Windt Jr, *The Cold War as Rhetoric*, p. 7.

villainous Soviet”, and the US as “a good neighbour”. Diemert (2005) and Ivie (1999) study Kennan’s “X article” and Truman Doctrine. They state that the “Article” and the Doctrine defined Soviet communism as a “disease” and then justified the US possession of power and its ideological and geopolitical expansion<sup>38</sup> for the treatment of the disease-infected world.<sup>39</sup>

As for the US (cultural) foreign policies towards Korea, the works of Charles Armstrong (2003), Wol-san Liem (2010), Kim K (2000) and Hō Ũn (2013, 2011, 2008, 2007 and 2003) are important. Armstrong (2003) traces US cultural policies toward Korea which was originally passive during the period of USAMGIK and changed to more active after the establishment of the ROK government. From 1947 when the US seriously considered the withdrawal of the US military forces, Americans turned to “soft power” rather than “hard power”, and the cultural intervention of America became intensified. The most representative example of the intervention was USIS Korea. They opened USIS branches which were equipped with facilities for motion pictures, publication, and puppet shows.<sup>40</sup>

Wol-san Liem (2010) explains that the US government and officers in USIS Korea shared their thought on the backwardness of Korea in comparison to the West or the US, and aimed to promote enlightenment and democracy as a means of promoting “containment” policy. Therefore, the US endeavoured to establish a friendly relationship between the two countries and plant “democracy” in Korea. He reveals that the important means of achieving the aims was cultural measures.

Similarly, Kim K (2000) asserts that American cultural policy of direct intervention was framed by American politicians with the intention of “protection and propagation of Western civilization” as well as “maximization of national profit”.<sup>41</sup> He suggests that USIS faithfully completed this job in Korea using films, radio broadcasting systems and mass culture.

The works of Hō (2013, 2011, 2008, 2007 and 2003) accept the notion that the US took it for granted that the country was superior to other nations. There are interesting findings in her work that Koreans accepted the Americans’ belief and the intellectuals actively collaborated with the American officers.

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<sup>38</sup> Diemert, “Uncontainable”, p. 43.

<sup>39</sup> Ivie, “Fire”, p. 584.

<sup>40</sup> Armstrong, “The Cultural Cold War”, p. 78.

<sup>41</sup> Kim K, “Miguk Taeoejōngch'aek”, p. 45.

Yu (2008) delves deeper into the collaboration of Korean intellectuals with the powerful countries. From the Japanese colonial period, Korean intellectuals perceived America as more civilised than Japan, the colonizer, and set America as the model which they tried to imitate to overcome their backwardness. This tendency continued even after the southern part of Korea was occupied by the US forces. Frantz Fanon (2008) puts forward the idea in *Black Skin, White Masks* that sometimes the colonised tried to imitate the coloniser from their desire to be like the colonisers. The colonised identified themselves with the white coloniser instead of trying to subvert ruling of the white. In short, the Koreans in the post-liberation period admired and tried to imitate the white coloniser. This contrasts with the general tendency of postcolonial studies to focus on the resistance of the colonized against the coloniser.

Kim YC (2008) supports Yu's notion by focusing more on the introduction of the American political system. From the period of the US military occupation, Koreans realised the help of the US was essential to clean up vestiges of Japanese colonisation. Therefore, it was natural that the media "introduced American system and culture and encouraged American-related products by idealising America".<sup>42</sup> Kim suggests that Korean postcoloniality and modernisation could be possible only by imitating America. To Koreans Americanization meant modernisation'.<sup>43</sup>

Some works study the ideological use of magazines by the government during the Cold War. Klein (2003) states that magazines supported or were forced to support the government by promoting discourse on hierarchy between the nations and by educating Americans on their new role as a world leader. Not only articles, even metaphors and visuals in the magazines were used to support internationalism, the general direction of the US foreign policy, and US global expansion. While Klein pays attention to the domestic pro-governmental magazines, Barnhisel and Turner (2010) concentrate on the fact that magazines and translated books published by the Department of State were distributed in the Third World or countries under US occupation as a means of achieving world peace and planting American values such as democracy and freedom.

Unfortunately, only limited numbers of works deal with the magazines,

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<sup>42</sup> Kim YC, "Han'guk Öllon", p. 272.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, p. 272.

*Shinchunji* and *Wolgan Amerika*. Lee PP (2010) discusses that *Shinchunji* was the most influential magazine in shaping political discourses since it was a channel through which world politics were introduced. After the construction of South Korea, a governmental department sponsored the company and had control on it. Therefore, it was inevitable for the magazine to reflect the ideological position of government.

In that sense, Kim CH (2010) suggests that *Shinchunji* shows a dramatic ideological shift from a neutral position to an extreme rightist stance. From 1946 to 1948, writers portrayed the pros and cons of the Soviet and US political systems in a balanced way, and envisioned the future of Korea based on the information. After the establishment of the ROK government, however, the editors changed and the focus moved to conversion of intellectuals and dissemination of anti-communistic ideology. Finally, the outbreak of the Korean War triggered the desire to frame communism negatively to consolidate this regime.

With regard to *Wolgan Amerika*, Pak CY (2009) explains that the main goal of publishing the magazine was to propagate the image of “the US, a beautiful nation” and to get consent from Koreans on the ideological orientation of South Korea.<sup>44</sup> Hō (2007) focuses more on the US attempts to improve their pre-existing image. Hō suggests that the US tried to erase the image of a racist, individualistic and profit-driven country instilled by Japanese during occupation, and categorised the world into three divisions: the civilised, in transition and the uncivilised. As the most civilised country, Americans positioned their nation as the most eligible country to be a world leader who controlled world politics and economy. Unlike the two works above which study the ideological mission the magazine had to undertake, Kim YK (1975) studied composition and the publication process of *Wolgan Amerika*.

### 1.3.3 Korean Translation History

In the Enlightenment period when Korea was forced to open its ports to foreign countries such as France and America and was under the threat of Japan, translations acted as a means of modernising their country. Hyun (1992) discusses that Korean intellectuals set a definite translation policy. The import of source texts and translation choices were based on the policy, “enlightenment of people and

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<sup>44</sup> Park CY, “Haebanggi”, p. 467.

promotion of patriotism”.

Park CY (2009) shows that the “modernisation” discourse was an important factor of translation projects from 1945, too. Koreans acknowledged that they lagged behind the West in terms of modernisation or civilisation. Therefore, for them, to import and to translate western works was one of the best ways of constructing a civilised nation and thwarting the Western expansion. Paradoxically, translations in this period were the intellectuals’ attempt to overcome Western powers by accepting their culture.

In the translations published from 1950 to 1960, Lee PP (2012) analyses the complex relationship of government, capital and intellectuals’ desire to be civilized. In this article, he points out that Koreans’ self-perception of being inferior to the Westerns triggered translations of western works. In addition, he argues that the government monopolized capital and exerted strict censorship on the books to be translated. Also, external power, represented by USIS not only supported publishing companies with financial resources to translate works on America but also translated works which described America positively. Through the translations, they made an attempt to secure their political influence in Korea by implanting American ideals.

## 1.4 Theoretical Framework

### 1.4.1 Hegemony and Soft Power

In the post-war world, what was needed by the US for the expansion of its market and the containment of communism was to gain hegemony as a global leader. To expand its market and to contain communism, the first and foremost task of the US was to settle the suspicions of Europeans that Americans had imperialistic intention and tried to consolidate their image of world leader who did “beneficial” works for the world. For this reason, gaining hegemony cannot be a top-down directive but requires the consent of the people. Antonio Gramsci defined hegemony as “the ways in which a dominant class maintain domination by establishing political, cultural, ideological, and moral leadership”.<sup>45</sup> It is gained not only by the coercion and imposition of dominant ideology but also by the “spontaneous consent” of the

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<sup>45</sup> Park HW, “A Gramscian,” p. 90.

majority of people on the “general direction imposed on social life”.<sup>46</sup>

Gramsci used hegemony to describe the attempt of classes to lead the other groups in making an alliance to support revolutionary change. He applied the concept to bourgeois leadership as well as proletariat leadership<sup>47</sup> and stated that the bourgeois tried to use both “coercion” and “persuasion” to gain consent from the proletariat. The ultimate aim of the class is to dominate.<sup>48</sup> On the part of the proletariat, hegemony is a means of gaining power to resist the bourgeois. Groups can establish hegemony by binding the other groups under hegemonic ideas and by creating a historic bloc,<sup>49</sup> and in the process, intellectuals play an important role.<sup>50</sup>

T. J. Lears elaborates the use of cultural means to gain hegemony. He argues a dominant group (or leaders of a historic bloc) that has superior power such as press, preachers, entertainment promoters and all kinds of experts tries to gain hegemony from the inequalities of (cultural, economic and political) power.<sup>51</sup> These dominant groups should “develop a world view that appeals to a wide range of other groups within the society, and they must be able to claim with at least some plausibility” to achieve cultural hegemony.<sup>52</sup>

Joseph Nye Jr. expands Gramsci’s thought into a global scale. Zahran and Ramos describes Nye’s concept of soft power as a struggle to gain hegemony of a “globalist” historic bloc. Though there are many conceptual differences between Gramsci’s hegemony and Nye’s soft power, and though Nye himself does not relate his idea to a globalist history bloc,<sup>53</sup> this concept can explain why people or governments use intangible power—i.e. soft power—between the groups to gain hegemony on a global scale.<sup>54</sup>

Nye Jr. explains soft power in terms of public diplomacy. While traditional

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<sup>46</sup> Gramsci, *Selections*, p. 12.

<sup>47</sup> Cox, Gramsci, p. 163-4.

<sup>48</sup> Kim MH, “Gramsci”, p. 148-9.

<sup>49</sup> An alliance or a union of social forces that is a basic form of consent to an order, which renders hegemony of a class.

<sup>50</sup> Zahran and Ramos, “From Hegemony”, p. 22.

<sup>51</sup> Lears, “The Concept,” p. 572.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, p. 571.

<sup>53</sup> Regarding the concept of soft power, coercion and attraction are contradictory concepts while for Gramsci these are complimentary. While Nye Jr. ignores conflict and struggle over ideas, Gramsci accept it. Nye Jr. defined political society as administrative, legal and coercive institutions unlike Gramsci who defined it as a more extended concept including political society and civil society. (Zahran and Ramos 2010: 23-26)

<sup>54</sup> Zahran and Ramos, “From Hegemony,” p. 28.

diplomacy concerns the relations between the governments, public diplomacy aims to interact and to communicate with more general people. Public diplomacy is an attempt to addresses “ongoing questions of a nation’s image and credibility in the world”, that “tracks, monitors and builds upon the government and ongovernmental contacts, transactions, and influences that shape the opinions, attitudes, and behaviors of global publics”.<sup>55</sup> In the case of the US foreign policy, public diplomacy is closely related to “US foreign policy and communication outcomes from elites to influential and street-level foreign publics”.<sup>56</sup> Therefore, agents who are responsible for public diplomacy can be both governmental agencies and non-governmental and private organisations. Cultural products that can be accessed easily could be a viable means of public diplomacy<sup>57</sup> since cultural products actively produce meaning rather than merely reflect or reproduce social reality.<sup>58</sup>

Soft power is co-optive power. It uses intangible resources, which are values embedded in the culture, institutions, practices and (foreign) policies.<sup>59</sup> Soft power is a strategy of “attraction” that intends to get others to want what you want to promote.<sup>60</sup> It tries to attract people “by drawing attention to these potential resources through broadcasting, subsidizing cultural exports, arranging exchange.”<sup>61</sup>

The concept of hegemony can explain why and how the governments attempted to gain “consent” from the Koreans. While the South Korean government used “coercion” of Gramsci’s hegemony, the concept of soft power could be used to explain why the US used cultural projects in implanting democratic spirit in Korea.

#### 1.4.2 Translator’s Subjectivity, Power and Institution

The essence of ideological intervention in the case of translation is that the selections made during the translation process (not only by the translator but by all those involved, including those who decide the choice of texts to translate) are potentially determined by ideologically based STRATEGIES

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<sup>55</sup> Snow, “US Public Diplomacy,” p. 226.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, p. 226.

<sup>57</sup> For this reason, sometimes public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy are used interchangeably.

<sup>58</sup> McAlister, *Epic Encounters*, p. 5.

<sup>59</sup> Nye, “Public Diplomacy,” p. 95.

<sup>60</sup> Nye, *Soft Power*, p. 2.

<sup>61</sup> Nye, “Public Diplomacy”, p. 95.

governed by those who wield power.<sup>62</sup>

Traditionally, translators had been regarded as “mediators” who aim to build a bridge between the source text (ST) and target text (TT) to enable readers who do not have access to STs to comprehend the texts via translated texts. Traditional translation criticism usually focused on linguistic shifts or on the binary relations such as word-for-word versus sense-for-sense translation strategies. In 1970s and 1980s, descriptive and functionalist approaches started to pay more attention to translating agents including translators, commissioners such as institutions and patrons, and the objectives of translation.

The translation process involves translators and texts which cannot be free from social, cultural and political context, it is inevitable that translation is affected by the factors. Susan Bassnett states that “the role of the translator can be reassessed in terms of analysing the intervention of the translator in the process of linguistic transfer”, and “once considered a subservient, transparent filter through which a text could and should pass without adulteration, the translation can now be seen as a process in which that intervention is crucial”.<sup>63</sup> Ideologies of those who engage in the translation process began to matter.

Ideology in translation studies are closely related with “manipulation” and/or “rewriting” of ST.<sup>64</sup> Theo Hermans argues that “from the point of view of the target literature, all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose”.<sup>65</sup> André Lefevere defines translation as “rewriting”.<sup>66</sup> The factors which act as constraints to “translation as rewriting” are “patronage,” “ideology,” and “poetics” and “the universe of discourse”.

Lefevere explained that “patronage” is a kind of power (persons and institutions) exerted on translators which “can further or hinder the reading, writing and rewriting of literature”.<sup>67</sup> Once the patronage is accepted, the professionals work within the

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<sup>62</sup> Fawcett and Munday, “Ideology”, p. 138 (emphasis in original).

<sup>63</sup> Bassnett, “The Meek”, p. 22.

<sup>64</sup> Fawcett and Munday, “Ideology”, p. 138.

<sup>65</sup> Hermans, *The Manipulation*, p. 11.

<sup>66</sup> Lefevere explains rewriting is “any text produced on the basis of another with the intention of adapting that other text to a certain ideology or to a certain poetics and, usually to both (Lefevere 1984: 89, recited in Hermans 1999: 127).

<sup>67</sup> Lefevere, *Translation*, p. 15.

ideological parameters set by the patrons and are likely to “legitimize the status and the power of the patrons”.<sup>68</sup> Patronage usually consists of three elements: ideological, economical and status constraints. Among them ideological constraints work on the “choice and development of both form and subject matter”.<sup>69</sup>

Lefevere’s concept of patronage has similarities to institutional translation approach. Defining “institution” as an “actor” in the translation process<sup>70</sup>, Brian Mossop postulates that the translation method as well as text-functions of translated texts can be determined by the goals of the institutions<sup>71</sup> and that translating institutions do not always belong to target culture but to source culture. According to him, an institution can be called a “translating institution” when 1) the institution is the named author, 2) the source-text author is identified as belonging to the institution, or 3) the readers are aware of the institution as they read the translation.<sup>72</sup>

Kang (2005) supports these notions by saying that translators who translate texts in the boundary of a certain institution cannot be independent from the ideology, aims, norms and rules of the institution. Rather, translators are usually “in line with language and translation policies and with institutionally designated procedures and guidelines”.<sup>73</sup> Kang (2012) suggests that in the process of producing a text, the expressions which reflect the discourse of an institution are those most usually selected. That means institutional translation infuses the discourse of the institution into the products.

Based on this approach, I will analyse how the institution influenced the translations outcomes. When translation is done in an institution, the actors who participated in the translating process are not necessarily limited only to translators. Instead, policy makers in the institution, editors and translators all participated in translating process. Therefore, I will concentrate on translating agents as a whole rather than translators when I analyse translations done in institutional background.

The other factor which causes “rewriting” is ideology. Scholars have studied the play of ideology in translation process in a range of approaches, my focus here

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid, p. 18.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, p. 16.

<sup>70</sup> Mossop, “Translating Institutions”, p. 66.

<sup>71</sup> ibid, p. 67; Mossop, “Idiomatic”, p. 343 and p. 351.

<sup>72</sup> Mossop, “Idiomatic”, p. 352.

<sup>73</sup> Kang CH, “Institutions Translated”, p. 475.

is the power asymmetry between the ST and TT cultures. Richard Jacquemond and Lawrence Venuti speculate asymmetry of power relations between the two cultures and its consequence influence on the outcomes of translation. Jacquemond suggests that “general framework of the political economy of intercultural exchange, whose tendencies follow the global trends of international trade” and “cultural hegemony confirms, to a great extent, economic hegemony”.<sup>74</sup> When texts of Western culture are translated into Third World and vice versa, the power relation between the two blocs can matter. Based on the case studies of Egyptian translation, he concludes that when the colonised is perceived as being competent enough to be independent from the colonial power, the source texts of imperialists tend to be naturalised. In contrast, when the translating agents perceived Arabic narratives needed to be “elevated” to “the level of its Western counterpart” because of some deficiency in Arabic narratives, source texts were translated “accurately.”<sup>75</sup> These findings suggest the power asymmetry could determine the translation strategies.

Venuti also relates power asymmetry to translation by suggesting binary translation strategies, foreignisation and domestication. When the works of the Third World are translated, it is very likely that the translators adopt “domesticating” approaches by deleting unique features of STs which might hamper “fluent reading.” In contrast, when the Third World imported works from the West, the translated texts tend to be faithful to STs. These contrasting strategies confirm the hierarchy of cultures.<sup>76</sup>

Mona Baker deals with ideological translation from the perspective of socio-narrative approach, and Jeremy Munday elaborates translator’s intervention in the perspective of language evaluation, which will be discussed in what follows.

#### 1.4.3 Narrative Approach

The narrative approach is based on the notion of Margaret S. Somers that people “come to know, understand, and make sense of the social world<sup>77</sup>” based on narratives, and it is “through narratives and narrativity that we constitute our social

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<sup>74</sup> Jacquemond, “Translation”, p. 139.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, p. 140.

<sup>76</sup> Venuti, *Scandals*, pp. 1-30.

<sup>77</sup> Somers, “Narrativity”, p. 600.

identities<sup>78</sup>”. On top of it, “all of us come to *be* who we *are* by being located or locating ourselves in social narratives *rarely of our own making*<sup>79</sup>” because “stories are always told within particular historical, institutional, and interactional contexts that shape their telling, its meanings and effects and they are told with particular interests, motives, and purposes in mind”.<sup>80</sup>

Not only that, since narratives are changeable based on our exposure to new stories, they have “subversive or transformative potential”.<sup>81</sup> Based on these notions, Baker asserts that a version of narratives can be reformed in different versions reflecting “elements from other, broader narratives circulating within the new setting or from the personal narratives of the retellers” and the narrative “reproduces the existing power structures and provides a means of contesting them”.<sup>82</sup>

John Fisher suggests that receivers of the narratives are not just described as rational beings who passively accept the narratives and embed themselves in the narratives but active ones who tell stories by themselves based on their interpretation and evaluation of the texts.<sup>83</sup> Drawing on the concepts of “narrative rationality” and “good reasoning” of Fisher or “coherence” and “fidelity” in Baker’s terminology<sup>84</sup>, Baker argues that narratives are “tested” against the two concepts, and the translators can choose with which narratives they are to be cooperative and whether they want to form an organization to promote the narratives.<sup>85</sup>

Somers classifies the narratives into four categories: ontological, public, conceptual, and meta-narrative<sup>86</sup>. Harding adds one more narratives, local narratives. Ontological narrative is a narrative about a person and “the stories that social actors

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid, p. 600.

<sup>79</sup> Italics in original; Somers, “The Narrative Constitution”, p. 606.

<sup>80</sup> Ewick and Silbey “Subversive Stories”, p. 206.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, p. 199.

<sup>82</sup> Baker, *Conflict*, p. 22-23.

<sup>83</sup> Fisher, “The Narrative Paradigm,” p. 85.

<sup>84</sup> Narrative rationality/coherence/probability means “internal consistency and integrity of a narrative” and consists of structural coherence, material coherence and characterological coherence. Good reasoning/fidelity means “soundness of the reasoning of the narratives (Baker 2006: 143-152).

<sup>85</sup> Baker “Translation”, p. 30.

<sup>86</sup> Harding categorises the narratives into two broad categories first: personal and shared/collective narratives. According to her, personal narrative is similar to ontological narratives and shared/collective narrative includes one more narrative, local narrative (Harding 2012: 25). In her view, local narrative means narratives on “particular events (and the particular actions of particular actors) in particular places at particular times” (ibid, p. 29). In addition, she suggests that public narratives can be better named as “societal” narratives because not all public narratives are “public” in nature (ibid, p. 31).

use to make sense of (...) their lives". These narratives are used to "define who we *are*, not just to know what to do".<sup>87</sup> Public narratives mean stories which are shared in "cultural and institutional formations larger than the single individual such as family, workplace, church, government and nation".<sup>88</sup> Conceptual narratives relate to the stories circulating in academic fields. The narratives mean "concepts and explanations that we construct as social researchers."<sup>89</sup> Finally, meta-narrative or master-narrative means the narratives "in which we are embedded as contemporary actors in history and as social scientists."<sup>90</sup>

Baker develops her argument that translation can contribute to the formation of social narratives. Baker also mentions that "people's behavior is ultimately guided by the stories they come to believe about the events in which they are embedded".<sup>91</sup> She applies these notions to translations and argues the power and conflict between the weaker and the stronger are reflected in the framed narratives, which ultimately contribute to formation of people's perception on some events or objects.

Baker suggests ways of framing narratives in translation. These are: framing ambiguity, temporal and spatial framing, selective appropriation, labeling and repositioning of participants. Framing ambiguity means that translators can translate ambiguous narratives to serve their own ideological objectives.<sup>92</sup> Temporal and spatial framing implies that the translator can change the temporal and spatial backgrounds in which the original narratives were embedded, and then encourage the readers to relate the narratives to the current situation the readers are faced with. Then the original context can be reflected in the current situation. Selective appropriation means "patterns of omission and addition designed to suppress, accentuate or elaborate particular aspects of narrative encoded in the source text or utterance, or aspects of the larger narrative(s) in which it is embedded".<sup>93</sup> Labelling is "any discursive process that involves using a lexical item, term or phrase to identify a person, place, group, event for any other key element in a narrative".<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Italics in original; Somers, "Narrativity", p. 603.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid. p. 619.

<sup>89</sup> Somers, "Narrativity", p. 604.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, p. 605.

<sup>91</sup> Baker, *Conflict*, p. 3.

<sup>92</sup> Baker, *Conflict*, p. 108.

<sup>93</sup> Baker, *Conflict*, p, 114.

<sup>94</sup> Baker, *Conflict*, p. 122.

This strategy “provides an interpretive frame that guides and constrains our response to the narrative in question”.<sup>95</sup> Finally, Baker explains that participants are repositioned “in relation to each other and to the reader or hearer through the linguistic management of time, space, deixis, dialect, register use of epithets, and various means of self-and other identification.”<sup>96</sup>

While Baker focuses on how narrative works in texts and how translators frame narratives in translations, Harding (2012) pays attention to the relationship between the ideological stance of agencies which produce translations and narratives. Asserting that “narratives are fundamentally linked to human agency and behavior”,<sup>97</sup> she shows how an event is described differently based on the ideological orientation of the translating institutions.

In this thesis, I will pay attention to how the translating agents framed public and meta-narratives using selective appropriation and labelling among the kind of narratives and the method of framing narratives.

#### 1.4.5 Appraisal Theory

Appraisal theory is based primarily on the notion that a text reflects the evaluative stance of the writers. Authors favour “certain type of attitude or emotion over other options and this leads into formulation of particular discursive persona”.<sup>98</sup> When an author “speaks their own mind”, s/he simultaneously invites others to endorse and to share with them the feelings, tastes or normative assessments they are announcing.<sup>99</sup> Therefore, appraisal theory not only deals with the attitude of the author (or writer) but also their intention to influence the reader or receptor.

Martin and White categorises appraisal into three interacting sub-domains: attitude, engagement and graduation. Attitude consists of three components, which are affect, judgement and appreciation. Among the three, affect concerns feelings and “resources for construing emotional reactions”<sup>100</sup> and covers un/happiness, in/security, and dis/satisfaction. Judgement is “concerned with resources for

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid, p. 122.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid, p. 132.

<sup>97</sup> Harding, *Beslan*, p. 24.

<sup>98</sup> Martin and White, *The Language*, p. 6.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid, p. 95.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid, p. 35.

assessing behaviour according to various normative principles”.<sup>101</sup> Judgement is divided into two main categories: social esteem and social sanction. Social esteem is related with normality, capacity and tenacity while social sanction deals with veracity and propriety. Appreciation focuses on understanding the “value of things”. It concerns reactions to things, composition and valuation.

Attitude is also divided into three categories in terms of the directness of expression. According to Martin and White, the text producers intend to “invite” the readers to have the same feeling/judgement/appreciation or to have same stance to the context by putting evaluative epithets or value-laden expressions. The most direct way of expressing attitude is direct inscription. The inscriptions “act as signposts telling us how to read the ideational selections”.<sup>102</sup> The less direct way of expression of attitude is provoked attitude. With this method, authors can provoke attitudinal response among the readers. The most frequently used method is metaphor, and non-core vocabularies and counter-expectancy vocabularies (e.g. however) can be used as a means of provoking the same response. The most indirect way of expressing attitude is evoked attitude. This kind of attitude is embedded in the text and pretends to be a neutral and a factual reflection of the context so as to manipulate readers more efficiently.

Secondly, engagement looks at “the ways in which resources position the writer with respect to the value position being advanced and with respect to potential responses to that value position”.<sup>103</sup> Martin and White explain this concept based on the dialogistic approach. The dialogistic approach can be divided into two sub-categories broadly speaking: monoglossic and heteroglossic. Monoglossic means single voiced and no reference to external proposition while heteroglossic refers to allowance for alternatives.

Thirdly, graduation is related to changing the degree of evaluation.<sup>104</sup> It varies in terms of force (intensity) which concerns intensity of qualities and processes<sup>105</sup> and focus (prototypicality) which is mainly about number, mass and extent. For intensification, there are several modes such as isolating, maximisation,

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid, p. 35.

<sup>102</sup> Munday, *Evaluation*, p. 26.

<sup>103</sup> Munday, *Evaluation*, p. 36.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, p. 37.

<sup>105</sup> Martin and White, *The Language*, p. 141.

lexicalisation, infusion and repetition. For qualification (focus), there are isolation, infusion and metaphor.

Evaluation embedded in the language reflects how readers and writers interpret the real world based on their own ideology and axiology and how they embed their stance in the text. When a new text is produced and is to be translated in a new cultural background, it can easily be assumed that the source text can be shifted and manipulated in certain cultural background, and translators can also apply their ideological and axiological stance, cultural context into translation.

#### 1.4.6 Explicitation

The concept of explicitation, which is usually discussed with the terms “addition” and “redundancy,”<sup>106</sup> is known to have been used first in Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet (1958/1995). In this book, explicitation is described as “a stylistic translation technique which consists of making explicit in the target language what remains implicit in the source language because it is apparent from either the context or the situation”.<sup>107</sup> In Shoshana Blum-Kulka (1985), she formulated “explicitation hypothesis”. She suggests that explicitation is “inherent in the process of translation” by claiming that explicitness can be observed from “SL to TL texts regardless of the increase traceable to differences between the two linguistic and textual systems involved”.<sup>108</sup> More recently, explicitation is defined as “the phenomenon which frequently leads to TT stating ST information in a more explicit form than the original”,<sup>109</sup> and Baker defines it as an “overall tendency” and suggests that it is a “universal” phenomenon that happens in the process of translation.<sup>110</sup>

Unlike the approaches which define explicitation as a “universal” procedure, technique or phenomenon which focuses on the inevitability of it due to grammatical, stylistic and/or structural differences between languages, Pápai (2004) and Heltai (2005) named it as a “strategy”. Defining explicitation as “strategy” acknowledges

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<sup>106</sup> Explicitation is described as a process of “addition” which fills out source texts by “including additional explanatory phrases, spelling out implicatures or adding connectives” (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997: 55) and hence it possibly leads into redundancy (ibid: 55; recited in Blum-Kulka 1986: 21). For some scholars, however, explicitation or explicitness does not necessarily mean redundancy or addition.

<sup>107</sup> Vinay and Darblet, *Comparative*, p. 342

<sup>108</sup> Blum-Kulka, *Interlingual*, p. 19.

<sup>109</sup> Shuttleworth and Cowie, *Dictionary*, p. 55.

<sup>110</sup> Baker, “Corpus-based”, p. 180.

the possibility of translator's "conscious" decision in making TTs more explicit. Especially Pápai relates "particular aims" for which texts are translated to explicitation strategies. In addition, Séguinot (1988) argues that explicitation is not only derived from the stylistic and structural differences and structure of languages involved but also from institutional attitude such as editorial revision strategies. This approach suggests that explicitation is not just a phenomenon that is naturally accompanied in the translation process but can be a "conscious" choice to meet target readers' or institutional expectations.<sup>111</sup>

Explicitation is usually described as a process of "addition" which fills out source texts by "including additional explanatory phrases, spelling out implicatures or adding connectives<sup>112</sup>", and hence it possibly leads into redundancy. However, explicitation or explicitness<sup>113</sup> does not necessarily mean addition or redundancy. Heltai divided "explicitness" into two categories, linguistic explicitness and explicitness in processing, and argues that while linguistic explicitness means "more words and to some extent is synonymous with *addition*",<sup>114</sup> (italics in original) explicitness in processing, which is "true explicitness", means "less ambiguity and easier processing."<sup>115</sup> Though it is true that true explicitness is usually achieved by the linguistic explicitness, sometimes redundancy and addition hamper the easier processing.

Klaudy classified explicitation into four categories: obligatory, optional, pragmatic, and translation-inherent explication.<sup>116</sup> Obligatory explicitation is caused by the impassable linguistic differences in terms of semantics and syntax. Optional explicitation is done due to "differences in text-building strategies" and "stylistic preferences between languages." Unlike the obligatory explicitation, without this

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<sup>111</sup> Pápai, Vilma, "Explicitation", p. 145.

<sup>112</sup> Shuttleworth and Cowie, *Dictionary*, 1997, p. 55.

<sup>113</sup> Some scholars define the difference between "explicitation" and "explicitness." According to Hansen-Schirra et al, explicitness is "a property of lexicogrammatical or cohesive structures and configurations in one text" (Hansen-Schirra et al, 2007: 243). In contrast, explicitation is "a process or a relationship between intralingual variants and/or translationally related texts" (ibid 243). This approach is criticised because the latter "overlooks significant cultural, pragmatic and situational factors" (Fan 2012: 14). For Pápai, explicitation is "a difference (created deliberately or instinctively) between ST and TT while explicitness (in TT) means "a result of a translation operation used by translators to explicate, to bring to the surface linguistic or non-linguistic information contained in the ST in non-explicit, allusion-like or vague form (translated and recited in Heltai 2005: 46).

<sup>114</sup> Heltai, "Explicitation", p. 65.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid, p. 66.

<sup>116</sup> Klaudy, "Explicitation", pp. 106-107.

explicitation, the grammar of TT will be not affected. Pragmatic explicitation is caused by the cultural differences between the two cultures involved. Finally, translation-inherent explicitation is derived due to the “necessity to formulate ideas in the target language that were originally conceived in the source language”.<sup>117</sup>

In this thesis, when explicitation/explicitness is used, it means both linguistic explicitation and process explicitation. More specifically, linguistic explicitation strategies are discussed in the prospective of whether the linguistic explicitation strategies have an influence on the process explicitation (easier processing).

#### 1.4.7 Culture Specific Items and Loan Translation

The more distant the cultural gap between the ST and TT, the more difficult it would be to translate in many cases. One of clearest examples is culture-specific items (CSI). Aixelá defines culture-specific items as:

Those textually actualized items whose function and connotations in a source text involve a translation problem in their transference to a target text, whenever this problem is a product of the nonexistence of the referred item or of its different intertextual status in the cultural system of the reader of the target text.<sup>118</sup>

Culture-specific items include “proper nouns, objects, customs, institutions, expressions and concepts embodied in the source text that do not exist in the target language readership or are perceived differently”.<sup>119</sup> Aixelá elaborates strategies of translating these items. He, first, divides the strategies into two broad procedures: “conservation” and “substitution”. The conservation procedure includes repetition, orthographic adaptation, linguistic (non-cultural) translation, extratextual gloss and intratextual gloss.

Repetition, as an alien and exotic strategy, keeps to the original in the target text. Orthographic adaptation is similar to the strategies of transliteration and transcription,

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid, p. 107

<sup>118</sup> Aixelá, Javier Franco, “Culture-specific items,” p. 58.

<sup>119</sup> Petrulioné, Lolita, “Translation of Culture-Specific Items,” p. 44.

which are used when the two cultures involved have different alphabet systems. Linguistic (non-cultural) translation means choosing “denotatively very close” items but making them understandable by “offering a target language version which can still be recognized as belonging to the cultural system of the source text”.<sup>120</sup> Extratextual gloss means an inserted explanation on the Culture Specific Items (CSI) and takes the form of footnote, endnote, glossary, or translation in brackets. Intratextual gloss is a strategy that makes CSI more explicit by adding explanation.

Substitution includes synonymy, limited universalization, absolute universalization, naturalization, autonomous creation, and deletion.<sup>121</sup> Synonymy means a strategy which does not use CSI but inserts synonymy or parallel reference. Limited universalization is to use more usual and closer items which belong to the source culture. Absolute universalization is to delete alien meanings and instead provide neutral references. Naturalization is adaptation and autonomous creation is a rarely used strategy which is to “put in some nonexistent cultural reference in the source text”.<sup>122</sup>

#### 1.4.8 Application of the Theories

For the analysis of the translations in the two magazines, I will mainly adopt narrative theories and appraisal theories. With regard to narrative theory, from among the range of methods for framing narratives, I will focus on the labelling and selective appropriation methods. While labelling strategy will be applied to paratextual, in particular title translation, and micro-level textual translation, the selective appropriation method will be employed to analyse diverse levels of translations from title translation, the selection of source texts to the micro-level translations.

Appraisal theory will be applied to the micro-level source and target texts to reveal the attitudes of appraisers—original writers and translators in this case—and how different the attitudes of the two appraisers are. This theory will be useful in demonstrating the subtle changes of attitude and its influence on the formation of narratives which differ from those of source texts.

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<sup>120</sup> Aixelá, Javier Franco, “Culture-specific Items,” p. 62.

<sup>121</sup> It can sound absurd that “deletion” is categorised as a way of “substitution.” From an example provided by Aixelá, I understood that “deletion” is the final outcome of the consequent substitution with other items.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

Explicitation strategy will be discussed as a way of manipulating source texts not as a “universal” phenomenon. I presume that sometimes translators purposefully explicitate the contents of a text while translating and relate this strategy as a way of strengthening the newly framed narratives.

Finally, the approaches on the culture-specific items mentioned above will be used to analyse translation of the culture-specific words and loan words in *Wolgan Amerika*. Considering that the magazine was a periodical published by the US government using mostly US magazine articles and books, it presumably contained a diverse range of culture-specific items. By looking at the strategies the translators used for the items, I hope to reveal the asymmetric power relation between the South Korea and the US as well as the South Korean intellectuals’ perception of America.

#### 1.4.9 Contribution

This research is interdisciplinary in nature in that it investigates historical events of the period through the perspective of translation studies or vice versa. Case studies provided make it possible to look at more clearly how the governmental cultural projects evolved. In the case of translation studies, combined with historical approach, it can provide a bigger picture which shows how translations were used to make critical changes in history.

In broader perspective, in my research, I have shown 1) that the cultural policies of the two governments were closely related to their political aims, 2) that the governments tried to promote ideological narratives through their policies and speeches, 3) that the governments intervened in the cultural sphere of South Korea and 4) that the intervention of the governments directly influenced the framing of narratives.

These findings, with case studies, confirmed the findings of past historical research. There have been many works that investigated the origins of the anti-communism of South Korea and how the South Korean government tried to create a diverse anti-communist apparatus and to label the people as “subversive communist who would need to be expelled from the South Korean society”. There have also been a range of works that examined South Korean governmental intervention in the cultural sphere to promote anti-communism. In terms of American foreign policies,

there are many works that showed the nature of foreign policies and the objectives the US tried to achieve in the world.

Additionally, I believe the research findings of this thesis contributed to the new understanding of the Cold War period of South Korea. I carried out comprehensive research work on the US cultural policies towards Korea. Using primary documents of the US government, I explained the nature and objectives of each cultural programme undertaken in South Korea. This research which has not been done before could be used as a basis for further research.

This thesis successfully provided a new perspective on the translations in the Cold War period in South Korea, too. Research on translations in this period cannot be found easily. The analyses of translations shed light on the nature of institutional and political translation in this period, though the scope of the research is limited to the two magazines. This thesis showed that translations were the weapons of the two governments in thwarting communism and implanting pro-South Korean government, pro-American and pro-democratic spirit among the Koreans. The case of *Wolgan Amerika* is an interesting and rare example of the direct interference of a foreign government in the translation process done in Korea. This case suggests the possibility that more than one institution can engage in “institutional translation” while the majority of works on translations produced in an institutional setting focus on the role and policies of a single translating institution.

Another interesting finding is how products of the translation process reveal the history of Korean intellectuals’ collaboration with those in power, unlike other works which usually emphasise the government-driven cultural and political intervention. The changing nature of translations in *Shinchunji* showed how the voices of moderate politicians were silenced as their power weakened in South Korea’s political sphere. After the Seoul Shinmun company became a government-owned press, the way the magazine was published and the extent that the translating agent engaged in manipulating translations mirrors the mainstream intellectuals’ willingness to collaborate with the government or prominent figures in power, something which had been seen since the Japanese colonial period.

In the case of *Wolgan Amerika*, the results of translation analysis revealed how the translators of USIS and Korean intellectuals collaborated with their former occupier, something which has not been investigated before in the Korean context.

The postcolonial approach within translation studies usually focuses on the act of translation as “writing back” to resist against the imperialist discourse or to make under-represented voices heard. However, the translators’ active role in disseminating an occupier’s narratives in Korean situation reflected the desire of “yellow-skinned people to be more like the white.”

The contribution of this thesis will be that it has filled a research void. As mentioned, there have been a range of works that dealt with the individual topics but very few works have attempted a combined approach. This thesis provided detailed and abundant case studies on the narratives promoted in governmental documents and speeches and in the translations of the two magazines. These case studies showed how the attempts of the two governments to intervene in the cultural sphere of South Korea were well-planned, thorough and meticulous.

In terms of Korean translation studies, there are very few descriptive works examining how translations were used to form a national ideology and to support national policies during this period. This research has shown that, as institutions, the ROK and the US governments infiltrated the cultural sphere of South Korea, and directed translation projects in order to promote their institutional ideologies. This ultimately contributed to the formation of a nation free from communism. Using interdisciplinary research methods to examine translations, this thesis was able to reveal the interconnectedness of governments, press and intellectuals in building a new nation.

This thesis also suggested a new way of doing research. I used a combination of socio-narrative approach and appraisal theory, which have not been applied to historical research at all and rarely used comprehensively even in Korean translation studies. These two approaches made it possible to examine the exact intention of both the South Korean and the US policy makers in drafting anti-communist policies as well as US foreign policies. Appraisal theory revealed the hidden attitudes of the policy makers, article writers and translators. The socio-narrative approach showed the ways the two governments and the government-affiliated translators tried to impose on Koreans the world view they desired to achieve.

## **Chapter 2 Making Anti-communist South Korea (1949-1950)**

This chapter aims to examine the emergence and development of anti-communism in the Republic of Korea (ROK hereafter) and its influence on political sphere during 1949 and 1950. This chapter starts with the fact that the inauguration of the ROK government was a totally unexpected outcome for Koreans and that not every Korean welcomed it. Hence, harsh confrontation between Koreans was unavoidable. The internal instability that was purported to be caused by communists, who broke out in revolt, provided a good excuse for the first president, Rhee Syngman, to develop and justify a range of anti-communist narratives and policies.

In this chapter, I aim to show what kind of narratives the government promoted and how the government and the president himself labelled his political opponents while experiencing a series of rebellions. In addition, I intend to unveil how the narratives and labelling strategies were used to justify and strengthen the anti-communist policies such as the legislation of National Security Law and purge on the political rivals in Assembly. Finally, these narrative and labelling strategies and consequent purge of political opponents led to the solidification of the Rhee regime.

### **2.1 The Beginning**

When the nation-building process of Korea was in progress after independence, two factors played important roles: the intervention of the United States and the Soviet Union and the conflicts between Korean politicians. The first factor, the intervention of the two powers, was due to the fact that Korea, which was strategically important in terms of its geopolitical location, was a colony of defeated Japan. The liberation of Korea was not “achieved” by the Korean independence fighters but was “given” all of sudden with the surrender of Japan. The Allies then started to think about how to take advantage of the Korean situation to expand their global political power. The destiny of Korea was not in the hands of Koreans but in the hands of the nations.

A series of conferences held by the Allies foresaw that the destiny of Korea would be achieved “under the thumb” of the great powers. From the Cairo

Conference held in 1943 to the United States State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee held in August 1945, the powers made key decisions at the conferences which would determine the destiny of Korea.<sup>123</sup> Contrary to Koreans' expectations of immediate independence, the US and Soviet military forces occupied the southern and northern parts of the Korean peninsula respectively after the surrender of Japan on 15<sup>th</sup> August. The Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers<sup>124</sup> held at the end of 1945 suggested that the trusteeship on Korea needed to be decided by a US-USSR Joint Commission with the participation of Koreans in the Commission.<sup>125</sup> The US and USSR thought that the trusteeship would contribute to the formation of a united government of Korea, and the Joint Commission would have a pivotal role.<sup>126</sup>

It was inevitable that the series of conferences and the decisions deepened the confusion and splits that had already existed among Koreans. After the Moscow Conference, the Korean politicians were divided on whether to agree to the trusteeship and to join the Commission. The rightists including Kim Ku faction and members of Korea Democratic Party kept refusing to participate in the Joint Commission unlike the leftists, representatively Pak Hŏnyŏng<sup>127</sup> and his followers who were willing to join the Commission.<sup>128</sup> In addition, the two Powers took this conflict as an opportunity to consolidate their power in their occupied region. The

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<sup>123</sup> At the Cairo conference, Winston Churchill declared "in due course Korea shall become free and independent." ([http://rbsearchives.library.ubc.ca/uploads/r/university-of-british-columbia-library-rare-books-and-special-collections/e/c/ecae1ed788d4c9e606fdf31329904e888a0583f89a38a9c5cc212614edae5799/9bed4ea1-519a-4a58-a5ed-f59a32d786c8-rbsearchives\\_arc\\_1135\\_30\\_15\\_001.pdf](http://rbsearchives.library.ubc.ca/uploads/r/university-of-british-columbia-library-rare-books-and-special-collections/e/c/ecae1ed788d4c9e606fdf31329904e888a0583f89a38a9c5cc212614edae5799/9bed4ea1-519a-4a58-a5ed-f59a32d786c8-rbsearchives_arc_1135_30_15_001.pdf))

). At Yalta conference, President Roosevelt suggested twenty to thirty years of trusteeship. The United States State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee chose the latitude of 38 degrees north as the division line between occupation zones on the Korean Peninsula.

<sup>124</sup> This conference was held out of the desire of the US and the Soviet Union to exert their influence on the Korean peninsula. The US hoped to establish a democratic and pro-American nation through trusteeship of the US while the Soviet Union hoped to withdraw its military forces as soon as possible because the peninsula was already occupied by leftists (Pak TK 2005: 94).

<sup>125</sup> <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-ust000003-1341.pdf>

<sup>126</sup> Sŏ YS, "Mi-So kongdongwiwŏnhoe," p. 194.

<sup>127</sup> Pak Hŏnyŏng: the foreign minister of the DPRK and secretary of the SKWP. He stayed in North Korean and led the activities of the SKWP through his letters.

Not all the rightists refused to join the government and Commission. Unlike Kim Ku faction which mainly consisted of the former members of the Provisional Government who were fervently opposed to the execution of the declaration, Rhee Syngman and the Korea Democratic Party (KDP) hesitated to oppose the decisions. They were on the same track with the United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) in terms of the execution of trusteeship. Pak explains that even before the Moscow Conference the US planned to execute trusteeship over Korea for 10 years or longer to ensure that Korea remained under their influence, and the KDP and Rhee secretly supported the US plan. However, when it became clear that the PG group gained support from general public, it was inevitable for KDP and Rhee to join the anti-trusteeship movement (Pak TK 2005: 92).

Soviet Union and the US did not show flexibility on the question as to who could join the Commission, and the Koreans did not trust the powers in this matter. These uncompromising stances of the two powers and Koreans foresaw that the Joint Commission would come to nothing.<sup>129</sup>

When the failure of the Commission became evident, the US decided to hand over Korean matters to the UN.<sup>130</sup> The UN decided to organise the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCOK) to help Koreans hold a general election which would enfranchise the whole Korean population. Following an agreement at the UN Assembly, UNTCOK arrived in Korea in January 1947, but the Soviet Union did not allow the Commission to enter the northern part of the peninsula. Despite objections from some of the member nations of the UN as well as from Koreans, the UN decided to hold a general election only in the southern half of the peninsula, accepting a US proposal. The general election was held on 10th May 1948. Soon after the Constitutional National Assembly was established.<sup>131</sup> In August 1948, Rhee was elected by the Assembly members as the first president of the Republic of Korea and in September, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK hereafter) was established in the northern part of Korea. Korea was now permanently divided.

The second factor in the nation building process was the conflict between political parties on political issues and the direct influence this had on the division of Korea. Even before the Conferences Korean politicians were seriously divided. Korean independence fighters established the People's Republic of Korea (朝鮮人民共和國)<sup>132</sup> just after the independence and did not appreciate the Korean Provisional Government (PG) because they thought the PG faction was engrossed in party strife and incapable of thinking about wider issues. The PG considered

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<sup>129</sup> For more detailed explanation, refer to Merrill (1989) and Cumings (1990).

<sup>130</sup> Kim YC argues that the new policy of America on Korea to hand over the Korean problem to the UN meant that America gave up the "joint trusteeship over Korea with the Soviet Union" plan and pursued the immediate independence of Korea with the intervention of the UN (Kim YC 2014: 181). In addition, even before the first and second Joint Commission meetings, the Department of State considered constructing separate South Korean government based on the spirit envisioned in the Truman Doctrine of preventing communist expansion and securing a "democratic" nation at least in the southern half of peninsula (Cumings 2001: 296).

<sup>131</sup> The general election could not be held in Cheju Island because 3 April Insurgency had occurred and not been subdued until May.

<sup>132</sup> The People's Republic of Korea: A nation proclaimed by the Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence just before the occupation of the US Military Government.

themselves as the only legitimate and eligible group for the first government of independent Korea.<sup>133</sup> Then they spurred the creation of Korea Democratic Party.

Another rightist group, the Rhee Syngman faction, confronted Kim Ku on the issue of the legitimacy of the PG because he thought his Hansŏng PG had greater legitimacy.<sup>134</sup> In contrast, the other rightist group, KDP, were in collusion with Rhee. Rhee needed the organisational and financial support of this party, which included many large landowners, mainly consisted of landowners, businessmen and people who collaborated with Japan during the colonial period in any ways. The KDP needed Rhee's reputation and political leadership<sup>135</sup> to have their history of collaboration with Japan forgotten and to maintain their political power. From then on, Rhee and the KDP shared the same objective: to eliminate leftists who were aligned with communism or socialism from the South Korean political arena.<sup>136</sup> Promoting anti-communist ideology and anti-trusteeship sentiments among Koreans were efficient strategies for them to have their own faults forgotten and to romanticise themselves as patriots.

When the US decided to hand the "Korean problem" to the UN, Rhee Syngman did not miss this opportunity. Just after the first meeting of the Commission foundered, Rhee Syngman first mentioned the possibility of inaugurating a separate South Korean government even though this was met with harsh opposition from John Reed Hodge, the Military Governor in the United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK). However, in the context that the success of the Joint Commission was in question and the US wanted to withdraw USAMGIK, it became clear that the Department of State wanted the immediate establishment of a "democratic" government in Korea even if it meant only "half" a government. USAMGIK thought the anti-communist Rhee could be a realistic option for the position for the president, and his dream finally came true.

To summarise, the intervention of the external Powers was a critical factor that did not improve the long-standing splits among Korean politicians, and these

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<sup>133</sup> Kim YC, *Taehanminkuk*, p. 55.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid*, p. 59.

<sup>135</sup> Rhee spent much of his life in America where he was the leader of independence movement. He was the first Korean who achieved a PhD at Princeton University, and was the first president of the Provisional Government. For these reasons, Rhee was a well-known political figure in Korea.

<sup>136</sup> Pak MR, *Han'guk 1*, p. 387-8.

political divisions ultimately resulted in the division of Korea. Rhee and the KDP succeeded in gaining power, taking advantage of the splits among other politicians and the change in US policy toward Korea. The establishment of a separate South Korean government and the emergence of an anti-communist president, which had lost the nation's aspirations to be united and independent, exacerbated social division rather than healing it.

After the inauguration of the government, there were numerous political and ideological opponents as well as Korean civilians who were still seeking ways to establish a united government. Surrounded by these opponents, Rhee's choice was to rely on internal powers such as the police, government officers and the army to suppress them. During the First Republic (1948-1960), one third of government officers were pro-Japan collaborators.<sup>137</sup> It would not be fair to generalise that the people who were labelled as "pro-Japan collaborators" were all collaborators and repressive in nature enough to control the society, but there is a possibility that the government mobilised some of those who were in close connection to the Rhee regime to control and deter social antagonisms. In the following sections, I will discuss what kind of ideology this government wanted to promote with the officers, and how its ideology affected the political and cultural spheres of Korean society.

## 2.2 The Formation of the National Ideology of South Korea

The speeches that Rhee delivered when the National Assembly was inaugurated clearly show what kind of nation Rhee was dreaming of. In a speech given on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1948, Rhee suggested some important points the government was based on. First, he declared that the assembly was organised by a "flawless" democratic system and through a general election<sup>138</sup> that was based on "democratic" self-determination.<sup>139</sup> He also suggested that the democratic government could be

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<sup>137</sup> Im CK, "CheI-Kongwhakuk," p. 147. In this article, the author does not state clearly by what measure he classified people into "pro-Japan collaborators". However, it can be inferred from the background information on the people who are labelled by the author as "pro-Japan collaborators" that they were people who occupied key positions in the Japanese occupation period in the Judiciary and the administration.

In this thesis, I used the term "pro-Japan collaborators" to describe people who actively participated in suppressing Koreans or Korean independence fighters in high governmental positions.

<sup>138</sup> Department of Public Relations, *Taetongryŏng*, p. 2-3.

<sup>139</sup> "Taehanmin'guk Chŏngbusurip Sŏnp'o", the *Seoul Shinmun* et al., 16, August 1948

sustained only by people who would support democracy without being swayed by the voice of political factions.<sup>140</sup> In this sense, he asserted all Koreans would definitely have trust in the democracy because dictatorship would not bring about peace.<sup>141</sup> Second, Rhee defined communists as “disloyal” because he thought, as the enemy of South Koreans, they attempted to hand over the nation to foreign nations.<sup>142</sup> Third, Rhee asserted that allied countries had helped<sup>143</sup> and would help Korea without any imperialistic desire but as part of an initiative to promote world peace and friendship.<sup>144</sup> Among the “allied” countries, America especially was regarded as a country that liberated Koreans from Japan and “helped” them to regain their independence with American justice and humanitarianism but without any intention of territorial or economic expansion.<sup>145</sup>

In short, Rhee’s speeches clarified the three basic tenets of the new government. First was the promotion of democracy. To Rhee, democracy was a flawless system that did not require political factions. While the word “democracy” was used to describe liberal democracy and communism during the Liberation period, by defining (North) Korean communists as a threat to the South Korean government, he eliminated the possibility that it could be interpreted as embracing leftists who were aligned with communism. This means that even if they were Koreans in terms of ethnicity, communists could no longer be treated equally as Koreans. Communists in both South and North Korea became the “other”. Finally, in contrast to the hostile relations with the communist Soviet Union, allied nations (excluding the Soviet Union, of course), especially America, were considered to be beneficial countries. These tenets that clearly divided Koreans into “us” and “other” and foreign powers into “our friends” and “our enemies” based on their ideological stance, played a pivotal role in labelling nationalists who opposed to the establishment of the separate ROK government and Rhee’s policies and Rhee’s political opponents, including civilians, as “Reds” and implementing anti-communist repression, which will be discussed in the following sections.

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<sup>140</sup> Department of Public Relations, *Taetongryŏng*, p. 2-3.

<sup>141</sup> “Taehanmin’guk Chŏngbusurip Sŏnp’o”, the *Seoul Shinmun* et al., 16, August 1948

<sup>142</sup> Department of Public Relations, *Taetongryŏng*, p. 2-3.

<sup>143</sup> Traditionally, the “allied countries” usually included the UK, France, the Soviet Union, the United States and China. But Rhee excluded the Soviet Union from the “allied countries.”

<sup>144</sup> “Taehanmin’guk Chŏngbusurip Sŏnp’o”, the *Seoul Shinmun* et al., 16, August 1948

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

### 2.2.1 Othering the “Reds”: Ilminjuŭi

The national ideology that acted as a driving force for the emerging anti-communist policies was more clearly revealed when Rhee Syngman announced his political philosophy of Ilminjuŭi (一民主義). Ilminjuŭi was first announced when the Taehan Independence Party (Taehan Tongniptang)<sup>146</sup> was organised in November 1948. Though it had not been announced as a “national policy” yet, the party confirmed that they adopted Ilminjuŭi as a policy of the party and that Ilminjuŭi was conceived by Rhee.<sup>147</sup> It was then announced as a national policy (國是) in early 1949 by Rhee. In April 1949, Rhee broadcast and published articles on the ideology in the governmental *Chubo* (*Weekly Bulletin*, 週報), and in September, his short pamphlet which compiled these articles and the transcripts of his broadcasts, *Ilminjuŭi Kaesul* (*The Essence of Ilminjuŭi*, 一民主義概述) was published.<sup>148</sup> This ideology, then, was elaborated and developed by Rhee and his followers, An Hosang and Yang Uchŏng.

With regard to the essence of the policy, Rhee summarised the four main pillars of this policy in *Ilminjuŭi Kaesul*.

1. Economically improve the standard of life of the poor and make everyone enjoy the same level of welfare,
2. Politically improve the status of the majority of people so they are treated equally,
3. Overcome regional discrimination and declare that all Koreans belong to same race (民族), and
4. Achieve gender equality and let the thirty million Koreans share the responsibility of promoting happiness and security equally.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> This political party was organised by pro-Rhee government figures such as Sin Ikhŭi, the former vice-president of National Alliance for the Rapid Realisation of Korean Independence, and Yun Ch'iyŏng, a promoter of the establishment of KDP, in November 1948. When Sin Ikhŭi left the party, the party broke down in February 1949. After nine months, Rhee supporters revived the party to prevent Constitutional amendment to a parliamentary system, and from then it acted as a ruling party (Wikipedia).

<sup>147</sup> “Ilminjuŭi Tangshihwa Nollan”, the *Dong-a Ilbo* 23, Oct 1948

<sup>148</sup> According to Sŏ Chungŏk, the actual contents of the book did not significantly differ from the articles in *Chubo*. Half of the book is the republication of the articles and the other half is Yang Ujŏng's writing on the struggle of President Rhee. He suggests that this indicates the meagreness of the ideology (Sŏ CS 1997: 161).

<sup>149</sup> Rhee, *Ilminjuŭi*, p. 3. Though this ideology was announced and supported by the rightist and anti-

In this book, Rhee related the first pillar with economic equality, the second pillar with political equality, the third pillar with regional equality, and finally the fourth pillar with the need for gender equality as well as equality in terms of people's responsibility for social security. However, there is a precondition to be fulfilled for people to be treated equally. He asserted that Koreans were "ilmin (一民)" - one people - and this was why Koreans ought to be treated equally. Rhee defined "ilmin" from the perspective of "race (民族)". Rather than members of a nation state, Korean people were represented as part of a cultural and ethnic nation. According to him, Koreans had been "ilmin" or "one (하나)" from the period of Silla and even before,<sup>150</sup> and that was the reason all people ought to be treated equally regardless of region, gender, class and economic status. Just being a Korean could not satisfy the precondition, unfortunately.

Our people are one. Our territory is one, our mind is one, and we are one in life, in treatment, in politics, in culture and in everything. If we cannot be one, we must endeavour to get together as one. If we find an obstacle to becoming one, we must remove it. If one comes to have any opinion that divides us, s/he should abandon it. From the opinion, our nation is divided. Do not attempt to divide the unity.<sup>151</sup>

When we develop this ideology, when all Koreans thoroughly understand and put Ilminjuŭi into action, and when we have the spirit and resolution to pursue the happiness of thirty million Koreans, we will no longer be deceived by the communists' deceiving propaganda. We will also have the solid foundation of democracy, and Korea will be a bastion of exemplary democracy.<sup>152</sup>

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communist government, it had underlying socialist/communist basis as can be seen in the four pillars of the ideology. Hō explains that Rhee needed to insert socialist ideology in Ilminjuŭi because its main objective was to convert leftist to the right (Hō 2013b: 401).

<sup>150</sup> Though the territory of Silla covered almost all of the Korean peninsula and Rhee acknowledged that North and South Korea were "a nation", he did not include North Korea as "ilmin" in his discussion.

<sup>151</sup> Rhee, *Ilminjuŭi*, p. 8

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid*, p. 16.

As can be seen in the excerpts, the precondition of being “ilmin” is to be bound as one ideologically and even spiritually. Rhee did not allow diversity not only in the political and cultural spheres but also in people’s thought. He declared any stumbling block to being one, i.e. communism, ought to be eliminated. He also stressed that the Republic of Korea should develop Ilminjuŭi “only”, and all ROK people ought to understand and practice it thoroughly so that they would not be deceived by communism.

In this respect, Rhee specified what communism and democracy “had to” mean to Koreans. Rhee asserted that communism was conceived to allow the poor to enjoy equal wealth. In contrast to the expectation, he claimed it resulted in the poverty of the society, the destruction of world peace and even more, in the deception of its own nature.<sup>153</sup> Rhee agreed in the second excerpt that the one ideology Koreans ought to accept was “democracy”. In short, Rhee asserted that Koreans could be “one” by unanimously accepting democracy and expelling communism. Equality, therefore, meant “sameness”, and “sameness” did not allow different political systems and political opponents. The “unity” Rhee dreamed of was not “unity in diversity” as expected in democratic nations but a “unity” that all Koreans could achieve under the instruction and leadership of Rhee.

This ideology was used to bind Korean people together under the control of Rhee.<sup>154</sup> Its emphasis on “oneness” was not intended to promote “unity” while maintaining “diversity” but to prevent the existence of political opposition<sup>155</sup> and to standardise the thought of the people. Priority was given to the “nation” or “government” rather than to the citizens. This standardising system of Ilminjuŭi, combined with the idolisation of Rhee, became an ideology which suppressed diversity, othered his opponents and enforced the subservience of people to Rhee’s personal control. This ideology became the criteria for dealing with the series of events and enforce anti-communism, which will be discussed in the following sections.

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<sup>153</sup> Ibid, p. 8-10.

<sup>154</sup> Im CM, “Ilminjuuiwa” p. 297; Kim SJ, “Taehanmin'guk Suripchik'u” p. 375.

<sup>155</sup> Kim SJ, “Taehanmin'guksuripchik'u”, p. 375.

## 2.2.2 Eliminating the Other: Framing “Reds”

### 2.2.2.1 The Yösu and Sunch'ön Revolts

The Yösu and Sunch'ön Revolts (Yösun Revolt hereafter) that broke out in the South Chölla region in the autumn of 1948, are significant for understanding how the social and political context of the time ignited Rhee's desire to employ a series of repressive measures targeting communist and socialists, political figures and also common citizens who opposed the Rhee regime. The Yösun Revolt broke out on 19<sup>th</sup> October 1948 when soldiers of the 14<sup>th</sup> Regiment refused to be dispatched to Cheju to participate in the subjugation of the Cheju Insurgency<sup>156</sup> asserting that the regiment should not be mobilised for a fratricidal battle. Though the revolt had not been thoroughly planned before the outbreak,<sup>157</sup> the impact of it was significant.

The revolt was first instigated by Chi Ch'angsu<sup>158</sup> who was a lieutenant of the 14<sup>th</sup> Regiment as well as an agent from South Korea Worker's Party (SKWP), a representative communist party, along with forty fellow agents. They first seized an ammunition warehouse, armed themselves and were immediately joined by two thousand soldiers from the regiment.<sup>159</sup> Overnight, the revolutionary groups “seized control of Yösu; they overwhelmed the town police station and seized its weapons” and Sunchön was taken by the early afternoon of 20 October 1948. Then they advanced to adjacent areas such as Kurye, Kwangyang, Posöng, and Namwön.<sup>160</sup> For the first few days (eight days for Yösu and three days for Sunchön), the revolutionary groups had control of these areas, and consequently ruthlessly executed people and policemen who were considered to collaborate actively with

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<sup>156</sup> Cheju Insurgency: a rebellion that broke out on Cheju Island on 3 April 1948 and continued until 21 September 1954.

<sup>157</sup> Kim TC (2009) and Cumings (1990) suggest that the uprisings in these areas had not been plotted in advance because the headquarters of the SKWP itself did not know the plan in advance. The “Revolt caught both the SKWP and the North by surprise” and “the Seoul branch of the party first heard of it from news reports” (Merrill 1982: 209).

<sup>158</sup> As will be discussed, the alleged ringleader changed from time to time. The notion that the ringleader of the revolt was Chi Ch'angsu was accepted in the mid-1960s based on the report made on 5th November 1948 by *Tonggwang Shinmun* and a report from G-3 Section, XXIV Corps made on 10th November 1948 (Chu CH 2013: 275-278). These two reports agreed that First Lieutenant Kim Chiheo and Lieutenant Chi were an initiator and agitator respectively. Chu argues that Chi was the “proper” person to be labelled as the “ringleader” by the government because he had close connections with the SKWP and was a leftist in the area, though he seemed to be just an agitator and because it would be possible for the government to describe the revolt as a conspiracy of the SKWP and the leftists (Chu CH 2013: 275-288).

<sup>159</sup> Sö CS, “Isüngmankwa Yösansagön”, p. 303.

<sup>160</sup> Cumings, *The Origins II*, pp. 260-261.

Japan in suppressing Koreans, and tried to overturn the ROK Constitution and Rhee regime.<sup>161</sup> However, their rule did not continue for long. The US Forces in Korea and National Military Forces, except those guarding 38<sup>th</sup> parallel, were dispatched to subjugate the rebels and the alleged supporters of the revolt. In the process, civilians who had nothing to do with the rebels were also executed.<sup>162</sup>

The Rhee government took advantage of this incident to solidify the regime. The government changed the supposed ringleader of the revolt from time to time, using this to target Rhee's political opponents. During the very early phase of the revolt, the government declared that it had come about through the cooperation of "extreme rightists" and "communists infiltrators".<sup>163</sup> In the first announcement of the Prime Minister, Lee Pömsök, which was done two days after the outbreak, he asserted that the ringleader of the revolt was O Tongki and it was caused by "the long manoeuvre and conspiracy of people affiliated with communism", and that "the communists acted in collusion with extreme-rightist politicians". According to Lee, the "communists" had made the plan to conspire with anti-nationals even several months before the revolt in order to subvert the ROK.<sup>164</sup> He added "it is abominable that the extreme rightists who had claimed to stand for our people and nation engaged in and promoted criminal activities for the benefit of the rightists themselves".<sup>165</sup>

Who were these "extreme rightists" then? Kim T'aesön, the Commissioner of the National Police Agency, announced that the main leaders of the revolt were Ch'oe Nüngchin, O Tongki, Sö Sech'ung and Kim Chinsöp. Ch'oe was a leader who "was

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<sup>161</sup> Ibid, p. 598.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid, p. 600-601.

<sup>163</sup> Kim TC, "Isüngman", p. 155.

<sup>164</sup> "Yösunsagön Kyöngwiwa Sönggyökül Sölmyöng", *Chayu Shinmun*, 22, October 1948.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid. The clues concerning the alleged "leftists" can be found in the investigation report on the Revolutionary Volunteer Army (Hyöngmyöngüiyonggun). Kim T'aesön announced on 21<sup>st</sup> October 1948 that members of the Revolutionary Volunteer Army who had not been arrested initiated the Yösun Revolt ("Hyöngmyöngüiyong-gun Sagön Chinsang Palp'yo", the *Seoul Shinmun* 23, Oct 1948). According to the announcement, the members made an attempt to subvert the government and to establish a communist government in South Korea by cooperating with the SKWP and by erecting political figures they "admired" as their central figures. Kim emphasised that they planned to occupy the National Assembly and to get the assembly members to announce the political platform they wanted to deliver. TC Kim argues that this argument cannot be true since the army was not large enough to attempt to occupy the National Assembly and they were not so naïve as to attack Yösu and Sunchön in order to occupy the National Assembly. Not only that, the charge laid against the "Revolutionary Volunteer Army," that they plotted secret and violent revolution was not proved (Kim TC 2000: 157-163). Key figures in the army, including Ch'oe Nüngchin, O Tongki, Sö Sech'ung and Kim Chinsöp, were arrested on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1948 just before the outbreak of the Yösun Revolt and the government claimed that the remaining people carried out the plans.

a candidate of the Dongdaemun Kap constituency in Seoul in the 10 May General Election”, “had been an anarchist” and “attempted to impede the construction of the South Korean government”.<sup>166</sup> Rhee Syngman defeated Ch’oe in the general election, and Ch’oe was known to be “a strong supporter of Kim Ku”.<sup>167</sup> This argument is meaningful in that, regardless of its validity, the phrase “extreme rightists” would remind the Korean people of Kim Ku, who was a political rival of Rhee as well as a figure who objected to the establishment of the ROK government, boycotted the 10 May General Election and sought reunification even after the establishment of the separate government. Of course, Kim Ku denied all the rumours<sup>168</sup> and even John B. Coulter, the US Armed Forces Commander in Korea, made a very neutral report saying that the Yösun Revolt was caused by forty guards of the constabulary and their attack mainly targeted police stations.<sup>169</sup>

Realising that the government’s argument that extreme rightists and Kim Ku were involved in the uprisings did not seem to be accepted among the people, the alleged leaders of the revolt changed from both the rightists and communists to general communist civilians in the rebellious areas.<sup>170</sup> On 26<sup>th</sup> October 1948, the ROK Army Chief of Staff Colonel, Chöng Ilkwön, announced that the real ringleader was Song Uk, the head teacher of Yösu Girls’ Middle School.<sup>171</sup> This paradigm shift meant the government tried to impute all the responsibility for the outbreak of the revolt to common citizens in the area, by focusing on the involvement of the general public rather than the army.<sup>172</sup>

On 28<sup>th</sup> October, the announcement of the Director of Public Relations, Kim Hyöngwön, confirmed that common civilians took a leading role in the revolt,

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<sup>166</sup> “Hyöngmyöngüiyonggun Sagön Chinsang Palp'yo”, the *Seoul Shinmun* 23, Oct 1948; Kim TC describes Ch’oe as a nationalist who tried to oppose Rhee and then was retaliated. Ch’oe served as a reference agent for O Tongki who served as a campaigner for him, but when, coincidentally, the revolt took place in the 14th Regiment, which O belonged to, O was falsely accused of leading the revolt (Kim TC 2000: 159). Given the fact that “the sensationalism of the charges against him, his unusually light three-year sentence (...), his non-collaborationist record in the short period of Communist occupation during the war (...) suggest that Ch’oe was the victim of politically motivated charges and constabulary factionalism” (recited in Merrill 1982: 211).

<sup>167</sup> Merrill, *Internal*, p. 210.

<sup>168</sup> “Kügugwanyöunün Ihaenan”, the *Chosun Ilbo* 28, Oct 1948; “Kim Ku, Yösunsagöne Taehayö Tamhwarül Palp'yo”, the *Seoul Shinmun* 31, Oct 1948.

<sup>169</sup> “Yösunsagöne Taehayö Söngmyöngsö Palp'yo”, *Buin Shinbo*, 24, Oct 1948.

<sup>170</sup> Kim, CS & Park, OI, “Kukkach'eje Hyöngsönggiüi,” p. 28.

<sup>171</sup> “Yösuyöjajunghakkyo Kyojangi Yösunsagön Chudongjarago Palp'yo”, *Segye Ilbo* 27, Oct 1948.

<sup>172</sup> Chu CH, “Yösun Sagön, p. 270.

implying that the constabulary joined a civilian conspiracy, not vice versa. In the announcement, Kim asserted that although it had been known among people that the 14<sup>th</sup> Regiment instigated the revolt and the people agreed to it, it was in fact a conspiracy of anti-governmental communists and socialists in South Chōlla to bring about chaos in the area while also celebrating the October Revolution at the same time. On the same day, the Minister of National Defence reported that citizens initiated the revolt. This was supported by the rumour that even before the soldiers were ready to join, the citizens had prepared food, flags and armaments.<sup>173</sup> Students and teachers were also among them. The Yōsun Revolt was therefore defined as “a part of the international communist movement to expand Soviet influence on the Korean peninsula” rather than “an incident caused by Rhee’s misrule”<sup>174</sup> and the consequent dissatisfaction of people.

#### 2.2.2.2 What Was the Reality of the Yōsun Revolt?

There were some people who interpreted the revolt from a very different perspective to the Rhee government. In a column published on 27 October, the *Seoul Shinmun* advised the government to try to bridge the gap between the government and the people by looking at why the citizens were dissatisfied with the government and what they wanted the government to achieve.<sup>175</sup>

The unfair rice collection, notorious police and the inherent instability of the constabulary might have contributed to the outbreak of the revolts.<sup>176</sup> First of all, improving the government rice collection was the most frequently discussed solution to controlling the situation. Assemblymen Cho Okhyōn and Lee Hangbal asserted that the rice collection still followed the old, vicious and suppressive tradition of the Japanese and USAMGIK.<sup>177</sup> From May 1946, South Korean farmers were forced to give crops to the government as a form of tax. The amount collected was decided by the officers who were close to chiefs of towns and landowners, and hence it was unfavourable to the tenant famers or poor farmers.<sup>178</sup> On top of this, since the rice

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<sup>173</sup> Assembly 1/90: 8.

<sup>174</sup> Kim CS and Pak OI, “Kukkach’ije Hyōngsōnggiūi,” p. 29.

<sup>175</sup> “Pallane Taehayō”, the *Seoul Shinmun* 27, Oct 1948.

<sup>176</sup> Hwang, NC, “Chōnnam,” pp. 418-436.

<sup>177</sup> Assembly 1/97:3-4.

<sup>178</sup> Hwang NC, “Chōnnam,” p. 426.

collection was supervised by the police, farmers who were considered to be leftists or not to have good relations with the chiefs or police, were disadvantaged in terms of the amount of the grain they needed to provide.<sup>179</sup> To make matters worse, before July 1949, farmers were forced, often “voluntarily”, to sell surplus rice and wheat at the government fixed price. The problem was that the officials in charge of these matters failed to realise what really happened in their constituency,<sup>180</sup> and rice was collected excessively at a lower price than expected. Naturally it caused a serious lack of grain to feed the farmers in 1948.<sup>181</sup>

The fact that the rebels attacked police stations first implies that untrusted police might have contributed to the outbreak of the revolt. Assemblyman Lee Chaehyŏng argued that the police were totally alienated from people, and the people who hated the police were swayed by communists and then engaged in the revolt. Kim TC stresses, too, that the reason the rebels were so successful in the early phase of revolt was that their slogan of overthrowing pro-Japanese traitors and corrupt policemen appealed to the local people.<sup>182</sup> The main dissatisfaction of Koreans with the police was due to the repressive character of the police under Japanese colonial rule and during the USAMGIK period had not changed even after the establishment of the ROK government. Not only were the police collaborating with the extreme rightists who “controlled the overt political structure” and “had been ruthlessly brutal in suppressing disorder” but they also generally “regarded the communists as rebels and traitors who should be seized, imprisoned, and sometimes shot on the slightest provocation”.<sup>183</sup> Former American officials also described the police, “as a base for forces of the darkest reaction in pre-war Japan, exercised in south Korea, a high degree of control over virtually all phases of the life of the people”.<sup>184</sup>

The repressive character of the police did not only affect the general public but also the constabulary. Unlike the police, the constabulary was an agglomeration of all kinds of people, including leftists, members of the SKWP and even criminals and gangsters.<sup>185</sup> The police thought that communists lurked among the constabulary and

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid, 426.

<sup>180</sup> Assembly 1/91: 2

<sup>181</sup> Hwang NC, “Chŏnnam”, p. 426.

<sup>182</sup> Kim TC, *Ppalgaengi*, P. 598.

<sup>183</sup> Cumings, *Origins II*, p. 187.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid, p. 187.

<sup>185</sup> NC Hwang, Chŏnnam, pp. 417-8.

the constabulary thought the police despised them.<sup>186</sup> It was, therefore, a natural consequence that relations between the two would deteriorate. Lee Hangbal, therefore, suggested the government would need to reflect on how the communists became more organised than they were even before the 10 May election, rather than attributing this revolt to communists.

### 2.2.2.3 Stories Told I

The Yōsun Revolt and the reaction of the government clearly show how the Rhee government labelled the rebels and leftists/communists. As discussed in the Introduction, the “labelling” strategy, as a narrative framing strategy, “guides and constrains our response to the narrative in question”.<sup>187</sup> The government officers, including the president himself, press and cultural figures engaged in a labelling process as a means of “red hunting”.<sup>188</sup>

The president and the prime minister both labelled the rebels as “unforgivable enemies”, and therefore “others” to be separated from “ourselves” and as those who were “vicious and dangerous reds/communists”. President Rhee asserted that the rebels involved in the Yōsun incident were “communist elements (共產分子)”.<sup>189</sup> They had “a *conspiracy* to communise South and North Korea” and “committed *arson* and *destruction*, *hurt* people, and *destroyed* materials”.<sup>190</sup> Rhee contrasted “*impure/heterogeneous* elements (不純分子)”, meaning the rebels, to the “thirty million Korean men and women” and to the “patriotic guardians of national security”<sup>191</sup> which meant the Korean police, who had “outstanding patriotic minds”.<sup>192</sup> In addition, Rhee argued that “the whole world acknowledged that communists and non-communists would not be able to co-exist cooperatively, which

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<sup>186</sup> Sō CS, “Isūngman'gwa,” p. 315.

<sup>187</sup> Baker, *Translation*, p. 122.

<sup>188</sup> Reds were also called “ppalgaengi.” As a word combining “red” and “person”, this word was used to indicate people who were aligned with communism and who aimed to “subvert” the society they belonged to.

<sup>189</sup> “分子” in “共產分子” which was translated into “element” or “fraction” means an individual being who has certain character which is generally negative. This “分子” was repeatedly used by Rhee and government officials to describe the rebels.

<sup>190</sup> Munyōn, *Pallan*, p. 7. All italics in this section are mine.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid*, p. 8-11.

<sup>192</sup> “Isūngman Taet'ongnyōngŭi Chōngbusurim 1-chunyōn Kinyōmsa”, *Chosōn Chungang Ilbo* 15/8/1949.

means that two of similar power cannot stand together”.<sup>193</sup> He also added that “we neither see them as ‘human’ nor call them compatriots”<sup>194</sup> and the revolt was “*barbaric activities*”.<sup>195</sup> The Prime Minister, Lee Pömsök, also labelled the Yösun Revolt as the “*underground operations of communist conspirators*”, and claimed that “the *evil hands* (魔手) of the most *vicious elements* (惡質分子) penetrated into the constabulary.”<sup>196</sup> Lee also asserted that “justice and treason cannot co-exist”.<sup>197</sup>

With regard to the press reports on the events, there was both official government censorship and also voluntary support for the government’s narrative framing from the media. The titles and contents of news articles usually exaggerated the casualties or labelled the rebels as dangerous people and “impure elements”. The revolt was described as being “*instigated by communists*”.<sup>198</sup> An “*abominable treacherous massacre carried out by evil communists*”<sup>199</sup> and was “similar to the communist *conspiracy* that tried to *assassinate* Dr. Rhee in Seoul with a bomb”.<sup>200</sup> The press also supported the police and tried to alienate the rebels from Koreans by asserting that there were “*enemies are among the people*”.<sup>201</sup>

Literary figures contributed to the promotion of similar narratives, too. The government dispatched two groups of selected literary figures to the areas to investigate the situation of the revolt on 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1948. The literary figures, who consisted mostly of the supporters of the government, naturally concentrated on the purported subversive character of the rebels and the casualties caused by them, without any consideration of the casualties caused by the counterinsurgency. The literary figures identified the rebels with communists as can be deduced from phrases such as “propaganda of dreadful germ-like communists” which they used in the book, *Pallan kwa Minjoküi Kago* (Rebellion and the Nation’s Resolve, 反亂과 民族의 覺悟),

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<sup>193</sup> “Isüngman Taet’ongnyöng Ch’öngnyöndürüi Taedongdan’györi P’iryohadago Pangsong Yönsöl”, *Man’gug Ilbo* 21 Dec 1948.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid.

<sup>195</sup> “Yösunsagön Kadamjaüi Ch’ölchöhan Saekch’urül Chishihanün Tamhwarül Palp’yo”, *Susan’gyöngje Shinmoon* 05, Nov 1948

<sup>196</sup> Munyon, *Pallan*, p. 13.

<sup>197</sup> “Kungmuh’ongni Wönin Palp’yo”, the *Kyunghyang Shinmoon*, 22, Oct 1948

<sup>198</sup> “Kongsanbunjaüi Saju”, the *Dong-a Ilbo* 24 Oct 1948

<sup>199</sup> “Akchil Kongsanbunjaüi Chaninmudohan Panyökchök Haksal”, the *Kyunghyang Shinmoon* 03, Nov 1948

<sup>200</sup> “Akchil Kongsanbunjaüi Chaninmudohan Panyökchök Haksal”, the *Kyunghyang Shinmoon* 03 Nov 1948

<sup>201</sup> “Taejung Kü Soge Chögi Itta”, the *Dong-a Ilbo* 29/10/1948

published after the investigation.<sup>202</sup> The writers described the casualties and the violence with phrases such as “died after eyes being popped out alive”,<sup>203</sup> “*abominable demonic cannibal-like barbaric acts that made people bleed, pulled their eyes out, crushed their skeletons and shot eighty bullets into a corpse*”,<sup>204</sup> and “corpses were here and there”.<sup>205</sup> They also repeatedly defined the people who did these vicious acts as “*not our compatriots (同抱) but our enemies, enemies of our nation*”<sup>206</sup> and “these are not our compatriots and they are people of another nation”.<sup>207</sup>

The government, including Rhee, alongside these literary figures promoted ideologically-laden narratives on the rebels and the revolt. The narratives labelled the rebels as unethical, volatile and distrustful people by nature by repetitively using direct and inscribed evaluative words such as dangerous, suspicious, enemy, evil, massacre and abominable. Their deeds also are described as unthinkably violent, as can be seen from phrases such as “demonic cannibal-like” and “eight bullets in a corpse”. These subversive and distrustful people conspired with a country - the Soviet Union - that was dangerous and unethical, too. In short, to the government and Rhee, the rebels and the Soviet Union were a subversive, violent, vicious and dangerous “other” who could not and should not be one of “us”.

It is interesting to note that the government, press and cultural figures alike participated in the promotion of these narratives. This fact shows how pervasive government control was in every aspect of the country and how deep the connection was between the government, the cultural sphere and the press.<sup>208</sup> This connection would become the solid foundation on which Rhee’s anti-communist policies could unfold and the anti-communist narratives could be promoted and disseminated to the general public.

The Yösun Revolt is important not only because the communists lurked even in

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<sup>202</sup> Muniyön, *Pallan*, p. 17.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid*, p. 32.

<sup>204</sup> Pak CH, “Namhaengrok”, in the *Dong-a Ilbo*, 14/Nov/1948 -21/Nov/1948.

<sup>205</sup> Muniyön, *Pallan*, p. 71.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid*, p. 71.

<sup>207</sup> Pak CH, “Namhaengrok”, in the *Dong-a Ilbo*, 14/Nov/1948 -21/Nov/1948.

<sup>208</sup> The reason that the government could have achieved the control over the cultural sphere in a short period of time was that, even during the USAMGIK period, the military government purged the press, and pro-Japanese collaborators and pro-Americans occupied key positions in the government and social and cultural institutions.

the constabulary, which led to serious and tragic casualties done by both factions, but also because it blurred the line that divided nationalists from anti-nationalists and subversive communists from civilians who were only interested in the future of the nation. On top of this, despite the evidence of the problems people in South Chölla area encountered in their everyday life and its relation to the origins of the revolt, the government did not hesitate to turn the rebels into enemies and to suppress them. The promotion of narratives that identified them with vicious communists was a natural process. In this sense, the revolt was an opportunity as well as a crisis for the Rhee regime. It was a crisis because it was true that the rebels insisted on the establishment of a People's Republic and caused tremendous losses in the region. It was also an opportunity for Rhee, however, to weaken his political opponents. With the promotion of the government narratives on the revolt, they could distract the public from their faults, justify suppression of their political opponents and empower the police and anti-communists who were the main supporters of Rhee. In short, by indiscriminately labelling the opponents of Rhee and rebels as “reds” and by identifying “reds” with “destruction” and “threat” to the security of the nation, Rhee could pave a way to the consolidation of his anti-communist regime and the justify the suppression of his political rivals/opponents.

### 2.2.3 Eliminating the “Other”

#### 2.2.3.1 The Special Investigative Committee on Anti-National Activities

The rise and fall of the Special Investigative Committee on Anti-National Activities in 1948 is a good example of the government's effort to label its opponents as “Reds” and to stop the activities of Rhee's political opponents as a means of stabilising the regime. The Special Law on Anti-National Activities and the Special Investigative Committee on Anti-National Activities, the organisation established to execute the law,<sup>209</sup> were established to track and punish the most “malicious” pro-Japanese collaborators. The law could be drafted because the Constitution made it clear that the prosecution of pro-Japanese collaborators would need to be made law and because assemblymen who were not aligned with communism or socialism but were sceptical to Rhee regime and its policies occupied a significant number of seats in

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<sup>209</sup> The Committee consisted of Investigators, Special Department of Persecution (T'ükpyölgömch'albu), and Special Department of Justice (T'ükpyölchaep'anbu).

the Constitutional Assembly.<sup>210</sup> The law was passed unanimously, with the approval of President Rhee,<sup>211</sup> and was promulgated on 22 September 1948 as a presidential decree. The committee and law were fervently welcomed among the South Korean people.<sup>212</sup>

Despite the official and outward support, secret operations existed to suspend the execution of the law, for example: the National Anti-communist Rally, attempts to assassinate the committee members and a speech made by Rhee in January 1949.

On 23 September 1948 when the Law was announced by President Rhee, a “National Anti-communist Rally” was held in Seoul Stadium. Officially this rally was held to promote the anti-communist spirit among Koreans<sup>213</sup> and had been prepared by Lee Chonghyōng,<sup>214</sup> Lee Kupōm,<sup>215</sup> and No Tōksul.<sup>216</sup> As can be expected from the people who organised the rally, it was held to proclaim the need for the abolition of the special law. At the rally, which was attended by 100,000 citizens of Seoul, in addition to speeches on anti-communism, there was also a

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<sup>210</sup> After 10 May General Election, out of 198 seats, candidates from National Society for the Rapid Realization of Korean Independence (NSRRKI) occupied 55 (53) seats, KDP 28 (29) seats and independents 85 seats (Lee KS 2003a: 93). Many of the independents and other successful candidates were against Rhee or against KDP. In addition, the US Embassy reported on the result of the Election that 17 from KIP, 8 from minority group and 10 from Kim Kyusik and his leftist faction were progressive members. Merrill wrote that 30 were from Kim Ku and Kim Kyusik faction (Lee KS 2003a: 95).

<sup>211</sup> Assembly 1/75: 13. He seemed to oppose to the enactment of the law though he had to announce the legislation of it. It was because if he did not do it, the Assembly would not pass the law on rice collection when the government needed to execute a forceful rice collection to secure enough government-held rice (Chōng WH 1999: 15).

<sup>212</sup> By the window of the office of the Special Committee, a flood of letters which reported anti-national activities was piled out of the hope of people who wanted the Law would not be abolished (the *Seoul Shinmun* 21/11/1948). Of course, this was reported by the *Seoul Shinmun* which maintained a critical position towards the government and supported the Law. Therefore, there might be a possibility that the press exaggerated the response of the Koreans. However, it seems to be undeniable that there had been a desire among the majority of Korean civilians to clear the vestiges of Japanese colonial rule.

<sup>213</sup> Interestingly, even before the rally, Assemblyman Yu Sōngkap argued in an article published on 20 August 1949 that the rally would be held to prevent the execution of the special law (Assembly 1/75: 19) even though *Taehan Ilbo* advertised the rally with the title of “Opening of National Ally: Rising of One million citizens for National Emergency.” Not only that, *The Dong-a Ilbo* published an article titled “Objection to the Anti-National Law is the real objective of the Anti-communism Rally?” (the *Dong-A Ilbo*, 24, Sep 1948). This means, even before the day of the rally, the Korean people could predict the real nature of the rally.

<sup>214</sup> Lee Chonghyōng: President of *Taehan Ilbo*. He argued that to persecute pro-Japan collaborators by legislating a retroactive law was to amuse communists (recited in Oh IH 1980: 110).

<sup>215</sup> Lee Kupōm: A policeman who had worked during the Japanese colonial period and collaborated with Japanese. He was known for his notorious torture of independent fighters.

<sup>216</sup> No Tōksul: A representative and notorious policeman who supported the Japanese colonial government by suppressing independence fighters. When the special committee arrested him, the tension between the committee and Rhee became worsened.

resolution asking for the amendment of the special law.<sup>217</sup> Fliers were distributed again, and the fliers contained the determination to clear up the “anti-national communists”, to amend the Anti-National Activities Law by inserting a provision on the purging of anti-national communists, and to unite public opinion based on Rhee’s command to “get together”.<sup>218</sup>

The Rally was assumed to be supported or abetted by the government, especially the Ministry of Interior.<sup>219</sup> Prime Minister, Lee Pumsök, attended and, even President Rhee was scheduled to deliver a congratulatory speech. But the speech was read by another attendee on behalf of Rhee.<sup>220</sup> In addition, some assembly members who supported the Law believed that people were forced to attend the rally by the police, fearing they would be deprived of the right to their food rations and would be labelled as “Reds” if they did not.<sup>221</sup> After the rally, the Prime Minister announced that the rally was “patriotic”.

Another example of the secret operation of the government is that there had been an attempt to assassinate assemblymen who publicly supported the special law or who were members of the Special Investigative Committee of Anti-National Activities, including figures such as No Ilhwan, Kim Ungchin, Kim Changryöl, Kim Pyöngro and Kim Sangtök.<sup>222</sup> Former and working policemen were deployed to assassinate the committee members, one of whom was No Töksul who was himself wanted by the committee. It is interesting that when No was finally arrested by the committee, it was suspected that policemen were protecting him, though the Vice-Minister of the Interior later denied it.<sup>223</sup> Moreover, President Rhee himself invited six members of the committee and asked them to release No because, as a (former) policeman, he was a “meritorious man” in the police organisation.<sup>224</sup>

Rhee’s speeches also reflect his own attitudes and those of his government concerning the special law. In early September 1948, he asserted that “the

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<sup>217</sup> “Minjunggangjedongwön Panminböm Pandae Tüng Kukh'oesö Chungdae Munjehwa”, the *Donga Ilbo* 24, Sep 1948.

<sup>218</sup> Lee KS, *Panmint'ügwi*, p. 158.

<sup>219</sup> Yun denied the rumour that he abetted the Rally. However, the rally had been advertised for several days and the Mayor of Seoul, Yun Posön, was said to recommend the Minister not to held it due to the mudslinging character of the Rally (Assembly 1/75:13)

<sup>220</sup> Hö C, *Panmint'ügwiüi*, p. 334.

<sup>221</sup> Assembly 1/75, p. 17.

<sup>222</sup> Lee KS, *Panmint'ügwi*, p. 167.

<sup>223</sup> Assembly 2/29, pp. 2-4.

<sup>224</sup> Assembly 2/21, pp. 2-3.

prosecution of pro-Japan collaborators can *disturb public sentiment*.”<sup>225</sup> In early November 1948, Rhee argued that the people who mentioned the prosecution of the pro-Japan collaborators the most frequently were “communists,” and if the collaborators were arrested, the security of the nation would be in danger and that was *what the communists wanted to achieve*.<sup>226</sup> For these reasons, on 10<sup>th</sup> January 1949, Rhee requested that the scope of committee’s investigation be curtailed to the minimum.<sup>227</sup> On 15<sup>th</sup> February, Rhee said that giving the committee full powers to investigate, prosecute and punish anti-nationals was against the constitutionally guaranteed separation of the three powers. He also argued that the committee should only be in charge of the investigation, and the power to prosecute and judge should go to the judiciary.<sup>228</sup> In response to this, the cabinet submitted a revised version of the special law to the assembly that authorised the president’s direct intervention in the activities of the committee and made it more difficult to punish high-level policemen.<sup>229</sup>

Though the revised version of the law had not been passed in the assembly, the special law and the Anti-National Activities Committee came to an end in June 1949. The operation by the Rhee government targeting some national assemblymen began between late April to mid-May 1949 when three assemblymen, Lee Munwŏn, Ch’oe T’aekyu and Hwang Yunho were arrested<sup>230</sup> without any clear charges.<sup>231</sup> Of the three, Lee was one of the assemblymen who criticised the policies of Rhee government alongside No Ilhwan.<sup>232</sup> Officially, it was said that the prosecutors, Chang Chaekap and O Cheto, and policeman Ch’oe Unha organised a special

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<sup>225</sup> “Isŭngman Taet’ongnyŏng, Panminjok Haengwi Ch’ŏbŏlbŏm Chejŏnggwa Hanmi Haengjŏng Iyanghyŏpchŏnge Taehayŏ Tamhwarŭl Pal’yo”, the *Chosun Ilbo*, 4/Sep/1948. All italics in this section are mine.

<sup>226</sup> Assembly, 1/97, p. 14.

<sup>227</sup> “Isŭngman Taet’ongnyŏng, Panminjok Haengwi Ch’ŏbŏlbŏm Shihaengŭl Ch’oesohwa Hal Kŏsŭl Kangjohanŭn Tamhwarŭl Pal’yo”, the *Seoul Shinmun* 11/Jan/1949.

<sup>228</sup> Assembly 2/33, p. 1.

<sup>229</sup> Assembly 2/37, p. 22.

<sup>230</sup> While Sŏ CS suggests that Lee was arrested in the late April and the other two were before 17<sup>th</sup> May (Sŏ CS 1995: 453), WS Park suggests that the three were arrested on 20 May (Pak WS 1989: 228).

<sup>231</sup> Sŏ CS, “Chŏngbusurip,” p. 453. Sŏ CS adds that Kim Chunyŏn, an extreme rightist as well as anti-communist Assemblyman, wrote a column in *The Dong-a Ilbo* on 9 May 1949 on some Assemblymen’s following of Kim Ilsŏng, the leader of North Korea. Interesting fact is that on the same page of the newspaper an article which predicted the arrest of Lee Munwon was published on 17 May 1949 (Sŏ CS 1995: 453-454).

<sup>232</sup> Sŏ CS, *Isŭngman’gwa Che-1-Kongwhaguk*, p. 63.

inspection department after detecting suspicious movements by the assemblymen who supported the Law and sought a way of independence from external powers. These “suspicious movements” were closely related to the assemblymen’s submission of “A Resolution on the Withdrawal of Foreign Military Forces”, which was not even discussed in the assembly but caused agitation to Rhee<sup>233</sup> and “A Resolution on the Peaceful Unification of South and North”. After their arrests, the national assembly discussed a motion to release the three, but it could not be passed.

A direct attack on the assembly members followed, too. On 2<sup>nd</sup> June five hundred people<sup>234</sup> tried in vain to invade the national assembly building.<sup>235</sup> The next day, the leaders of the rally, including Kim Jŏnghān,<sup>236</sup> made a surprise attack on the special committee and on 6<sup>th</sup> June, forty policemen attacked the committee and arrested twenty-two special policemen<sup>237</sup> arguing that the special committee consisted of “Reds”.<sup>238</sup> The attack on the special police resulted in several injured special policemen, and AP reported that the attack was ordered by President Rhee<sup>239</sup> himself, although Rhee later denied it.<sup>240</sup> Combined with the arrests of the assemblymen who were alleged to be “spies”, the activities of the committee came to an end.

The rise and fall of the special law and the special committee showed the close and clear connection between the national police, the Ministry of Interior and the government (or Rhee). From the narratives that the government and Rhee had developed, it is clear that they tried to make an explicit link between the legislation of the special law and communist activities. At the September 1948 rally, it was claimed that Rhee was a “divine being” that “we” had to obey. The supporters of the law, therefore, could not be “us” because they were regarded as a possible threat to national security. In the narratives, they were described as “communist dogs” who

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<sup>233</sup> Han Sŭnghŏn, “Kukhoep’ŭrakch’i sagŏn”, the *Kyŏnghyang Shinmun*, 9, Nov 2014.

<sup>234</sup> Police asserted the number was fifty but general witnesses said that was about 500 (Assembly 3/20: 4).

<sup>235</sup> Assembly 3/20, p. 4.

<sup>236</sup> Kim Jŏnghān had been already a target of arrest by the Special Committee at the time of attack (Assembly 3/20: 5).

<sup>237</sup> In the minutes of National Assembly dated 13/June/1949, it is suggested that thirty-five policemen and officers were arrested. The Special Police were policemen who were assigned to arrest people who were accused of collaborating with the colonial Japan.

<sup>238</sup> Assembly 3/15, p. 12

<sup>239</sup> “Isŭngman Taet’ongnyŏng, Kyŏngch’arŭi Panmint’ŭgwi T’ŭkkyŏngdae Haesani Chashinŭi Myŏngnyŏnggirago Palp’yo”, the *Dong-a Ilbo* 8/June/1949.

<sup>240</sup> Assembly 3/15, p. 11.

plotted to cause chaos in Korea while the real anti-nationals who collaborated with Japan and suppressed Koreans in the colonial period were called “patriots”. In short, the regime redefined who the “anti-nationals” were. This implies that their anti-communism was not entirely derived from their patriotic desire to save their country from potential danger but from Rhee’s need to save his supporters who had been pro-Japanese collaborators as well as to consolidate his regime by suppressing his political rivals.

### 2.2.3.2 The National Security Law

The enactment of the National Security Law (NSL), first put into effect on 1 December 1948, was an evidence of the determination of the Rhee regime to identify its political opponents as potential “enemies” to be punished. There is no disagreement on the idea that the National Security Law was passed immediately after and in reaction to the outbreak of Yösun Revolt.<sup>241</sup> Chronologically, the precursor of this law, the Special Act on Revolts (Pallanhaengwi T’ükpyölchoch’iböpp), was moved in September 1948 in the national assembly but it had been disregarded until the outbreak of the Yösu and Sunch’ön Revolts.<sup>242</sup> After the outbreak of these revolts, the act was finally passed in a plenary session in November 1948 with a changed title, the National Security Law.<sup>243</sup>

The main objective of this law was “to punish the organisation of or involvement in the revolt-related groups to prevent activities of anti-national political parties”.<sup>244</sup> More specifically, according to the Minister of Justice, Lee In, the objective of this law was to prosecute people who denied the existence of the “lawful” government, who organised groups to follow the “puppet” country (DPRK), and who misled innocent young people into committing “murder, arson and destruction”.<sup>245</sup>

It focused more on the “prevention” of anti-national activities than punishing revolts or treason that had actually occurred. The 1948 version of the law aimed to prevent people from “forming” organisations or associations that “aimed” at revolt

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<sup>241</sup> Kang SH, “Han’gugüi”, p. 93; Assembly 1/99, p. 2-4.

<sup>242</sup> Pyön, TM, “Chelkonghwaguk,” pp. 91.

<sup>243</sup> Kang SH asserts that the change of the title of the Act was closely related to the urgent need of Rhee to gain the approval of UN on the establishment of ROK. It was considered that enactment of a suppressive act was not proper for the newly constructed nation (SH Kang 2012: 93).

<sup>244</sup> Sö CS, *Isüngman’gwa Che-I-Kongwahguk*, pp. 50-51.

<sup>245</sup> The *Seoul Shinmun* 02/12/1948.

against the government or aimed at murder, arson or the destruction of important infrastructure.<sup>246</sup> It also aimed to punish people who “discussed” or “propagated” the execution of the plans/objectives above mentioned and who provided, or “promised” to provide arms and ammunition to “potential” rebels.<sup>247</sup> The maximum sentence allowed by this law was life sentence or more than three-years of prison labour only in case of ringleaders and organising members.

Of course, the legislation of the NSL faced harsh opposition. At the national assembly meeting held on 16 November 1948, some assemblymen who used to oppose to the policies of Rhee government proposed the draft of the law be discarded, based on the assumption that it could punish innocent people due to the vagueness of the provisions and that seditious activities could be prevented or punished using existing laws. An assemblyman argued that ideological reorientation would have to be tried first to avoid indiscriminate arrests of people who were still confused in the face of conflicting ideologies.<sup>248</sup> Some asserted that the law was so punitive that even patriotic independence fighters could be arrested.<sup>249</sup>

The National Security Law was quite effective in alienating or eliminating Rhee’s opponents and in strengthening police and governmental power. During the year 1949, 118,621 people were arrested under the law<sup>250</sup> and almost eighty percent of those arrests were related to “leftist activities”.<sup>251</sup> Kwŏn Sŭngryŏl, the Minister of Justice, reported that by October 1949, the total number of prisoners was about 36,000 while the number in the period of USAMGIK had been 18,000, in June 1949 22,000 and in July 1949 30,000. The increase in the number of people arrested was obviously due to the NSL.<sup>252</sup>

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<sup>246</sup> Complete text of National Security Law:  
[https://ko.wikisource.org/wiki/%EB%8C%80%ED%95%9C%EB%AF%BC%EA%B5%AD\\_%EA%B5%AD%EA%B0%80%EB%B3%B4%EC%95%88%EB%B2%95\\_\(1948%EB%85%84\)](https://ko.wikisource.org/wiki/%EB%8C%80%ED%95%9C%EB%AF%BC%EA%B5%AD_%EA%B5%AD%EA%B0%80%EB%B3%B4%EC%95%88%EB%B2%95_(1948%EB%85%84))

<sup>247</sup> Ibid.

<sup>248</sup> Assembly, 1/105, p. 8; 1/107, p. 7.

<sup>249</sup> Assembly 1/105, p. 4. Assemblyman, Pak Yunwŏn, pointed out that the police force contained many who were corrupt or former collaborators, and thus real “patriots” who had fought for Korean independence could end up being thrown in jail (Assembly 1/107: 7). Assemblyman Kim Ungchin also asserted that the law could enable corrupt government officers to act in collusion with some profiteers and to use the law to incapacitate people who opposed them (Assembly 1/107: 7). A column from *The Chosun Ilbo* also warned that it could be an “unjust law (惡法)” that would position citizens as the objects of exploitation and domination (the *Chosun Ilbo* 04/11/1948).

<sup>250</sup> recited in Pyŏn TM, “Che-1-konghwaguk”, p. 105.

<sup>251</sup> Pak WS, *Kukkaboanbŏp*, pp. 103-104.

<sup>252</sup> Sŏ CS, *Han'guk'yŏndaesawa*, p. 21.

The most vivid case that shows the unequal application of the NSL to his political opponents was the arrest of alleged spies in the national assembly in June 1949. A woman named Chŏng Jaehan was a key figure in this event. Officially it is said that Chŏng, who was purported to be a special agent of the SKWP, was arrested when she tried to defect to North Korea. According to police, she was hiding a document, which the police claimed to be a report, written for Pak Hŏnyŏng on an underground movement among the members of the national assembly. The letter was decoded by proficient police investigators such as Kim Hoik, O Cheto and Sonu Jongwon who had once been prosecuted by the Special Investigative Committee on Anti-National Activities.<sup>253</sup> They allegedly found the names of several assemblymen who had been brought over to the SKWP. The letter was also purported to contain a detailed record of their activities in the assembly.<sup>254</sup>

In June, the woman - Chŏng Jaehan - was arrested, and the assemblymen who were on the list, No Ilhwan, Kim Okchu, Kang Ukchung, Pak Yunwŏn, Hwang Yunho, Kim Yaksu, SŏYongkil, Sin Sŏngkyun, Pae Chunghyŏk, and Kim Pyŏnghoe were arrested under the charge of violating the NSL.<sup>255</sup> The precise charges were that they had submitted to the assembly a proposal on the early withdrawal of foreign troops, which was already known to Pak Hŏnyŏng.<sup>256</sup> It was not clear whether Chŏng really existed or not, and the assemblymen were not given an opportunity to defend themselves by employing lawyer.<sup>257</sup> In addition, the arrested assemblymen were the members who attributed the cause of the Yŏsun Revolt to the government, were against the NSL, supported thorough land reform, and had acted as members of the special committee.<sup>258</sup>

Whether or not the assemblymen were innocent has never been revealed. What is obvious is that there was no evidence that proved they were guilty. The mysterious woman never appeared, and some of the assemblymen mentioned above were prosecuted under the vague charge of having close connections with SKWP which had nothing to do with the woman's secret document.<sup>259</sup> This means the government

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<sup>253</sup> Kim SU, *Kuk'oe'p'ŭrakch'i*, p. 207.

<sup>254</sup> Editors, "Kuk'oe'p'ŭrakch'i Sagŏn," p. 115.

<sup>255</sup> Pak WS, *Kukkaboanbŏp*, p. 228.

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid*, p. 230.

<sup>257</sup> Editors, "Kukhoep'ŭrakch'isagŏn", p. 117.

<sup>258</sup> Pak WS, *Kukkaboanbŏp*, p. 234.

<sup>259</sup> Kim, CK, *Kuk'oe P'ŭrakch'i*, p. 98.

“created” the charge after they were arrested and suggests the possibility that the arrested assemblymen were innocent or even if they were guilty, their charges were greatly inflated.

The NSL, therefore, was a direct means of “legally” punishing Rhee’s political opponents. Henderson argues that the introduction of the law was not motivated by judicial considerations but by political expediency, and it thus aimed at suppressing the members of the national assembly who threatened the Rhee regime.<sup>260</sup> Narratives used to describe the assembly members confirm this. The assemblymen who were the target of this Law were labelled as “reds” and the eighty-eight members of the Assembly who demanded the release of the arrested assembly members were also labelled similarly. In combination with the attack on the special committee by the police that happened in early June 1949, the power of the progressive fraction in the assembly decreased significantly.

#### 2.2.3.3 South Korea as Part of an Anti-communist Bloc: the Pacific Pact

On 20th April 1949, Elpidio Rivera Quirino, the president of Philippines proposed the formation of the Pacific Pact. The president of the Philippines seemed to be following the model of North Atlantic Treaty, which had been announced two days before. The president asserted that the US ought to pay attention to the people of Asia who were full of desire for democracy and who had abundant natural resources. Rhee added that the US could provide necessary leadership to nations in the Far East.<sup>261</sup> Rhee announced his complete support for the proposal and asserted that the US would need to be a leader who would help countries in Asia with all possible means. Thus, the participating nations ought to promise their full support and cooperation to the US to secure their own welfare and independence.<sup>262</sup>

Rhee’s support for the plan was closely related to the planned withdrawal of the United States Army Military Forces in Korea (USAFIK). NSC 8/2 made it clear that the US would withdraw its forces from Korea by early 1949 and would provide South Korea with limited armaments in order to eliminate any possibility that Rhee

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<sup>260</sup> recited in Kim SU, “Kukhoep’urakch’isagöngwa”, pp. 208-209.

<sup>261</sup> Pak, CH, “Isüngmanüi,” pp. 95-96.

<sup>262</sup> “Isüngman Taet’ongnyöng, P’illip’in Taet’ongnyöngüi T’aep’yöngyang Tongmaeng Kyölsöng Cheanül Chijihandanün Tamhwarül Palp’yo”, the *Dong-a Ilbo* 24, Mar 1949.

would invade North Korea.<sup>263</sup> As a result, Rhee was anxious about the security of his regime, and eager to realise the plan for a Pacific Pact. Following the joint declaration made with Chiang Kai-shek, the leader of Kuomintang, announced on 8<sup>th</sup> August 1949 after the conference in Chinhae, Rhee’s perception of the pact was revealed. He declared that “we have to struggle individually and collectively against the threat of world communism which denies human freedom and national independence” and that “we agreed with the joint declaration made by Chiang and Quirino”.<sup>264</sup> Though he failed to make his dream come true due to the reluctant response from the US, Rhee’s plan shows that he wanted to make South Korea a part of an alliance which shared the democratic spirit to prevent the communisation of South Korea.

#### 2.2.3.4 Stories Told II: Narratives Reflected in National Policies and the Press

In this section, I will analyse the narratives the government promoted during this period to show that the narratives had been ordinarily promoted across all sphere of the society, not just limited to Yösun Revolt. I selected speeches made by President Rhee and his government ministers on important internal matters or on special days such as the anniversary of the establishment of the republic, and materials published in the government’s *Weekly Bulletin (Chubo)*.

Table 2.1 Narratives Reflected in National Policies and the Press (my translation, originals in Appendix 1)

	Text	Target of evaluation	Attitudinal terms/ Diaglossic positions
The Spirit of Ilminjuüi and National Movement <sup>265</sup>			
1	After the success of the Russian Revolution and after taking power, they 1) <u>forgot</u> distributing lands and foods to	1), 2), 3), 4) Communists	1) mono –veracity 2) –propriety

<sup>263</sup> No KY, “Isüngman Chönggwönüi,” p. 189.

<sup>264</sup> “Isüngman Taet’ongnyöng, Changgaesök Ch’ongt’ong Chinhae Hoedam Kong-dong Söngmyöngmun”, the *Seoul Shinmun* 09, Aug 1949. In this conference, the two agreed on the four provisions: 1) the formation of Pacific Pact, 2) the formation of anti-communist unity, 3) strengthening of bond between China and Philippines and 4) economic cooperation (Pak CH 2006: 98).

<sup>265</sup> *The Kyunghyang Shinmoon*, 20, April 1949.

	farmers, and decided just to 2) <b><u>expand the power</u></b> of Communism. They 3) <b><u>strengthened military forces</u></b> and provoked the people of all countries with the aim of 4) <b><u>conquering the world.</u></b>		3) –security 4) –propriety –security
2	There is no people who are as 1) <b><u>poor</u></b> and 2) <b><u>suppressed</u></b> as the Russians.	1) Russians 2) Russians	1) –happiness –security 2) -happiness
3	You need to choose between the two options: becoming 1) <b><u>a slave by being deceived</u></b> by false propaganda or 2) <b><u>enjoying happiness and freedom of a democratic nation</u></b> by fighting the Communists.	1) communist 2) democracy	1) hetero –tenacity -happiness 2) +normality +happiness
Presidential Congratulatory Speech for the First Anniversary of the establishment of the government <sup>266</sup>			
4	In October last year, the Revolts that happened in Yōsu and Sunchōn were 1) <b><u>immediately subdued</u></b> and the rioters who fled to the Mt. Chiri were 2) <b><u>all cleared.</u></b> Their plan to 3) <b><u>provoke people, to initiate revolt and to stand against</u></b> the government was 4) <b><u>in vain.</u></b> The experiments of the rebels who tried 5) <b><u>to invade this country with the help and support of the Soviet and Chinese communists</u></b> were defeated.	1) the ROK 2) the ROK 3) Rioters 4) Rioters 5) Rioters/ The Soviet Union	1) mono +capacity 2) +capacity 3) –security –propriety 4) –capacity 5) –propriety
5	In the entire world, there are only a few countries that 1) <b><u>allow the unconditional right to vote.</u></b>	1) Korean political system	1) +valuation +reaction (quality)
6	This country we are constructing will seek 1) <b><u>only freedom</u></b> internally and externally.	1) Korean society	1) hetero +valuation /+reaction
7	The voice of the Communists is 1) <b><u>deceiving</u></b> voice.	1) communi- sm	1) mono –veracity
8	To be deceived by the voice is to 1) <b><u>accept slavery.</u></b> To be a communist is 2) <b><u>to be a slave.</u></b> The slave will 3) <b><u>be bound to orders</u></b> from the dictator.	1) communists 2) communists 3) communists	1) mono –tenacity –happiness 2) (inscribed) –tenacity –happiness 3) (inscribed) –tenacity
9	They 1) <b><u>cultivate anarchy and chaos</u></b> and 2) <b><u>destroy human society.</u></b> Then they tried to 3) <b><u>take advantage of</u></b> it.	1) communists 2) communists 3) communists	1) mono –propriety –security

<sup>266</sup> Chosōn Chungangilbo, 15, Aug 1949.

			2) –security 3) –propriety
10	Our democratic government was recognised as 1) <b><u>the only lawful government</u></b> with the majority vote of countries in UN General Assembly.	1) the ROK	1) mono +veracity +valuation
Speech of the Prime Minister commemorating the first anniversary of Yösun Revolt <sup>267</sup>			
11	The 1) <b><u>vicious plan</u></b> of the Communists and 2) <b><u>desire of politicians to take power</u></b> were combined 3) <b><u>to destroy the national foundation</u></b> that is being constructed. They instigated 4) <b><u>the vicious Yösun Revolt</u></b> that was the most 5) <b><u>serious tragedy</u></b> after the end of the War.	1) Communists 2) Communists 3) Communists 4) Communists 5) Revolt	1) –propriety 2) –propriety 3) –security –happiness 4) –propriety 5) –happiness
Conspiracy of Communism and World Plan for Prevention of Communism <sup>268</sup>			
12	Attending as a representative of the Soviet Union, the Minister Vishinski 1) <b><u>used vetos unscrupulously on every peaceful resolution</u></b> and 2) <b><u>hampered the order indulging in slanderous scheming targeting against all democratic countries...</u></b>	1), 2) Vyshinski	1) –propriety 2) –propriety
13	They tried to disseminate the 1) <b><u>disease of communism</u></b> to the world and insisted on 2) creating <b><u>chaos, murder, and destruction.</u></b>	1) communism 2) communism	1) mono inscribed –security 2) inscribed -security
The Status and the Responsibility of Korea in World Politics <sup>269</sup>			
14	The Allies that were provided with 1) <b><u>materials and weapons</u></b> by the US 2) <b><u>finally defeated</u></b> the totalitarian countries.	1) the US 2) Allies	1) mono +capacity 2) +capacity
15	Our ROK could only achieve half independence because of the 1) <b><u>new invader</u></b> who occupied the northern half of our territory.	1) North Korea	1) –propriety

As can be seen in the table above, the most frequently discussed topic was the tension between communism represented by the Soviet Union and North Korea and democracy represented by nations such as the US, the Allies and South Korea. The narrators used direct and inscribed words and sometimes monologossic sentences to

<sup>267</sup> *The Seoul Shinmun*, 19, Oct 1949.

<sup>268</sup> *Chubo*, 11/Jan/1950.

<sup>269</sup> *Chubo*, 8/Mar/1950, pp. 27-32.

emphasise their argument as well as to exclude any possibility that their arguments could be misinterpreted. The US and the Allies were described as strong, capable and rich enough to defeat “enemies” and to help Korea and other democratic nations.

More specifically, the US and the Allies were nations that helped Korea be recognised as a “lawful” country by the UN. In contrast, the communist nations were illustrated as “evil”, “poor” and a stumbling block in achieving world peace. Communism was described as a “disease” and it only caused the “destruction” of world peace, chaos and murder by “deceiving” people.

The contrast between North Korea and South Korea is also worth noting. The documents above described South Korea as the only “legitimate” government on the Korean peninsula which was developing and would prosper while North Korea was under the control of the Soviet Union and ended up being a killing machine which induced instability, insecurity, conflict and war. Also, even in South Korea, the common people who were living under “democratic” government and rebels were contrasted significantly. People who chose democracy were narrated as enjoying happiness and freedom while the communists and the rebels were described as “slaves” who destroyed Korean society. It is obvious that the officials including the president himself divided the world as well as South Korea into two blocs and “othered” the other half. Not only that, they tried to isolate the political opposition.

## Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed how the president Rhee Syngman and his government used a series of events to redefine part of the Korean population as “anti-nationals”. With the outbreak of the Yŏsun Revolt, Rhee realised he was still threatened by the power of the communists and leftists, and he began to rely on the power of policemen and politicians who had mostly been pro-Japanese collaborators. In order to consolidate his regime, he employed an anti-communist policy and labelled his political rivals or opponents as “anti-nationals”, “communists” or “Reds” regardless of their actual ideological orientation.

In this process, public narratives such as “communists/leftists are our enemies or others,” “the Soviet Union/North Korea is a threatening country” and “Rhee supporters as patriots and nationalists” were framed. The nationalists, centrists and

leftists who attempted reformation of the nation became “anti-nationals” and “Reds,” while those who collaborated with the Japanese occupiers suddenly became “patriots”. Attacks on the Special Investigative Committee, the passing of the National Security Law, and the arrests of alleged “spies” in the national assembly demonstrate the thoroughness of Rhee’s plan to eliminate his political opponents by ceaselessly promoting these narratives. In short, the anti-communism and indiscriminate “Reds” labelling promoted by Rhee were derived not only from a genuine fear of communist expansion but also from his own desire to consolidate his regime.

## Chapter 3 Anti-Communism in the Cultural Space and *Shinchunji*

In the previous chapter, I studied how the Rhee government came to develop anti-communist policies and narratives, and how these were used to suppress Rhee's political rivals and opponents in political sphere and to consolidate his regime.

In this chapter, I will discuss how the anti-communist policies were reflected in the press policy and how the policy changed the ideological orientation of a particular publishing company, the Seoul Shinmun. To be more specific, I will investigate how the ideological change in the press was closely related to the efforts of the governments as well as pro-governmental literary figures, who occupied key positions in the press after the reorganisation, and purging of anti-governmental people. I will also discuss how, under pressure from the government, the press was forced to produce narratives that satisfied the government's taste.

### 3.1 Press Policy and the Seoul Shinmun

The press policy of the Rhee government was crucial not only in maintaining his power in the cultural and social spheres but also in legitimising the roll out of his anti-communist policies and the purges of purported "communists". During the Liberation Period (1945-1948)<sup>270</sup>, it is fair to say that there had been more leftist newspapers than rightist ones. It is also reasonable to assume that the Rhee government started to suppress newspapers that politically opposed the regime. As a result, until July 1949 from the establishment of the government, sixteen newspapers and magazines were suspended or discontinued altogether.<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> Some scholars date the Liberation period as spanning from 1945 to 1950, because the political and social system of the ROK had not settled until the outbreak of the Korean War. However, I have narrowed the scope of this period for the clear comparison of the society before and after Independence.

<sup>271</sup> Assembly 3/12, p. 7. The deputy head of the Department of Public Relations, Kim Hyŏngwŏn, declares that one daily issue (日刊紙) and eight newspapers were discontinued and one was being suspended. Six weekly magazines, two magazines published every ten days, one bi-weekly and forty-one monthly magazines had been discontinued. In total, fifty-nine publications were discontinued or suspended. However, he argues that forty-three among them were discontinued just because of prolonged suspension and that in reality sixteen were discontinued or suspended and seventeen were

The laws that were used to suspend or discontinue the publication of certain newspapers and journals were the Kwangmu Newspaper Act of 1911 or the Seven Codes enacted in September 1948. Although the Kwangmu Newspaper Act was conceived in the Japanese occupation era it survived even after the establishment of the Republic of Korea in 1948 and was used as the main basis of the press purge. The law was enacted when Japan needed to control anti-Japanese newspapers and to pave the way for Japanese colonisation of Korea.<sup>272</sup> After the inauguration of the ROK government, the law continued to be used to prevent the press from “disregarding Constitutional Law” and from inducing the people to have “negative sentiments about the government”.<sup>273</sup> The Act was harshly criticised because it unreasonably suppressed the freedom of the press and because it suspended or discontinued newspapers such as *Chosŏn T’ongshin* and *Kungmin Shinmun* for trivial or ambiguous reasons.<sup>274</sup>

The other relevant regulation put into effect during this period was the Seven Codes on the press. These provisions were developed with the cooperation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of National Defence, Ministry of Justice and Department of Public Relations. The seven provisions prohibited the following kinds of articles:

- 1) Articles which violate the national policies of Korea,
- 2) Articles which defame the Korean government,
- 3) Articles which acknowledge or support the North Korean puppet regime,
- 4) Articles which manipulate reality or spread falsehood,
- 5) Articles which hinder diplomatic relations with allies and which damage national prestige,

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newly approved for publication (Assembly 3/12, p. 7).

<sup>272</sup> Ch’oe KY, “Kwangmushinmunji Pŏbe,” p. 61. The provisions of the law clearly show its repressive nature. It adopted a permit system and a deposit was required to publish newspapers. Only qualified publishers could publish newspapers and the content of the newspapers was screened. When the government requested a correction on a report, the press would have to accept it. If a newspaper violated the law, confiscation, suspension and discontinuation of the newspaper could be forced upon them administratively. Judicially, fines, imprisonment and confiscation of printing presses could also be imposed upon publishers (Han YH 2011: 342-346).

<sup>273</sup> “Yunch’iyŏng Naemubu Changgwan, Sae Shinmunbŏp Chejŏng Munje Tŭnge Taehae Kijawa Mundap”, *Kungmin Shinmun* 19, Oct 1948.

<sup>274</sup> “Tamsuhoe Tŭngŭi Ŏllon Tanch’edŭl, Chŏngbuŭi Ŏllont’anabe Taehan Hangŭimunŭl Palp’yo”, *The Dong-a Ilbo* 03, Nov 1948.

- 6) Articles which agitate public sentiment with a provocative tone of argument or reports and articles which exert negative influence on public sentiment
- 7) Articles which reveal a state secret<sup>275</sup>

As can be expected from the declaration of the deputy director of the Department of Public Relations the most important tasks facing the South Korean government were “survival” and stabilisation of the government. The press was, therefore, required to help the government to accomplish its tasks.<sup>276</sup> The press policies of the Rhee government clearly show how deep was Rhee’s desire to suppress his political opponents by closing any channel through which opposing opinions could be expressed.

The *Seoul Shinmun* was a representative case that illustrates the blunt application of the press policy for the suppression of voices unfavourable to Rhee. The *Seoul Shinmun* was a newspaper which took over the facilities of the *Maeil Sinbo*<sup>277</sup> after independence. Due to an abundance of facilities and materials inherited from its predecessor, the *Seoul Shinmun* could continue its publication without significant suspension. The suspension of the *Seoul Shinmun*, which was decided by the government in May 1949, was a shock to the press and journalists, even though it had thoroughly planned in advance. According to minutes of the cabinet meeting, the government had already discussed the conversion of The Seoul Shinmun into a governmental organ, and the minutes of a cabinet meeting dated 11<sup>th</sup> January 1949 showed that the cabinet, including the president himself, had asked the Director of the Department of Public Relations, Kim Tongsoŋ, to report on the development of this plan.<sup>278</sup> This indicates that this plan had been discussed even before that day.

On 12th April, they agreed to appoint Director Kim as the administrator of the company, with the task of bringing the company under government ownership.<sup>279</sup> After five days, the cabinet members decided that the general attitude of the

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<sup>275</sup> Assembly 3/12, p. 7.

<sup>276</sup> Assembly 3/12, p. 7.

<sup>277</sup> *Maeil Sinbo*: A daily newspaper published by the Japanese Government-General of Korea as the mouthpiece of the government. This newspaper was the only newspaper written in Han’gul that continued its publication throughout the Japanese occupation period (Doopedia).

<sup>278</sup> Cabinet Meeting Minute, 11, Jan 1949.

<sup>279</sup> Cabinet Meeting Minute, 12, April 1949.

newspaper toward the government had not been cooperative, and proposed to discontinue the newspaper.<sup>280</sup> Finally, the director of the department of public relations declared the suspension of the newspaper on 3rd of May 1949, using the Kwangmu Act as the legal basis.

The cause of the suspension was the newspaper's unfavourable attitude towards the government and its status as one of the most influential papers. Many scholars agree that the newspaper had maintained a critical position with regard to the policies of the government. The *Seoul Shinmun* urged the Rhee government to be more cautious in enforcing the National Security Law and press policies and at the same time supported the withdrawal of the US Forces.<sup>281</sup> Its sister magazine, *Shinchunji*, was the only magazine that published reportage on the reality of the situation in South Chölla during the Yösun Revolt. For these reasons, Kim Tongsöng argued that the newspaper, as one of the most influential in building public opinion toward government policies, had not been supportive towards the regime and had not given sufficient space to government-related topics.<sup>282</sup>

Second, the company that owned the newspaper – *the Seoul Shinmun* - was property that reverted from the US Army back to the Korean government<sup>283</sup> and the newspaper was among the top three daily newspapers in terms of circulation, second only to the *Kyunghyang Shinmoon*. It was not known why the decision to “stop” the publication of the newspaper changed a decision to “suspend” it.<sup>284</sup> Since the Rhee government had not yet owned any prestigious newspaper, changing the attitude of

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<sup>280</sup> Cabinet Meeting Minute, 17, April 1949.

<sup>281</sup> Kim TS, *Migunjönggi*, pp. 194-199.

<sup>282</sup> He said that only 30-60 percent of all the paper's articles were on government policies and had not spent enough space for the important topics or had not highlighted the important articles with diverse-sized columns and fonts. He added the newspaper did not print a presidential speech on the top of the first page. Kim argued these were the evidences that the newspaper misinterpreted the true freedom of press and the newspaper was biased and anti-governmental (“Söul Chönggan Iyu”, the *Chosun Ilbo* 08, May/1949).

<sup>283</sup> The newspaper acted as a mouthpiece of the Japanese Government-General of Korea and was suspended in the USAMGIK period. In November 1945, the publication of the newspaper was resumed with a different title, the *Seoul Shinmun*. In 1949, at the shareholders' meeting, 48.8% of the stake was found to be government owned.

<sup>284</sup> The suspension was decided due to the government's desire to possess the press. According to the speech of Kim Hyöngwön, the Vice Director of the Department of Public Relations, made in an Assembly meeting, there seemed to be a secret understanding between the government and the press on the change of the executives to reorient the attitude of the newspaper. However, the promise had not been kept until late April 1949 on the side of the press and it was decided to suspend the publication until the change of executives completed. On 15th June 1949, the change of executives was approved by President Rhee. Park Chonghwa, a famous rightist writer, was appointed as the president, O Chongsik as a chief editor and Lee Hongsik as a managing editor (Minute 15/June/1949).

the press and then turning the devolved property into a government-owned press would be an easier way to get hold of their own paper than simply discontinuing it.

The decision and Kim Tongsöng's statement on the suspension was not acceptable or justifiable to national assembly members and journalists. Rather, the decision was regarded as another instance in a series of attacks on the freedom of the press. Assembly members dealt with this matter seriously in an assembly meeting held in June 1949 and the members defined it as "suppression of the press". Their main argument was that the newspaper was suspended under the repressive Kwangmu Act and the reason for the suspension, "anti-national" acts, was too vague. The assembly members asserted that since the duty of the press was to promote the healthy development of the nation rather than to "romanticise" the government, the suspension decision could only be interpreted as suppression of press freedom.<sup>285</sup>

Assembly members were not the only people who objected to the decision. The members of Tamsuhoe, a society of journalists from sixteen newspapers and newsmen accredited to the government, pleaded for the suspension to be lifted. Their arguments were not significantly different from those made by national assembly members. Tamsuhoe and the newsmen both argued that the application of the Kwangmu Act was not appropriate under the newly established ROK government.<sup>286</sup> The newsmen also argued that government's assertion concerning the "anti-national" character of the newspaper was too ambiguous and could be used to suppress the freedom of the press.<sup>287</sup> The suspension of the newspaper and the resulting reorganisation of the press not only meant a change in the staff at the newspaper but also fundamentally changed the character of the publications produced by the the Seoul Shinmun company. After the reorganisation of the press, the *Seoul Shinmun* as well as the monthly magazine published by the company, *Shinchunji*, became sycophants of the Rhee regime.

### 3.2 The magazine *Shinchunji*

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<sup>285</sup> Assembly 3/12, pp. 4-18.

<sup>286</sup> "Tamsuhoe, Söulshinmun Chönggane Taehae Isüngman Taet'ongnyönggege P'umüisö Chech'ul", *Chayu Shinmun*, 7, May 1949.

<sup>287</sup> "Söul Chönggan Iyu", the *Chosun Ilbo*, 8, May 1949.

*Shinchunji*, a monthly general magazine, began publication in February 1946 “as the first present the Seoul Shinmun gave to thirty million Koreans after liberation” and aimed to act as “a sophisticated opinion leader”.<sup>288</sup> The importance of this magazine can be summarised as follows: 1) it had the broadest readership, sometimes selling as many as thirty thousand copies per issue; 2) it had been published through the chaotic period after liberation and reflected the social changes of that period in its articles; and 3) it was an example of the close interaction between media and literary circles in the liberation period.



Figure 3.1 A Cover Page of *Shinchunji*

The magazine was the most prominent among the magazines of the period. This magazine had been one of the top three paid magazines. Kim YS mentioned that the circulation of this magazine matched up to that of second-rate newspapers<sup>289</sup> with a circulation of fifteen thousand to thirty thousand copies per issue, which was among

<sup>288</sup> The Seoul Shinmun, *Sŏulshinmun 40nyŏnŏsa*, pp. 157-8.

<sup>289</sup> Kim YS, “Shinmunbusurŭl,” p. 235.

the top three paid magazines in terms of circulation. The Seoul Shinmun was the only press which published multiple periodicals at the same time: the newspaper the *Seoul Shinmun*, monthly magazine *Shinchunji* and a weekly newspaper called *Chugan Seoul*, based on a system of close cooperation between the three publications. Due to a system that helped the three periodicals develop their own distinctive features, *Shinchunji* came to focus on international affairs and literary works.<sup>290</sup>

It is also notable that the magazine had been published during eight years of political and social chaos from February 1946 to September 1954. It was not normal at all that a magazine could publish continuously for such a long period due to issues like financial instability and shortages of paper that commonly caused problems for other presses at the time. However, *Shinchunji* was able to continue publishing even during the Korean War due to a stable publishing system supported by government funding.<sup>291</sup> Its sustained publication means that it lived through significant issues and events and contributed to the formation of opinions among Koreans.

Needless to say, the nationalisation and the restructuring of the Seoul Shinmun led to a radical change in the character of *Shinchunji*. According to Lee Pongpŏm, for the first three years from 1946 to mid-1949, the magazine had been considered to take a “left-wing” or “neutral” political position. Rather than taking an impartial position, it maintained an “anti-imperialist” and “anti-feudal” stance and advocated solving the problems Koreans faced in democratic ways.<sup>292</sup> It also aimed to enlighten Koreans by providing them with reportage on social changes and events related to their lives.<sup>293</sup> During the period from the inauguration of the government and reorganisation of the press to the outbreak of the Korean War (June 1950), the magazine changed its ideological position. While the magazine continued to deal mainly with international affairs, the main difference compared with the earlier period was that it now carried mainly anti-communist articles, a subject which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

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<sup>290</sup> Lee PP, “Chapchi,” pp. 218-9.

<sup>291</sup> Kim CH, “Tanjŏng,” p. 68.

<sup>292</sup> It does not mean that the magazine preferred democratic system over communism. The words “democracy” and “democratic” were used by both communists and democrats at the time. (Lee PP 2010: 200)

<sup>293</sup> *ibid*, p. 200.

### 3.3 Literary figures and *Shinchunji*

The involvement of literary figures in the reorganisation of the Seoul Shinmun company should not be ignored. According to Kim YS, it was to be expected that the leftists who dominated the Seoul Shimun's Publication Department would be replaced when the government took over the company.<sup>294</sup> Cho YH<sup>295</sup> argues that the reorganisation was not driven solely by the government. According to him,

The other movement was to take over a cultural institution, specifically a press that had been under the influence of leftists, and to use it to contribute to the establishment of a new national culture. Though the Seoul Shinmun came to be controlled by the government after the inauguration of the new government, it still maintained “fence-sitting” staff. *Shinchunji*, published by the Seoul Shinmun, was a general magazine which focused on literary works. To reorganise it based on our ideology was directly linked to our literary ambitions. This plan was developed when Yun Posŏn was inaugurated as Mayor of Seoul. At the time, the *Seoul Shinmun* was under the control of the mayor, and our dream could come true with an agreement between the mayor and the Department of Public Relations.<sup>296</sup>

This excerpt suggests that the reconstruction of the Seoul Shinmun was not only a result of the government's dissatisfaction with the publisher but also due to the political ambitions of right-wing, pro-governmental writers who wished to seize control of literary circles and win their competition for leadership with leftist writers by securing their own magazine. After liberation, Korean literary figures were faced with a new mission: the establishment of a national literature which would help people to recover from the mental wounds of the colonial period, and to seek a new balanced life in a new nation.<sup>297</sup> However, Korean literary circles could not be

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<sup>294</sup> Kim YS, “Shinmunbusurŭl”, p. 234.

<sup>295</sup> Cho Yŏnhyŏn: A writer and critic. He supported the pure literature and had close relationship with the rightist writers who engaged in the reorganisation of The Seoul Shinmun.

<sup>296</sup> Cho YH, *Naega*, pp. 26-7.

<sup>297</sup> Kwŏn YM, *Han'guk Hyŏndae Munhaksa*, p. 28.

isolated from the political turmoil of the liberation period but rather mirrored the conflicts and tensions of the political arena.

Soon after independence, the Korean literary world was divided into two broad circles: Chosŏn Munhakka Tongmaeng (Korean Writers' Alliance, 朝鮮文學家同盟)<sup>298</sup> led by left-wing writers and Chŏnjosŏn Mump'ilga Hyŏphoe (All-Korea Writers' Association, 全朝鮮文筆家協會) led by right-wing writers. The right-wing writers who belonged to it such as ChoYŏnhyŏn, Kim Tongni and Sŏ Chŏngju created the Chosŏn Ch'ŏngnyŏn Munhakka Hyŏphoe (Chosŏn Young Writers' Association). In 1947, the right-wingers founded Chŏn'guk Munhwa Tanch'e Ch'ongyŏnhaphoe (Munch'ong/National Association of Cultural Organisations, 全國文化團體總聯合會) which embraced the previous two groups. The two ideologically different literary groups promoted a different "national literature". For the leftist literary figures, Im Hwa promoted "proletarian literature", which aimed to realise the establishment of a socialist state and the liberation of the working class.<sup>299</sup>

Meanwhile, the rightist writers supported the ideal of "pure literature (純粹文學)". The literary circumstances after liberation can be summarised in two facts: first, political reality was closely related with literary reality. This means that writers' literary approach could not be separated from their political ideology. Therefore, "the construction of national literature was just political propaganda".<sup>300</sup> Second, changes in literary circles did not derive from the writers' needs or desires but from their political lines.<sup>301</sup>

In an article published in 1940 in reaction to Yu Chino's article titled "Towards Purity", Kim Tongni argued that "imported ideology" ought not be the object of literature. He explained that literature cannot be named as "literature" when the work is not about "humanity", "support for humanity", contemplation (探究), harmony (調和) and ideals (理想). He argued that the core of pure literature was to defend humanity and to develop the creativity of humanity, and the essence of pure literature

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<sup>298</sup> Right after independence, the Korean Literature Construction Center (Chosŏn Munhak Kŏnsŏl Ponbu) was established. One month later, writers who were sceptical to KAPF (Korea Artista Proleta Federatio) left it and established Chosŏn Proletarian Literature Alliance (Chosŏn P'ŭrollet'aria Munhak Tongmaeng). These two groups were merged to create the Korean Writers' Alliance under the arbitration of South Korean Labour Party.

<sup>299</sup> Kwŏn YM, *Haebang Chikhu*, p. 181.

<sup>300</sup> Kwŏn YM, *Han'guk Hyŏndae Munhaksa*, p. 31.

<sup>301</sup> *Ibid.* p. 32.

was humanism.<sup>302</sup>

It is difficult, however, to say that the “pure literature” promoted by Kim Tongni was “purely” divorced from politics. The members of Munch’ong actively collaborated with government officers in fostering an anti-communist environment. The rightist literary figures who were directly involved in the reorganisation of the Seoul Shinmun themselves were political activists. As Pak Chonghwa suggested, Munch’ong was created “under the motto of being an anti-communist cultural front”.<sup>303</sup> They were involved in diverse anti-communist activities such as holding a photo exhibition on Yōsun Revolts, publication of a book titled “*Pallan kwa Minjok ũi Kago*”, and a series of anti-communist lectures.<sup>304</sup> As mentioned previously, the members of Munch’ong also joined the investigative tour of the Yōsu and Sunch’ōn areas after the outbreak of the Yōsun uprisings and produced pro-government eyewitness accounts of the revolt. These are vivid examples of their political collaboration with the government.

National Rally of Writers (全國文化人蹶起大會), which was held in 28 and 29<sup>th</sup> in December 1948, was an event which showed their connection to the government. President Rhee, Prime Minister Lee Pōmsōk, Minister of Education An Hosang and Chair of the Assembly Sin Ikhūi all attended this rally where the participants announced their determination to 1) achieve unification of South and North and the execution of the UN resolution,<sup>305</sup> 2) support the establishment of a UN Korean Committee, 3) support the voluntary cooperation of cultural circles for national spiritual unification, 4) warn against many cultural figures who questioned the legality and validity of South Korea’s new government, and 5) claim that magazines such as *Shinchunji*, *Minsōng*, *Munhak* and *Munjang* were part of the North Korean government’s secret operations.<sup>306</sup> These statements imposed three vivid stances: first, the writers would serve to support the South Korean government; second, they still accused the leftists of cooperating with North Korea even though they had been weakened significantly; third, they warned about the ideological bias of some

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<sup>302</sup> Chōng, HW, *Kim Dong-ri*, p. 112-113.

<sup>303</sup> Nam WC, “Pan’gonggukkaūi,” p. 90.

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid*, p. 94.

<sup>305</sup> The UN resolution made in General Assembly in Paris was to dispatch UN Korean Commission to supervise the withdrawal of the military forces of the two countries in Korea and to support the unification of Korea.

<sup>306</sup> Kim C, “Han’gukposuik”, p. 27.

magazines including *Shinchunji*. The reorganisation of magazine *Shinchunji* was done on these bases.

Our plan was realised and the Seoul Shinmun was finally reorganised. This reorganisation was mainly about shifting control of the press from the government to leading figures of our literary circle. The circle hoped that Kim Tongni or I would be deputy head of the company's publication department. (...) Though *Shinchunji* was a literature-centred general magazine, we could make it more like a literary magazine. We could have one more literary journal! This was the reason the deputy head position would have to be taken by a person with strong convictions and audacity.<sup>307</sup>

It is significant that literary figures positioned themselves as heads of media companies and published their criticism through the press to legitimate their rightist position. In other words, media such as newspapers and magazines at the time was not only a means of publishing reportage but also of boosting the power of rightist writers. In addition, with the power of the literary figures, the status of the magazine was improved, too.<sup>308</sup>

According to the excerpts above, aside from the political orientation of the newspaper and the press, the right-wing and pro-governmental writers' desire to have their own magazine was one of the main motives driving the reorganisation of the Seoul Shinmun company. The reason they wanted to have their own magazine was it was an efficient way of giving validity to their political and literary position through publishing and introducing their works. As discussed, the rightist writers were aligned with anti-communism and tried to consolidate their literary stance as an antithesis of leftist literature. This meant that the articles in the magazine could be used to promote their own anti-communist ideology. In this aspect, Cho YH seemed to emphasise "the chief editor should be a person who had strong convictions and audacity" because making *Shinchunji* their own magazine meant the magazine

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<sup>307</sup> Cho YH, Naega, p. 250.

<sup>308</sup> Pak CE, *Haebang*, p. 23.

should undergo significant political reorientation and extensive change of personnel including journalists and translators.

## Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed how press policy served the government and how the policy influenced the change of a newspaper company, the Seoul Shinmun. From the establishment of the ROK government in 1948, newspapers that had not been favourable to the government were either suspended or discontinued. Using laws that restricted the freedom of press, the government tried to use newspapers and magazines to romanticise its work. *The Seoul Shinmun* and its sister magazine *Shinchunji* were prominent examples of how the freedom of the press was suppressed. After the suspension of *The Seoul Shinmun*, the president and editors of the newspaper were changed, and this led to a shift in ideological orientation. With the change of staff, rightist literary figures who had collaborated with the government (somewhat ironically considering the “pure” literature they promoted) came to occupy major positions in the company and the magazine became sycophantic toward the government.

In the next chapter, I will discuss how the magazine’s ideological shift exerted influence on the translation process and how the resulting translations published in the magazine resonated with the public narratives that the Rhee government was trying to propagate.

## Chapter 4 *Shinchunji* and Translations 1 (before the reorganisation of the Seoul Shinmun 1946-July 1949)

This chapter aims to examine what kind of narratives were framed through the articles of Korean writers who contributed articles for *Shinchunji* and translations. The writers and translators maintained sceptical attitudes towards the new government as well as the external powers, the US and the Soviet Union. Using this background knowledge, I expect to reveal that they developed critical narratives regarding the government and the superpowers.

By analysing text selection, and macro- and micro-level translations I aim to investigate if critical attitudes of writers and translators were reflected in the translations. I will also analyse how the translations were used to promote the vigilance of South Koreans on the intentions of the US and the Soviet Union. The selection of target texts (TTs) used for these analyses is limited to TTs for which source texts (STs) could be identified and accessed. For analysis, I selected translations that were published consecutively.

### 4.1 Translating Agents

As discussed in the “Institutional Translation” section of the “Theoretical Framework” in the Introduction, information on the background of editors, translators and publishers is crucial in understanding the ideology of a publisher and in predicting the nature of consequent outcomes of translations. It is especially important in the case of the Seoul Shinmun company because the executives, the chief editor and the head of cultural department all participated in the meetings at which editorial decisions and opinions were made and formed. These decisions were then put into practice by the head of the publishing department.<sup>309</sup> This implies that the ideological stance of the translating agents is likely to be reflected in the whole process of translation, including text selection. Obviously, it would not have been easy for the translators to deviate from the decisions of the translating agency.

From 1946 to June 1949, the publisher of this magazine as well as the president

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<sup>309</sup> Encyclopedia of Korean Culture: <http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr>

of the press was Dr. Ha Kyöngtök.<sup>310</sup> He was a staunch nationalist, who had engaged in the independence movement of Tongjesa<sup>311</sup> in Shanghai and of the Korean National Association in America.<sup>312</sup> After liberation, he joined Hüngsadan<sup>313</sup> and published the *Korea Times* in 1945. Through the publication of the newspaper, he seems to have wanted to let the independence of the country be known in the world, to have Korea recognised by the world as an independent nation<sup>314</sup> and to have the voice of Koreans heard by USAMGIK.<sup>315</sup> In the first issue of the newspaper, he wrote a column in which he welcomed the soldiers of the Allies (with the flags of the US, the USSR, China and the UK displayed in the same page) and acknowledged them as liberators.<sup>316</sup> While it is true that he was appointed to America-related positions and he was considered a pro-American liberal democrat, he was really a centrist in terms of political stance.<sup>317</sup> In his inaugural speech, made in the midst of fierce debates on trusteeship, he insisted that Koreans had to develop an independence movement internally and follow an “international line (국제적 공명노선)” externally at the same time. This was interpreted to mean his support for the US-USSR Joint Commission.<sup>318</sup>

The composition of the editors is also worthy of notice. The fact that leftists and moderates occupied a majority at the Seoul Shinmun company made it difficult to

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<sup>310</sup> Dr. Ha was not the first president of Seoulsinmunsa. The first president was O Sechang. But he did not actively involve himself in the business of the press and instead delegated his job to Ha, the vice president. Soon Ha took over the position (The Seoul Shinmun 2014: 316). As the first Korean graduate from Harvard University, he seemed to maintain a good relationship with America in that he was appointed as a treasurer of *Maeil Sinbo* by General Hodge after it was suspended under USAMGIK (*Encyclopedia of Korean Culture*). This newspaper was renamed as the *Seoul Shinmun*, and Ha became the vice-president. He was also appointed by USAMGIK as a member of Korean Interim Government.

<sup>311</sup> The first organisation of Korean independence movement established in Shanghai. It played an important role in promoting the independence movement until the Korean Provisional Government was inaugurated in Shanghai (*Encyclopedia of Korean Culture*).

<sup>312</sup> Wön CY, “Andang”, pp. 73-75. Korean National Association in America: An organisation established by Koreans in America in 1909 to support the anti-Japanese movement (*Doopedia*).

<sup>313</sup> Hüngsadan or Young Korea Academy: An organisation established by An Changho in 1913 to achieve independence, national unification, development of democracy, growth of civil society and education of young people (*Encyclopedia of Korean Culture*).

<sup>314</sup> Wön CY, “Andang,” p. 86.

<sup>315</sup> *Encyclopeida of Korean Culture*; [terms.naver.com/entry.nhn?docId=530266&cid=46668&categoryId=46668](https://terms.naver.com/entry.nhn?docId=530266&cid=46668&categoryId=46668).

<sup>316</sup> Im KS, “Inmullon”, p. 69.

<sup>317</sup> Won CY, “Andang,” p. 87. In addition, though he was often criticised by rightists as a communist, it does not seem to be true because he persistently refused to convert to communism when he was seized during the Korean War (The Seoul Shinmun 1985: 222).

<sup>318</sup> The Seoul Shinmun, *40 nyönsa*, p. 316.

balance the voices of leftists and rightists even though the president Ha did not unnecessarily intervene in the decision-making process.<sup>319</sup> Up to the reorganisation of the company in 1949, five editors-in-chief had worked for the magazine. They were Kim Musam, Chǒng UHong, Chǒng Hyǒnung (Director of the Department of Publication), Lee Kǒnhyǒk and Chǒn Hongchin. All of these editors were deeply involved in the independence movement or leftist movement.

The first Editor-in-Chief, Kim Musam, was a devoted independence fighter who was a founding member of Kwangju Kobo Toksǒhoe (Reading Society of Kwangju High schools, 光州高普讀書會) which was a central students' independence movement society against Japan in Kwangju, South Chǒlla Province. Through this society, the members tried to promote an anti-Japan national spirit.<sup>320</sup> He was also a member of Shin'ganhoe.<sup>321</sup> Chǒng Hyǒnung was a prominent leftist illustrator.<sup>322</sup> He was a member of Chosǒn Chohyǒng Yesul Tongmaeng (Chosǒn Plastic Arts Alliance, 朝鮮造形藝術同盟) and its successor organisation, Chosǒn Misul Tongmaeng (Chosǒn Art Alliance, 朝鮮美術同盟). The former organisation was originally organised to stand against President Rhee's political stance.<sup>323</sup> After the outbreak of the Korean War, Chǒng moved to North Korea. Chǒn Hongchin was the editor-in-chief of *Kukchet'ongshin*, a newspaper which was known to be run by people of a moderate political stance.<sup>324</sup> The main columnist, O Kiyǒng, wrote almost all of prefaces of the magazine called "Sammyǒnbul."<sup>325</sup> He was a moderate who asserted 1) the unification of Korea through coalition and collaboration between the US and the USSR; 2) the establishment of a nation free from dictatorship, exploitation and intervention of external forces and 3) the achievement of economic democratisation through democratic labour policies as well as increasing production.<sup>326</sup>

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<sup>319</sup> The Seoul Shinmun, *100 nyǒnsa*, p. 219; The Seoul Shinmun, *40 nyǒnsa*, p. 316.

<sup>320</sup> Independence Patriot Merits Record of Ministry of Patriots and Veterans Affairs: [www.mpva.go.kr/narasarang/gonghun\\_view.asp?id=946](http://www.mpva.go.kr/narasarang/gonghun_view.asp?id=946)

<sup>321</sup> An anti-Japan organisation established by both rightists and leftists in the late 1920s. The objectives were to get freedom from racial, political and economic subjugation and to achieve the freedom of speech, assembly and press (Doopedia).

<sup>322</sup> Encyclopedia of Korean Culture: Encykorea.aks.ac.uk

<sup>323</sup> Encyclopedia of Korean Culture: Encykorea.aks.ac.uk

<sup>324</sup> Encyclopedia of Korean Culture: Encykorea.aks.ac.uk

<sup>325</sup> At first, this column reflected mere gossip, but from the July 1946 issue the column became a preface for the magazine and directed the orientation of the magazine. (The Seoul Shinmun 2004:332)

<sup>326</sup> Han, Kihyǒng, "Ogiyǒngŭi," p. 380.

Unfortunately, not much is known about the translators.<sup>327</sup> Among them, Pak Notae, the translator of *The Pattern of the Soviet Power*, was an independence movement fighter as well as a teacher at a middle school. He strived to emphasise the fictitious nature of the ideology of Japan and Chosŏn as one entity (內鮮一體) and to stress the excellence of the Korean people.<sup>328</sup> Ok Myŏngch'an, the translator of *One World* and "America", explained the positive character of the proletarian intelligentsia in the Soviet Union, in his article on the Soviet intelligentsia. He demonstrated that the proletarian intelligentsia would be a positive influence on the people and a support to the Russian Revolution.<sup>329</sup> Though this knowledge on the backgrounds of just two translators does not provide a clear picture of the ideological stance of all the translators, it is obvious that, at least, there were some translators who were favourable to the Soviet Union.

#### 4.2 Topics and Text Selection

A study of the composition of the topics chosen can be important since it can give a valuable insight into the message the translating agents hoped to deliver. The texts to be translated were not usually selected randomly. Rather, translating agents and institutions chose the text to be translated having in mind their political, social and institutional aims. Venuti argues that "a source text may also be chosen because its form and theme contribute to the creation of a specific discourse of a nation in the translating culture."<sup>330</sup> Yongzhou Lou discusses the selection of source texts as also a kind of selective appropriation, and argues that it "refers to the selecting of specific texts, authors, languages or cultures for translation by institutions to elaborate a narrative of a specific ethnic group".<sup>331</sup> Wei Lou explains that translating is planned out of social needs, political needs and readers' needs<sup>332</sup> such as the reformation or enlightenment of society.

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<sup>327</sup> It is not known how many translators the publisher employed. But it is evident that the publisher secured an abundant pool of translators because usually a translator translated a single work, while few translators translated works in instalments.

<sup>328</sup> Independence Patriot Merits Record of Ministry of Patriots and Veterans Affairs: [www.mpva.go.kr/narasarang/gonghun\\_view.asp?id=2817](http://www.mpva.go.kr/narasarang/gonghun_view.asp?id=2817)

<sup>329</sup> Ok MC, "Rosŏahyŏngmyŏng", *Shinchunji*, November 1946.

<sup>330</sup> Venuti, *Translation*, p. 119.

<sup>331</sup> Lou Y, "News Translation", p. 829.

<sup>332</sup> Lou, W, "Cultural", pp. 494-6.

With these selected texts, the translators can inspire the target readers and induce the proper response from the readers.<sup>333</sup> This stance corresponds to Baker’s selective appropriation strategy. Baker briefly mentions that selective appropriation works as censorship which deselects certain groups of authors. Though she only mentions the (de)selection of authors and certain parts of source texts, it can also be applied to the selection of topics, since topic selection can be used as an ideological frame.

In this section, I will examine whether the translating agents revealed any preferences in their choices of source texts and, if any, I will examine their underlying objectives based on the ideas discussed above. From January 1946 when the first issue of the magazine was published to July 1949 when the reorganisation of the press had been completed, thirty-seven issues of the magazine were published in total. Of these issues, sixteen assigned some space to “special featured themes (特輯).”

Table 4.1 Special Featured Themes in *Shinchunji* before the reorganisation of the Seoul Shinmun

Issues	Featured Themes
January, 1946	The Atomic Bomb
March, 1946	1 <sup>st</sup> March independence movement
May, 1946	Women
June, 1946	Literary works of new writers
September, 1946	America
November, 1946	The Soviet Union
November/December, 1946	Japan
January, 1948	American films
February, 1948	Universities
June, 1948	Creative writing
September, 1948	Southeast Asia
October, 1948	Existentialism
November/December, 1948	UN
January, 1949	Black Literature
March, 1949	Greek Issues
May/June, 1949	Conte

<sup>333</sup> Ibid, p. 493.

Table 4.1 shows that the magazine dealt with a variety of special featured themes from politics to general culture. Among sixteen themes, five directly dealt with countries of interest to the translating agents, which were the US, the Soviet Union, Southeast Asian countries, Japan and Greece. In this case, the featured articles as well as translations included under the banner of “featured themes” usually deliberated on political, social and cultural aspects of the countries. “Americanism”, “Culture of America” and “Americans’ public opinion with regard to the Soviet Union” and “The Reality of the Independence of Philippines”, “Independence Fighting of Vietnam”, and “Foreign Powers in Indonesia” are representative examples published under two of the special themes, “America” and “Southeast Asia”. From the topics, we can understand easily that the Koreans were mainly interested in independence and international politics and tried to learn lessons on independence from the newly independent countries.

Another set of four themes, the United Nations, the Atomic Bomb, (Status of) Women and the Korean Independence Movement were associated with political issues, though these themes were not directly related to specific countries. The special issue on the UN was published in November 1948 when Koreans were waiting for the results of the UN decision on the legitimation of the South Korean government. As discussed in the previous chapter, the UN was one of the most important organisations in determining the future of Korea. In the context of the occupation of the two powers and fear of the possibility of the outbreak of World War III, the control of the atomic bomb and the possibility of complete independence must have been important matters for Koreans.

The other six topics are about cultural products and education such as literature, films and universities. These articles and translations either introduce new works of by writers or present new trends in literary circles such as Existentialism.

Table 4.2 Topics of all translations in *Shinchunji* before the reorganisation of the Seoul Shinmun

Topics	Number (out of 306)
Politics	112 in total
Politics-General	58

(War, World peace, World Politics)	
Regional Politics	27
Political figures	26
Political Systems	1
Country	88
Literature	43
Culture	28
Economics	9
Nuclear Power	6
Education	4
Science	3
Figure	1
Independence movement	1
Medical	1
Women	3
Etc	7

These featured themes show which aspects of world affairs the Korean intellectuals were interested in, and how their interest was reflected in other translations. As we can see in Table 4.2, the most frequently translated works are on politics and reportages on certain countries. Out of the articles, one hundred and twelve translations belong to the category of “Politics” which encompasses political figures, political situations of countries (regional politics), world politics,<sup>334</sup> and political systems. Eighty-eight articles are on diverse aspects of countries such as events and the concerns the countries had had after independence or World War II.<sup>335</sup>

The next category, Literature, follows with forty-two articles. In this category, literary fiction, Agatha Christie’s *The Big Four* and a biography *Song of the Ariran* occupy about one-third of the whole category. American black poetry criticism occupies four articles each.

The topics of these translated articles are not significantly different in nature from those found in the special features. One difference, however, is that the number

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<sup>334</sup> It is not also easy to distinguish “regional politics” from “politics-general”. However, for the analysis, when the content is mainly about “a” nation’s politics, political system or political situation, it is classified as “regional politics”. For example, articles on the US political parties and Japanese parties are classified as “regional politics”. On the other hand, when more than two nations are involved in a country’s political situation such as World War or Marshall Plan, it is classified as “politics-general”. This case includes articles on the relation of several countries such as *One World*.

<sup>335</sup> It should be acknowledged that it is not easy to draw a clear line between categories of “politics” and “countries” since information on countries is usually mixed up with those on politics of the nations. However, here “countries” usually includes articles that provide general information such as culture of the countries or personal experience of the countries such as travelogues.

of articles on politics is overwhelming. Among one hundred and twelve translations on politics, about half of them are devoted to general politics such as world politics, matters related to world peace and world war. In this category, the foreign policies of powerful countries such as the US and the Soviet Union, discussion on the possibility of another war and the current status of geographical expansion of political ideologies were translated.

Country-specific articles were also translated frequently. Table 4.3 below shows that articles on the Soviet Union, Western European countries (i.e. France and Germany), and Japan were the most frequently translated ones. Articles on the US, Southeast Asia, Southern Europe, China and Eastern Europe followed. It is interesting that, in this period, more articles on the Soviet Union were translated than those on America. Before the purge of the leftists started, the leftists overwhelmed the rightists in terms of numbers, and more works on the Soviet Union and Soviet communism were translated.

Translations on Western, Southern and Eastern European countries and information on Asian countries including Southeast and East Asian countries were included, too. These articles had one fact in common. They discussed how the colonised countries (especially Southeast Asian countries) or war-devastated countries had been overcoming the vestiges of the colonial period and how the European countries had attempted to rebuild their nations on the ashes of the War. The translators might have thought that they could be role models Koreans could refer to.

Articles on regional politics can be explained in this respect, too. Regional politics articles covered the political systems of countries. A different aspect is that there are more articles on US politics than on the Soviet Union. It is not easy to ascertain why the producers of the magazine selected more articles on the Soviet Union in terms of general articles but more on America in terms of political systems. One possible answer is that there existed a discrepancy between what they dreamt of and what they were actually faced with. Even though there were more leftists in Korean society as well as a leftist press, the reality was that the country was occupied by the US. As a result, the translating agents introduced articles on aspects of the USSR they were interested in and articles on the political systems of the US because the political system of the US was likely to be imposed on them unless drastic change

was to happen between Korea and the US.

To summarise, after independence, Koreans' interests in the Soviet-US relationship, the achievement of complete independence and post-war readjustment on Japan, including post-war compensation, had increased, and this interest was reflected in the selection of source texts for translation.

Table 4.3 Numbers of translated articles on specific countries

Countries	Number (out of 88)
Soviet	18
West Europe (France: 5, Germany: 8)	13
Japan	12
US	10
Southeast Asia (Taiwan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam, Philippines, Taipei)	10
South Europe (Italy: 2, Greece: 5)	7
India	6
East Europe (Yugoslavia: 2, East Europe: 3)	5
China	4
Korea	1
Etc (Mediterranean, Palestine)	2

Table 4.4 Numbers of articles on regional politics by country

Regional Politics	Number (out of 27)
US	7

Japan	7
Soviet	4
Eastern Europe (Romania and Poland)	3
China	2
Western Europe (Germany)	1

Another distinctive feature of translations in the pre-1949 period is that many works were translated and published in instalments. Out of the three hundred and six translations, forty-six translations were published in instalments. This means specific authors or specific texts were preferred for translation over the other individually translated works, even if the works were too long to be published in one issue. The most frequently translated authors were Nym Wales/Kim San and Edgar Snow. Nym Wales and Kim San's co-authored book,<sup>336</sup> *Song of Ariran* (1941), was translated in twelve parts, though in total only half of the book was translated. Edgar Snow's works were also translated in twelve parts. In contrast to the case of *Ariran*, it was mostly individual works by Snow that were translated, with the exception of one piece published in instalments. His works usually dealt with the Soviet Union, Eastern European bloc and India. Translated in four instalments is Agatha Christie's *The Big Four* (1927) which was incompletely translated. Edgar Snow's *The Pattern of Soviet Power* (1945), Wendell Willkie's *One World* (1943) and Ilya Ehrenburg's "America" (1946) were translated in three instalments each. John Fischer's "No Rest for the Weary Russians" (1946), was translated in two parts.

The choice of these source texts and authors gives valuable insight into the general objectives of the translations. *Song of Ariran* is a book that recorded the life of a "communist" independence movement fighter, Kim San. The author, Nym Wales not only was Edgar Snow's wife<sup>337</sup> but also was regarded to be sympathetic to the Chinese communists and Mao Tse-tung. Edgar Snow was also regarded as a pro-communist. His twelve works which were on the Eastern European countries, on India and on the Soviet Union and China usually did not take a biased position.

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<sup>336</sup> This book was wholly written by Nym Wales based on the oral witness of Kim San.

<sup>337</sup> Nym Wales was Helen Foster Snow's pen name.

Rather, he either tried to make it clear how certain countries such as the Soviet Union had been misunderstood among the people of the opposite bloc, or to report how newly independent nations had overcome their colonial legacies.

Agatha Christie's work, *The Big Four*, is also an interesting example. This work is the story of a Belgian detective, Hercule Poirot, who probed into a series of mysterious murders and serious incidents committed by the Big Four, which consisted of an American, a French woman, a Chinese man and a British man. These four were described as a threat to the peace of the world. In the first few pages, the author related the "Big Four" of the story with the "Big Four" countries<sup>338</sup> in the political reality. The Korean readers, therefore, could automatically link the violence of the "Big Four" to that of real powerful countries who were regarded as having the power to decide the fate of Korea.

*The Pattern of Soviet Power* and *One World* are also impressive in that they depicted the Soviet Union positively. *The Pattern* is a book on how the Soviet Union exerted its power in the nearby Eastern European countries. Unlike other American contemporary journalists who tended to be hostile to Soviet expansionism, Edgar Snow asserted in this book that the expansionist policies of the Soviet Union were not as negative as other nations have thought them to be. "One World" is a translation of a chapter in a book, *One World* that consists of travelogues on places such as China, the USSR, Turkey and Middle East. The author asserted the need for cooperation between countries and a world government based on his experience of travelling in these countries. The translator or editor selected a chapter on Russia and interestingly, the chapter is about the author's realisation that the Soviet Union was different from the stereotypes that the ordinary Americans had of the country. Russia was newly described by the author as a passionate country which made her best effort to stand against Nazism and as a country with potential to become a more democratic nation with its people who were dedicated to the promotion of national security and national development.

The magazine also published translations with negative attitudes towards the United States and Russia. "No Rest for Weary Russians" portrayed how much the

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<sup>338</sup> *The Big Four* was initially published in 1927 and "The Big Four" countries might indicate the US, the UK, Italy and France and their leaders (Woodrow Wilson, David Lloyd George, Vittorio Emanuele Orlando and George Clemenceau) who participated in the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.

Soviet Union's new economic development plan increased the load the already worn out Soviet people had had to bear during and after the War. "America" was written by a Russian novelist who had a trip to the United States. Though the author appreciated economic development reflected in the high-end products such as cars and life style, he also devoted a lot of space to depicting negative aspects of the United States, such as racial discrimination.

The criteria for selection of works was not significantly different from that of the special topics. The editors or translators who chose the works might have wanted to keep their eyes on the international power relations as well as their influence on the lesser powerful countries, to challenge Koreans with the bravery of the independence fighters, and to understand and ultimately learn from the essence of the "civilisation" of the so-called "developed" countries. Though it is undeniable that the editors/translators maintained a stance which was favourable to the Soviet Union and communists, they did still have doubts about the hidden intentions of the big powers and were conscious of the dark aspects that were hidden in the development they had achieved.

#### 4.3 Narratives in the Magazine before the reorganisation of the Seoul Shinmun

As the personnel who occupied key positions were generally people who were not favourable to the establishment of the ROK government and Rhee himself or people who were affiliated with socialism/communism, the narratives the authors, editors or translators tried to promote in this magazine are expected to reflect their attitudes. I have analysed the columns and articles written in Korean by O Kiyōng and Korean writers' articles taken from the US and Soviet featured themes. The results of this analysis will be compared to those of translations in the following sections.

Table 4.5 Narratives from articles written by Korean writers (originals in Appendix 2)

	Text	Target of Evaluation	Attitudinal Terms/ Diaglossic Positions
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“The Government we want” <sup>339</sup>			
1	Here in “foreign 1) <b>intervention</b> ,” “foreign” means (...) both America and the Soviet Union. 2) Our nation should be <b>a nation free from the intervention</b> of any other nations.	1)The USSR/ The US 2)Korea envisioned	1) inscribed –propriety/ mono 2) inscribed +tenacity +capacity
2	We must establish a nation that is 1) <b>free from exploitation</b> . A nation free from exploitation is a nation where everyone works and where privileged classes that 2) <b>feed on others’ blood</b> no longer exist.	1)Korea envisioned 2) privileged class	1) hetero +capacity +happiness 2) hetero –propriety
“Ideology of New Liberalism” <sup>340</sup>			
3	“Human emancipation” is in fact leaving the workers 1) <b>in the state of slavery</b> . The privileged classes who 2) <b>monopolise freedom claim that their freedom is the freedom of the nation and of the people</b> .	1) Human liberation in Korea 2) human freedom and liberation	1) hetero –propriety 2) –valuation
4	Capitalism is 1) an <b>economic autocracy</b> while communism is 2) a <b>political autocracy</b> . Both have democratic aspects as well as 3) <b>anti-democratic and autocratic aspects</b> .	1) capitalism 2) communism 3) capitalism/ Communism	Mono 1) inscribed/ –propriety 2) inscribed –propriety 3) inscribed –propriety
Word to Representatives of the US and the Soviet Union <sup>341</sup>			
5	We want neither pitch-black Soviet democracy which in fact is 1) <b>autocracy</b> nor colourful American democracy which is in fact 2) <b>capitalistic autocracy</b> .	1) Soviet democracy 2) American Democracy	1)provoked –propriety 2)provoked –propriety
“UN and Independence of Chosŏn” <sup>342</sup>			
6	In fact, they had their own contradicting national interests and national policies, which became 1) <b>the seed of our unhappiness</b> and tragedy. (...) 2) <b>Unlike their explanation</b> that they occupied this country to liberate us, they 3) are <b>in conflict with one another for the sake of each other’s interests...</b> 4) This <b>left our dream of liberation away</b> .	1) US and Soviet policies 2) the US and the USSR 3) the US and the USSR 4) the US and the Soviet interest	1)tokens –happiness 2) inscribed –veracity/ 3) –propriety –veracity 4) –propriety /–happiness
7	The US changed its plan and made Chosŏn 1) the <b>target</b> of American	1) Chosŏn/ American	Mono/ (Chosŏn)

<sup>339</sup> O Kiyŏng, *Shinchunji*, July 1947.

<sup>340</sup> O, Kiyŏng, *Shinchunji*, March 1948.

<sup>341</sup> Sŏl, Uisik, *Shinchunji*, July, 1947.

<sup>342</sup> O, Kiyŏng, *Shinchunji*, February, 1948.

	<b>expansion</b> . But the people of Chosŏn 2) did not want to be <b>their slaves</b> but wanted freedom and independence.	expansionism 2) Chosŏn/ the US/the USSR	1) –capacity –tenacity (US) inscribed –propriety 2) token/ (Chosŏn) –capacity –tenacity (US & Soviet) –propriety –verity
To UNTCOK <sup>343</sup>			
8	Communists in North Korea regard the division of Korea as a 1) <b>golden opportunity</b> to establish a communist regime in Korea and 2) to <b>make the region a base of communism...</b>	1) North Korean communists 2) North Korean communists	1) –propriety –verity 2) inscribed –propriety
America Special: the Culture of America <sup>344</sup>			
9	The US has its own culture which 1) is <b>distinctly differentiated from</b> the Anglo-Saxon culture of the UK. At the same time, the culture is 2) <b>different from those of Germany, Italy and France</b> .	1) Anglo-Saxon/US 2) German/Italy/ France 3) US	1) –normality (not special) US +normality Germany/Italy/ France 2) –normality (not special) US 3) +capacity +reaction
10	Nonetheless, Africa is still 1) <b>in the poor state</b> as we can see now and even Australia has 2) <b>not achieved highly developed industrial culture yet</b> , (...) it is 3) <b>starkly different from US</b> ... In Africa, there are only gold and 4) <b>primitive machines</b> , which mean black people.	1) Africa 2) Australia 3) US 4) Black People	1) mono -capacity 2) mono +capacity 3) +capacity –capacity 4) –normality
11	We have just witnessed a 1) <b>great civilisation</b> that 2) <b>humanity has never seen</b> .	1, 2) American Culture	1) monogloss, Inscribed +reaction (quality)
Soviet Special: The basis of Soviet National Policy <sup>345</sup>			

<sup>343</sup> Ham, Sanghun, *Shinchunji*, February 1948.

<sup>344</sup> Pak, Ch'iu, *Shinchunji*, September 1946.

<sup>345</sup> Kim, Pyŏngdŏk, *Shinchunji*, November 1946.

12	1) <b><u>the uncultivated peoples</u></b> of the rest of the world as well as the 2) <b><u>advanced people</u></b> of the great Russia.	1) People other than Russians in Soviet Union 2) Russians	1) –capacity Inscribed 2) +capacity
13	It is a 1) <b><u>great pleasure for the mankind</u></b> that the Communist Party of Russia has solved racial issues with Marxism.	1) Russian Communist Party	1) +reaction (impact) + happiness
14	the Soviet Union has been demonstrating 1) <b><u>its excessive attention to the matter of equality</u></b>	1) The USSR	1) +propriety +composition (+balance)

The majority of narratives framed by the editors and the main columnists were developed in the frame of the meta-narrative of “Cold War” or “Communism versus Democracy” and focused mainly on the interconnection between the two superpowers and Korea and the nature of the two superpowers. The narrators defined the current status of Korea as lethargic as in example 3. The Korean labourers were living like slaves and were being exploited (奴隸의 地位). The privileged classes thought that “their” freedom was “human” freedom. The writers also claimed that the true independence and freedom of the Korean people had not been achieved yet due to foreign intervention and their incapability of achieving their independence as shown in examples 6 and 7. Therefore, the first and foremost task set for the Korean people was to achieve “true” independence and freedom. In these narratives, Korea was narrated as a “weak country” that had not achieved independence by itself and suffered from internal conflicts between classes and exploitation by other countries.

In this context, another narrative was framed. As can be seen from examples in 9 to 14, the Korean authors provided positive aspects of the systems of the two superpowers. The authors also tried to suggest the possibility of emulating the advantages of the two systems in the new Korean government. As for America, the authors differentiated America from the European countries and African countries, and emphasised her superiority over them. American culture was differentiated from that of Germany, the UK, France and Italy. Although it is true that the author did not explicitly mention that American culture was “superior” to the culture of the other countries, in the context, “differentiation” actually meant superiority.

In example 10, America was starkly contrasted to Africa and Australia, too. Africa and Australia were lagging behind in industrial development. African people were portrayed with explicitly evaluative words such as “primitive” and “machinery”,

as people who were incapable of achieving advanced civilisation. In contrast, America was a capable nation which had achieved unprecedented enlightenment (開花). These stories were told in monoglossic sentences so that the narrative on the superiority of America could be taken for granted.

In examples 12 to 14, the authors told stories about the Soviet Union. In example 12, the narrator described the Russians as “advanced people” in the world, and contrasted them with uncivilised people who were said to live in a primitive environment. In example 13, Russia’s capacity for contributing to world peace was emphasised. The Russian Communist Party had succeeded in solving conflicts of race which were pervasive in the USSR, and this achievement was depicted as the “great happiness of humanity”. The Soviet Union was also narrated as ethical because it endeavoured to promote equality in all aspects of society including politics, law and economics. The narratives framed in the excerpts on the two countries show that the writers reaffirmed the presumed hierarchy between nations and races and they tried to explain why we needed to learn from the developed countries.

When writers told stories about the Soviet Union and/or the US occupiers, the narrators did not always describe them positively. As can be seen in example 6, the author asserted that the two superpowers pursued their own interests exclusively which resulted in their meddling in Korean internal affairs and the resulting sacrifices made by Koreans. “Pursuit of their own interests” in the name of “achieving Korean Independence” ultimately resulted in “unhappiness” and “tragedy (悲劇)” for Koreans. This “pursuit” was understood as no different from “imperialistic expansionism” as can be seen in example 7. This disappointment questioned the veracity of the policies of the two superpowers towards Korea. Here, narratives such as the “imperialistic two powers” and “US democracy and Soviet democracy as autocracy” were framed.

As for the writers’ evaluation of Soviet Communism and American democracy, as can be seen in examples 4 and 5, they linked both communism and democracy with autocracy. In example 4, the writer narrated that both capitalism and communism contributed to the division of Korea and the powers occupied each half. In this sense, the writer affirmed that neither could be seen as democratic because capitalism was economic autocracy (經濟獨裁,) while communism was political autocracy (政治獨裁). Though Russian democracy was described as “pitch-dark” and

US democracy as “multicoloured”, they were the same in that the two systems were considered as unacceptable to Koreans as in example 5. This emphasis on the untrustworthy and unethical character of the two systems contributed to the formation of “democracy as autocracy” and “communism as autocracy” narratives.

By concentrating on the unhappiness the powers would bring about and the propriety of the two powers, the authors reflected Korean intellectuals’ concerns about Korean nation-building through their focus on three narratives: the weakness of Korea; the superiority of the Soviet Union; and the imperialistic nature of the big powers.

What then, was their “dream” nation? The authors dreamt of an independent nation which would not be subjugated by any other nations, as in examples 1 and 2. The nation ought to be a place where people would be free from any kind of exploitation, where all people would work and there would be no privileged class to exploit people.

To summarise, four narrative themes, “developed West”, “exploitative and imperialistic powers”, “uncivilised East”, and “new nation neither adopting Soviet Communism nor adopting American liberal democracy” were clearly framed in these *Shinchunji* articles.

#### 4.4 Translation Analysis

In this section, I will examine the translations that were published in instalments in *Shinchunji*. This analysis aims to study the nature of the narratives framed in the translations, and to examine to what extent the narratives framed through the translator resonate with the narratives framed by the government and the authors. The source texts selected for analysis are: *Song of Ariran* by Kim San and Nym Wales, *The Big Four* by Agatha Christie, *One World* by Wendell Willkie, *The Pattern of Soviet Power* by Edgar Snow, “America” by Ilya Ehrenburg, “No Rest for the Weary Russians” by John Fischer and articles written by Edgar Snow. I selected these texts based on the assumption that the translations published serially or the works of frequently chosen writers reflect the editors’ or translators’ preference. When they decided to translate long works in instalments, there could have been a danger that some readers missed the previous issue of the series. Serialised

translations could also limit the number of articles that could be published in each issue. The fact that the agents chose to publish the serialised translations despite these limitations shows the editors found value in the works they chose.

#### 4.4.1 Paratexts: Titles and Leads

Since the majority of titles are from newspapers and magazines, it is necessary to analyse the titles of each translation from the perspective of the publisher. Titles in newspapers and magazines are important in that titles (headlines) guide the readers' way of interpreting the articles. Geer and Kahn explain that headlines are short, and, therefore, inevitably underline some parts of a story,<sup>346</sup> and the highlighted aspects of an article form a frame within which readers interpret the article in the way the writers intend the readers to. This is closely related to the so-called "framing effect". Price et al., suggest that "by activating some ideas, feelings, and values rather than others, then, the news can encourage particular trains of thought about political phenomena and lead audience members to arrive at more or less predictable conclusion."<sup>347</sup>

In terms of leads, van Dijk explains that leads "directly express the highest level macroproposition of the news discourse" and both titles and leads "function as a summary for the news discourse."<sup>348</sup> He argues that not only headlines but also leads can be used "as expedient signals to make effective guesses about the most important information of the text."<sup>349</sup>

Baker says that the title can be used very effectively to (re)frame narratives in translations.<sup>350</sup> The translator not only tries to bridge the gap between ST and TT but also to frame the titles and leads based on their own beliefs and attitudes, and these framed titles and leads can generate constraints on the possible ways of interpreting and anticipating the contents of the articles. They ultimately can lead the target readers into an acceptance of the framed narratives. That means, if titles are

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<sup>346</sup> Geer and Kahn, "Grabbing Attention", p. 177.

<sup>347</sup> Price, Vincent, Tewksbury, David and Powers, Elizabeth, "Switching Trains", p. 483.

<sup>348</sup> van Dijk, "Structure", p. 86.

<sup>349</sup> Ibid, p. 77. In this article, based on his framework which consists of thematic or semantic structure which means "formal representation of the global *content* of a text or dialogue" (ibid 69) and schematic structure which reflects "overall *form* of discourse" (ibid 69), he suggests that headlines and leads, as schematic factors, guide readers to discern which information is the most important.

<sup>350</sup> Baker, *Conflict*, p. 129.

manipulated, the translated titles can create frames which can govern the readers' interpretation process.

Table 4.6 Comparison of Titles of Translations in *Shinchunji* before the reorganisation of the Seoul Shinmun (my translation, originals in Appendix 3)

ST Titles (Abbreviation in brackets) <sup>351</sup>	TT titles (Abbreviation in brackets)
<p><i>Song of Ariran</i><sup>352</sup>:</p> <p>The Life story of a Korean rebel (Ariran)</p> <p>&lt;Chapter title&gt;</p> <p>Terrorist Supreme Kim Yak-san and Wu Seng-nun</p>	<p><i>Ariran</i>:</p> <p>The Life Story of a Korean rebel<sup>353</sup> (아리랑)</p> <p>A work of a Korean published in a foreign language!</p> <p>Kim Yak-san and Wu Seng-nun (?)</p>
<p><i>The Big Four</i><sup>354</sup> (<i>Big Four</i>)</p>	<p>Detective Novel: <i>International Killers</i><sup>355</sup> (사거두)</p> <p>The Conspiracy of the Big Four to Turn Over the World.</p>
<p>Book Title</p> <p><i>The Pattern of Soviet Power</i><sup>356</sup> (<i>The Pattern</i>)</p> <p>&lt;Chapter Titles&gt;</p> <p>Peace but not Communism</p> <p>The Pole Apart</p>	<p><i>Travel to Eastern Europe</i><sup>357</sup> (동구라파)</p> <p>Peace</p> <p>The Fall of the Polish Exile government</p>

<sup>351</sup> I will use these abbreviations in translation analysis sections to indicate from which texts the excerpts and examples are taken. Abbreviations of STs are provided in English and TTs are in Korean.

<sup>352</sup> Kim, San and Wales, Nym, *Song of Ariran*, (New York: John Day, 1941).

<sup>353</sup> Oct 1946 to Jan 1948, *Shinchunji*.

<sup>354</sup> Cristie, Agatha, *The Big Four*, (London: W. Collins, Sons, 1927).

<sup>355</sup> August 1947 to December 1947, *Shinchunji*.

<sup>356</sup> Snow, Edgar, *The Pattern of Soviet Power*, (New York: Random House, 1945).

<sup>357</sup> August 1947 to October 1947, *Shinchunji*.

Improbable Appearance	An Unbelievable Fact
<i>One World</i> <sup>358</sup> ( <i>One World</i> )  <Chapter Title> Our Ally, Russia	<i>One World</i> <sup>359</sup> (하나의 세계)  Our Ally – Soviet Union
America <sup>360</sup> (America)	Travel to America <sup>361</sup> (아메리카)
Why We Don't Understand Russia <sup>362</sup> (Russia)	Why we don't understand Russia <sup>363</sup> (쏘련)
The Message of Gandhi <sup>364</sup> (Gandhi)	The Message of the late Gandhi <sup>365</sup> (간디)
No Rest for the Weary Russians <sup>366</sup> (No Rest)	No Rest for the Weary Russians <sup>367</sup> (피로한)
Has Britain Won Back India? <sup>368</sup> (Britain)	Is India still under British Rule? <sup>369</sup> (영국)

Out of nine titles, three were translated almost literally and the other six titles showed either shifts in the titles or in both the titles and chapter titles. *One World*, “Why We Don’t Understand Russia” and “No Rest for the Weary Russians” were translated literally as can be seen in the table 4.6. Slight differences are noticed in the titles, “Travel to America” and “The Message of the Late Gandhi.” In the former, “travel to” was added to make the title represent the contents more explicitly. In the latter title, “the message” was translated as “yuhun” (遺訓, dying injunctions) which indicated that Gandhi had died. These two translated titles did not bring about any

<sup>358</sup> Willkie, Wendell, *One World*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1943).

<sup>359</sup> May 1946 to July 1946, *Shinchunji*.

<sup>360</sup> Ehrenburg, Ilya, “Ilya Ehrenburg’s America”, *Harper’s Magazine*, 1, Dec 1946, p. 562.

<sup>361</sup> May 1947, *Shinchunji*.

<sup>362</sup> Snow, Edgar, *The Saturday Evening Post*, 15, Feb 1947.

<sup>363</sup> June 1947, *Shinchunji*.

<sup>364</sup> Snow, Edgar, “The Message of Gandhi”, *The Saturday Evening Post*, 27, Mar 1948.

<sup>365</sup> *Shinchunji*, July 1948.

<sup>366</sup> John Fisher, “No Rest for the Weary Russians”, *Harper’s Magazine*, 1, Sep 1946.

<sup>367</sup> May 1947, *Shinchunji*.

<sup>368</sup> Snow, Edgar, *The Saturday Evening Post*, 4 Mar 1948.

<sup>369</sup> *Shinchunji*, June 1948.

“significant” change of meaning but made the titles clearer for Korean readers.

The remaining four titles are worth a closer look. In the case of *Song of Ariran*, not only the title was translated into just *Ariran* but also a phrase “外國語로 發表된 朝鮮人の 著書! (A Korean’s work published in a foreign language!)” was added. The omission of “Song of” is expected because “Ariran” was recognised automatically as the title of a song by Koreans. Hence, the addition of these words could have been considered a redundancy. In terms of the phrase, “a Korean’s work published in a foreign language”, which was added to one-third of the translations, it must have been added to increase the acceptance of Korean readers by stressing that its value was recognised even in foreign countries.

The translation of this book also included a change of chapter title. The original title of chapter 8, “Terrorist Supreme: Kim Yak-san and Wu Seng-nun” was translated into “Kim Yak-san and Wu Seng-nun (?)”<sup>370</sup> With the omission of a phrase which implied the volatile character of the figure “Terrorist Supreme” the focus of the title moved from the word “terrorist” to the names of the two “heroes” Kim admired. This could have the effect of highlighting the deeds and achievements of the two heroes who were independence fighters as well as radical communists.

*The Big Four* was translated into “探偵小説國際殺人團, 世界를 顛覆하려는 四巨頭の 陰謀 (A Detective Novel: International Killers/The conspiracy of the Big Four to Turn Over the World)”. In this translation, “a detective novel,” “international killers,” (inscribed, -security) “the conspiracy”, (inscribed, -security) and “the Big Four to turn over the world” (inscribed, -security, -veracity) were added. The addition of “detective novel” is not strange at all because whether it was translation or not the genre of almost all of literary works in the magazine was identified in the title. This was an explicitation strategy that guided readers as to what to expect from the work. Negative phrases which implied the insecure and untrustworthy nature of the Big Four such as “conspiracy”, “turn over the world” and “international killer” were also added. As discussed, the Big Four were linked to the real Big Four countries. By relating the “Big Four” to “killer”, “conspiracy”, “turn over” in the translation, the translator attempted to make readers preoccupied with negative

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<sup>370</sup> Translator’s use of brackets: the translator seemed not to be sure of the exact name of Wu and inserted a question mark in brackets.

images of the powers even before they started reading. For Koreans who were again being occupied by external powers, it could be read as a warning to be cautious about the crafty aims of the occupiers.

Edgar Snow's book, *The Pattern of Soviet Power* was translated into *Travel to Eastern Europe*. From this translation, the emphasis of the articles moved from "the way the Soviet Union exerts her power" to "the current situation of the East European countries". The original title implied that, whether negatively or positively, the Soviet Union exerted her power over the other countries. The title could be interpreted negatively as detected in the narrative of "imperialistic Powers".

The title of a chapter "Peace but not Communism" was translated into "Peace (to them)."<sup>371</sup> The omission of "but not Communism" could possibly be because of the translator's and/or editor's intention not to be biased against Communism. The chapter title, "The Pole Apart" was translated into "The Fall of the Polish Exile Government".<sup>372</sup> This translation emphasised the incapability of the government rather than Poland itself, hence the help of the Soviets was more appreciated and did not hamper the potential capacity of the Polish people.

In the last example, "아직도 (still)" was added to the title and the subject of the title changed from Britain to India. That means India was described as a country that was "still" under the control of the UK. This strategy highlighted the status of India that still had not been freed from the fetters of British colonialism and stressed the problems India faced after independence. The narratives developed through the title translation echo the narrative of "the imperialistic powers". From these examples of title translations, we can see two narratives emerging, which warned of the intentions of the big powers on the one hand and emphasised the positive aspects of the Soviet Union on the other hand. This indicates that the attitude of the *Shinchunji* translators and editors prior to 1949 was in reality more favourable to the Soviet Union, even though they were still vigilant to the "autocratic" character of the systems of the powers.

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<sup>371</sup> The translated title is "평화를" that implies peace given to someone or something but the recipient is not known in the context. I have therefore back-translated the title as peace.

<sup>372</sup> The original title is a pun on "the poles apart" and hence, it must have been very difficult for the translator to translate it into Korean. Of course, the translated title does not have the same implication.

#### 4.4.2 Translation Prefaces

Genette suggests that the main function of the preface is “to ensure that the text is read *properly*”<sup>373</sup> (my italics) and the most important function is “to provide the author’s interpretation of the text”.<sup>374</sup> Genette claims, therefore, that the writer of the preface, usually the author, tries to promote the value and truthfulness of the books and/or to guide readers to “possess proper information the author considers necessary for this proper reading”.<sup>375</sup>

Baker explains the role of prefaces from the perspective of the narrative approach. She argues that paratexts including prefaces can be a place where translators can intervene to frame certain narratives by inserting “paratextual commentary” and/or by “repositioning themselves, their readers and other participants in time and space”.<sup>376</sup> This notion reminds us of the need to examine what the translating agents wrote in their prefaces and what effect the prefaces created.

Table 4.7 Prefaces to Translations in *Shinchunji* before the reorganisation of the Seoul Shinmun (my translation, originals in Appendix 4)

<i>Song of Ariran</i>
(...) Reading this book was more touching for the students like me than singing our national anthem. (...) Sacrificing the young body for our country stirred up my youthful blood (...) Despite my lack of English language ability, I undertook to translating the book (...)
Writer: the translator
<i>The Pattern of Soviet Power</i>
This is a selective translation of a recently published work, <i>The Pattern of Soviet Power</i> which means <i>the Power of Soviet Pattern</i> , written by a prominent American critic, Edgar Snow.
Writer: not identified
No Rest for the Weary Russians
... This is a translation of “No Rest for the Weary Russians” published in the

<sup>373</sup> Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 197.

<sup>374</sup> Ibid, p. 221.

<sup>375</sup> Ibid, p. 209.

<sup>376</sup> Baker, *Conflict*, p. 133.

September 1946 issue of <i>Harper's Magazine</i> . The readers' opinion might be divided on the content, it was translated with the belief that it is worthy of reading ...
Writer: the translator or an editor who speaks on behalf of the translator
America
The author has added another colour on the Russian proletarian literature. He is one of the best-known authors.
Writer: not identified
Why we don't Understand Russia
N/A
<i>One world</i>
The book is a well-known work that attracted great attention to the US and the world. .... This part, "Our Ally Soviet Union" is about just a small part of the Soviet Union but it is translated because it helps to understand the current situation (...)
Writer: Editor(s)
<i>The Big Four</i>
N/A
Has Britain Won Back India?
This article is a translation of an article published in an early April issue of the <i>Saturday Evening Post</i> . The original title is "Has Britain Won Back India?"
Writer: not identified.

Out of nine translations above, six provide prefaces. The translating agents provided the backgrounds of the original authors to make the articles more convincing (or to make them appear more valuable) and/or added information which did not exist in the STs to guide the readers in the desired direction.

First of all, the notes provided a very positive introduction to the reputation of the authors. In the note on *The Pattern of the Soviet Power*, a comment that Edgar Snow was one of the "eminent" (political) critics in America was inserted, and the author of the "Journey to America" was introduced as the most prominent writer (最高峯) in Soviet proletarian literature.

Secondly, the attractiveness of the works was emphasised. *One World* was explained as a book that aroused great interest among people around the world. In the case of *Ariran*, the translator explained that the book on the "sacrifice" of a young independence fighter made his blood boil and implicitly suggested that the book would be beneficial to Koreans who had been liberated recently.

Thirdly, sometimes the prefaces provided an ideological explanation. “Controversial” was added to the TT when the content of “weary Russians” was not positive to the Soviet Union, while the preface of “America” did not contain any statements that would dilute the negative attitude of the author towards America.

In the preface to *The Pattern*, the writer of the preface erratically mentioned that the original title was “蘇聯型의 威力 (The Power of the Soviet Pattern).” In this version of the translation, “power” was translated into “威力” which means a force that could overwhelm others. The translator or editor who inserted the preface seemed to think that the Soviet system was overwhelmingly powerful.

To summarise, prefaces were inserted to augment the understanding of the readers, to increase the acceptance of the texts or to guide readers’ interpretation by stressing the achievement of the authors or the value of the works. Sometimes, translators deliberately provided ideological prefaces which were supportive of or against the nations that were the subject of the article. In that sense, when the contents of articles were ideologically loaded, either because of their original content or due to the translator’s deliberate intervention, these insertions of prefaces could lead the readers to concur with the ideological texts.

#### 4.4.3 Text Selection and Macro-textual translation

Baker explains selective appropriation in literature and media in terms of censorship.<sup>377</sup> Translators can omit parts of STs deliberately to filter the narratives the translators do not want to promote or to frame narratives the translators aim to promote. In this section, I will discuss which parts of STs are removed at a macro-textual level, including paragraphs, and the possible reasons behind these decisions.

Most articles or book chapters were translated fully without significant omission. Exceptions are *Ariran*, *The Big Four*, *The Pattern of Soviet Power* and *One World*. These four books are longer than two hundred pages each, and it might have been difficult for the editors to translate the books completely. Therefore, certain chapters were selected either because those chapters were considered to be more important than others or because the books were considered worthy of reading even if only a partial translation was possible.

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<sup>377</sup> Baker, *Conflict*, pp. 115-116.

In the case of *The Big Four*, the editor or translator chose nine out of eighteen chapters. Though it is not known why the translator translated only half of the work, what is clear is that the chapters which described the evil and sinister character of the Big Four were translated. The chapters on how the hero, Poirot, got help from the countries involved (including the Big Four countries) and how he solved the problem were excluded. This intensified the narrative on the threat of the big powers.

For the translation of *The Pattern of the Soviet Power*, the translator chose parts of two out of twelve chapters. In this book, the author Edgar Snow tried to show that the Soviet attempt to dominate Eastern Europe was reasonable in some ways. In this respect, the translator selected those parts which described the friendly help and cooperation of the Soviet Union in the rebuilding of Bulgaria and the corruption or impotence of the current regime in the European countries (Bulgaria/Poland). This ultimately created the effect of stressing the inevitability of Soviet help.

Finally, in the case of *One World*, out of fourteen chapters, just one, “Our Ally, Russia”, was translated. Though four chapters were on China and another four were on American’s attitude to the War, only the chapter on Russia was selected. More importantly, the content of the chapter focused on the author’s realisation that the stereotyped images of Russia circulating among Americans as a dangerous, impotent and poor country were just an illusion. The author asserted that the Soviet people had devoted themselves to stand against Nazism with a capacity to produce as much agricultural and industrial goods as the United States and had politicians who were frank and friendly even to Americans.

As a way of selective appropriation, the selection of texts can be a means of framing narratives. Sometimes the translators selected chapters or parts that forewarned of the secret and sinister plots of the powers and sometimes they chose texts that underlined the negative or positive aspects of the powers. The selection of STs and selective translation contributed to the strengthening of the key narratives discussed in the previous section, including the narrative of the “imperialistic Powers” and that of the “supreme and benevolent Soviet Union.”

#### 4.4.4 Micro-textual translation

Generally, the translators chose to produce translations which were as close to the source texts as possible in the case of *Shinchunji*. If shifts can be detected, they were

usually aimed at making the content more explicit and intelligible to Korean readers. In some cases, source texts seem to have been manipulated by the translators for ideological purposes. The following are examples of additions. These additions were usually derived from the translator's intention to clarify the meaning of the texts.

### Explicitation

1) ST: It is easier to understand than America is for Russians, because there is a **Rosetta stone** to Soviet politics (Russia p. 138).

TT: 로제타石 [古?及象形文字解讀의 端緒가 된 돌] (소련 p. 113)

2) ST: ... and he wired the White House that he and **Uncle Joe** were in complete agreement. (Russia p. 113)

TT: 그의 영클 쏘- [스탈-린] (소련 p. 114)

3) ST: What use would the Soviet Government make of its victory in the first of these Balkan lands to fall to the Red banner--**the homeland of King Carol**, who had led his people into catastrophe and the ruling class itself toward suicide? (*The Pattern* p. 27)

TT: 발칸帝國에 있어서의 첫 勝利를 얻은 카를王國 루-마니아를 如何히 利用한 것인가?  
(동구라파 1, p. 76)

4) ST: **After the fall of Bucharest** the workers also still emerge, as in Botosani, from the recesses into which fascism has driven them, ... (*The Pattern* p. 39)

TT: 首都 부카레스트가 沒落한 後에는 勞動者 亦是 보토사니 地方에서와 마찬가지로 팻시즘이 強制한 休息에서 일어설 것이다. (동구라파 2, p. 68)

5) Words connote one thing against a unique background of Russian history, language, culture and Marxist ideology superimposed on **Czarist atavisms**. (Russia p. 18)

TT: 차-리 (露帝) (소련, p. 106)

6)... both also grew perplexed when it was proposed to bring in practically the whole **Bill of Rights** (p. 18)

TT: “빌·어브·라이츠 (人權案)” (소련, p. 106)

7) ‘**Secret Service chap**--not one of our people. ...’ (*Big Four* p. 13)

TT: “秘密情報部 (英國特務機關) 사람일세.” (사거두 1, 162)

8) ST: ... which all conferences with the Russians have been aimed, from **Teheran to the Waldorf Astoria**. (Russia p. 18)

TT: 테헤란 [會談] 以來 월도푸 · 아스토리아 [會談][美國에서 열린 UN 總會]에 이르는  
蘇聯과의 모든 회의가... (소련, p. 106)

9) ST: Conflicts of meaning exist in the **United Nations** charter itself, as well as in speeches delivered under its auspices. (Russia p. 18)

TT: 意味의 相互撞着은 UN(國際聯合) 主催下에 演述되는 演說에도 있듯이... (소련, 106)

In examples 1 and 2, explanations of “Rosetta” and “Uncle Joe” were added. In the third example, the translator explained that the “Karle Kingdom” means Romania. In examples 4, 5, and 6, the fact that Bucharest was the capital of Romania, the fact that the Czar was the Russian Emperor and the fact that the transliterated “Bill of Rights” in fact meant Bill of “human” rights were inserted. In examples 7, 8 and 9, definitions of “Secret Service” in the UK and explanations on “Teheran,” “Waldorf Astoria,” and “the UN” were added. By adding these explanations, the translator could clarify the content of the writing.

While the six examples above provided the readers with help on culture-specific words, loan words and proper nouns, the following examples show how the translators tried to elucidate the context in which the source texts were produced.

10) ST: Molotov may have been technically correct when he said, “Everybody who can read and write can understand the Soviet Union,” but, in fact, the significance of

his lectures often escapes most Americans because he constantly invokes references to doctrines unknown to his listeners. (Russia p. 18)

TT: 몰로토프가 “읽을 줄 알고 쓸 줄 아는 사람이라면 누구나 蘇聯을 理解할 수 있다”고 말하였을 때 그는 아마는 형식상으로는 옳지마는, 實際로 그의 강의의 (몰로토프의 연설이 강의에 가깝다는 意味에서 이렇게 말한 것인 듯)의 意味는 이따금... (소련 p. 107)

11) ST: Vandenberg complained that he could not agree with the Russians on the meaning of “democracy,” but it is doubtful whether Congress would be able to agree either, and Vandenberg did not tell us exactly what he himself had in mind. On the other hand, there is no reason why senators should not know what the Stalinist believes. (Russia p. 19).

TT: ... 上院議員들이 스탈-린主義者가 “데모크라씨-에 대하여” 믿고 있는 바를 알아서는 안된다는 理由도 없는 것이다. (소련 p. 108)

12) ST: ‘Mon ami, Hastings!’ he cried. ‘Mon ami, Hastings!’ And rushing forward, he enveloped me in a capacious embrace. (italics in original, *Big Four* p. 2)

TT: “헤이스팅스! 아 자네 웬일인가”하고 너댓없는 소리를 지르드니 ??는 急急히 달려와서 나를 佛蘭西 式으로 끼어 안았다. 本來 포와르는 白耳義 사람이다. (사거두 1, p. 156)

In example 10), the translator inserted his/her own interpretation “몰로토프의 연설이 강의에 가깝다는 의미에서 (in the sense that Molotov’s speech is closer to a lecture)” to explain why the author used “강의/lecture” rather than “speech” and to prevent readers from confusing whether Molotov’s lecture was mentioned in the text but the readers had missed it. In the next example, the translator explicated “what the Stalinist believes” by adding “데모크라씨-에 대하여 (about democracy)”. In the final example, the translator chose to add “佛蘭西 式으로 끼어 안았다 (enveloped me in a French manner)” and “本來 포와르는 벨기에 사람이다 (in fact, Poirot is a Belgian)” instead of translating the French phrase Poirot used such as “Mon ami!” The translator seemed to think “mon ami” was an indicator used by the author to signify Poirot was a person who could speak French, too. By inserting the explanation of his

nationality, he tried to avoid the inconvenience that would be caused to the Korean readers who were ignorant of French when he tried to deliver both French and English in the TT as in the ST.

These strategies, linguistic and process explicitation, generally contributed to the improvement of understanding on the side of Korean readers who usually had limited knowledge of world affairs or other countries. This means that the explicitation strategy could assist the readers in “digesting” the translated material without difficulty, and when combined with ideological manipulation it could make the readers understand and accept the contents more easily.

### **Selective and political Appropriation**

The following examples show how translators were actively engaged in the dissemination of ideological and/or political narratives in the form of selective appropriation rather than simple omission or addition of phrases.

1) ST: “But you do not see with the **eyes of Number Four**, Hastings,” he said. (*Big Four* p. 17)

TT: 즉 **殺人鬼의 立場에서** 물건을 보지를 안는 까닭일세. (사거두 2, p. 159)

No.	ST	Appraised	TT	Appraised
1	with the eyes of Number Four	Number Four/N/A	殺人鬼의 立場에서	Number Four/ provoked -propriety -security

In this example, the translator transformed the value-neutral phrase “with the eyes of Number Four” into a very negative phrase by replacing it with “a murderous devil (殺人鬼, -security)”. In Korea, “殺人鬼” is a metaphor which describes a devilish person who mercilessly murders people. “鬼” means “soul of the dead,” and when combined with “homicide”, it could depict a person who commits consecutive murders while being haunted by a devil. Therefore, this addition could lead into the intensification of the violent aspects of the character Number Four.

2) ST: **The Red Army** can’t change the law; it will have to wait till there’s a new government in Bucharest. (*The Pattern*, p. 35)

TT: 우리 赤軍 (동구라파 1, p. 82)

3) ST: **Things are better now**, you see; we pay less taxes.” (*The Pattern*, p. 35)

TT: “당신도 아다시피 至今은 모든 것이 前보다는 좋아졌습니다.” (동구라파 1, p. 82)

4) ST: In 1945 Molotov made the following statement on foreign policy: “The Soviet Union has always **given first place** to promoting universal peace and the development of international business relations.” (Russia, p. 137)

TT: “蘇聯邦은 世界平和의 促進과 國際關係의 進展을 위하여 언제나 第一로 盡力하였다 (소련, p. 110)

5) ST: **Wisely**, the Red Army did not mount a further offensive till the following January, when the river had frozen hard and the marshes and swamps north and south of the capital gave a firm track for tanks and heavy-weapon carriers. (*The Pattern*, p. 54)

TT: 赤軍은 翌年二月 卽 江과 首都의 南北에 있는 沼澤이 完全히 結氷되여서 赤軍이 무거운 武器를 運搬할 수 있는 時를 기다려서 비로소 攻擊을 繼續하였다. 이것은 정말 賢명한 作戰이었다. (동구라파 p. 71)

No.	ST	Appraised	TT	Appraised
2	The Red Army	N/A	우리 적군	Red Army/ +affection +graduation
3	Things are better	Red Army/ +happiness	모든 것이	Red Army/ + happiness, +graduation
4	given first priority	Soviet +propriety (inscribed)	제일로 진력하였다	Soviet Union/ +graduation +tenacity, +propriety (inscribed)
5	Wisely,	Red Army +capacity	This is really brilliant tactic	Red Army /+graduation +capacity

The examples above show that the Soviet Union was narrated more positively compared to the ST. In example 2, instead of “the Red Army”, it was translated as “우리 赤軍 (our Red Army)”. Koreans use “우리 (our)” to show more “affection” and to indicate “inclusiveness”. This translation, therefore, can imply that the Eastern

Europeans felt close to the Soviet Union. In example 3, “things are better” was translated as “모-든 것 (everything is better)” and hence the happiness the Eastern Europeans were enjoying was emphasised. The good deeds of the Soviet Union were more positively described as making “every effort (盡力하다)” and giving “first priority (第一로) to the dissemination of universal peace.” In the next example, “wisely” in ST was transferred to a separate sentence, as “this was a brilliant tactic indeed.” In the context of evaluating the occupation by the Soviet Union, the translator’s choice ultimately resulted in an emphasis on the Soviet capacity to enhance the living conditions of other countries and the propriety of the Soviet Union as a helper of the occupied and a peacemaker. These more positively graded translations underlined the beneficial character of the Soviet Union as discussed in the narrative section above.

6) ST: **A masterpiece of planning**, it was the result of full liaison (...) (*The Pattern*, p. 41)

TT: 完璧을 기반 作戰! (동구라파 2, p. 69)

7) ST: the behaviour of the insurrectionists in Bucharest... **was brilliantly successful**. (*The Pattern*, p. 41)

TT: 지금까지 루-마니아 軍의 보잘것없는 戰績에 對하여서는 여러 가지 批評을 내릴 수 있지만 이번 부카레스트 武裝蜂起의 赫赫한 成功만은 높이 評價치 않으면 아니되었다 (동구라파 2, p. 69).

No.	ST	Appraised	TT	Appraised
6	A masterpiece of planning	rebels +capacity	完璧을 기반 作戰!	rebels/ +graduation inscribed +capacity
7	was brilliantly successful	rebellion +capacity	赫赫한 成功만은 높이 評價치 않으면 아니되었다	rebellion/ +graduation +capacity +reaction(impact)

The two examples above are evaluating the uprising in Bucharest against General Antonescu. In the text King Michael was described as a supporter of the uprising and

General Antonescu was described as a person who was in alliance with Hitler. In this first example, a phrase was transformed to a complete and exclamatory sentence. In the second example also, “was brilliantly successful” was translated into “the brilliant success should be appreciated highly”. These two translation outcomes intensified the completeness of the insurrectionists’ plan and also imply the translator’s psychological association with the insurrectionists. Another important fact is that the uprising was against pro-fascist Antonescu and was supported by the Red Army. These translations were used to frame the narratives of the “beneficial Soviet Union”.

8) ST: Some may say, “Let them understand us. Why should we try to understand them?” It is a **poor answer** from anyone who wants to fight Russia. (Russia, p. 137)

TT: 蘇聯과 戰爭하자는 사람들이 누구나가 하는 **拙劣한** 對答이다. (소련, p. 111)

9) ST: I met nearly all the terrorist leaders and learned the whole history and background of this movement, so curiously **Korean in character**. (Ariran, p. 57)

TT: 그리고 奇妙하게도 朝鮮사람에게 **딱 드러맞는**... (아리랑 5, p. 152)

10) ST: Kim Yak-san was the classical type of terrorist, cool and fearless and **individualistic**. (Ariran, p. 61).

-TT: 金若山은 古典型인 冷情하고 大膽한 **獨特한** 테로主義者이었다. (아리랑 6, p. 126)

No.	ST	Appraised	TT	Appraised
8	poor answer	-reaction (quality)	拙劣한 對答 (shameful answer)	anyone who wants to fight against Russia/ invoked -graduation -reaction
9	Korean in character	+reaction (impact)	딱 드러맞는 (perfectly fits)	communist terror movement/ +graduation +reaction
10	Individualistic	Kim Yak-san/ provoked -composition (balance)	독특한 (unique)	Kim Yak-san/ +normality (special)

In example 8, the “poor answer” of “anyone who wants to fight Russia” was

translated into “ignoble answer”. Example 9 translated “Korean in character” into “that perfectly fits Koreans”. This translation also supported the communists’ terror plans. In example 10, “individualistic” was translated into “unique (獨特한)”. At the time in Korea, “individualism” was not accepted positively and many intellectuals criticised the “individualism” of the US. In this respect, the translation outcome reduced the possible bad impression of the most admired communist terrorist.

## Conclusion

In this chapter, I analysed the narratives developed in the magazine articles and translations published in the early period before the reorganisation of the Seoul Shinmun. In terms of narratives, the authors and editors of the magazine developed ambivalent narratives. The editors, writers and translators were leftist or moderate nationalists, therefore, they either were favourable to the Soviet Union or vigilant to the hidden intention of the Powers.

These stances were reflected in the translations. They framed more favourable narratives than those in STs for the Soviet Union or framed narratives that warned of the possible threat of the powers. These manipulations of narratives could be found at every level of translations.

The translator employed diverse translation strategies such as selective ST choice, insertion of prefaces, explicitation, and political appropriation of STs. These strategies were used to promote some of the narratives that I previously analysed in the narrative section. First, the insertion of notes and manipulated translation of titles acted as guidelines for readers on how to accept or interpret the given texts. Second, explicitation strategies aimed to improve readers’ understanding and concentration on the target texts. Third, a selective appropriation strategy was employed to frame narratives such as “expansionist powers” and the “capable and beneficial Soviet Union”. Strategies like the insertion of notes, title translation strategy and explicitation strategies, even if they are not ideological manipulations, ultimately strengthened the manipulation done by the micro-level selective appropriation and consequently contributed to the promotion of the narratives.

Interestingly, no significant changes were detected in the articles on India. This may imply that the translating agents wanted to manipulate the images of the two

superpowers who directly exerted influence on Korea, but had less interest in altering the image of Britain.

The narratives developed through these translation strategies were somewhat different from those of the previous narrative section. In the narrative section, it was revealed that the authors of the magazine articles tried to balance their stance towards the two superpowers even though they were politically more favourable to the Soviets. However, the translation results show that the manipulated TTs were usually used to promote moderately pro-Soviet narratives.

In the next chapter, I will examine the narratives of Korean writers and translations in the post-1949 period and investigate whether the translators framed different narratives through translations and to what extent the framed narratives corresponded to those of the government as discussed in chapter 2 and 3.

## Chapter 5

### ***Shinchunji* and Translations 2 (after the reorganisation of the Seoul Shinmun, August 1949 to June 1950)**

In this chapter, I aim to study articles of Korean writers as well as translations in *Shinchunji* in the post-reorganisation period. This chapter focuses on the nature of the narratives the writers and the translators tried to promote. I will study whether the translators deliberately manipulated translations and whether the translations served to frame specific ideological narratives. This chapter also looks at how the newly framed narratives are different from those of the previous period, and how the narratives correspond with those of the Rhee government. Based on the findings, I expect to show that the narratives developed in the translations were used ultimately to solidify and legitimate the Rhee regime. For analysis, I selected TTs for which source texts (STs) could be identified and accessed.

#### 5. 1 Translating Agents

In terms of its physical features, the *Shinchunji* of the post-reorganisation period had similarities to the issues of the earlier period. It had around 250 pages and sometimes more than three hundred pages. Later issues of *Shinchunji* also had “special featured themes”, and translations usually occupied around half of the special theme-related articles.

Though there were clearly similarities between the issues of the pre- and post-1949 periods, there was one critical difference. As discussed previously, the press was reorganised in mid-1949 and the executives and editors were replaced with rightists. First of all, the newly-appointed president of the press after the reorganisation was Pak Chonghwa. Pak was a rightist novelist and poet as well as literary critic. He was a prominent literary figure at the time, who stood against communism and North Korea.<sup>378</sup> As mentioned in the previous chapter, he was a member of the literary group who was dispatched to investigate the reality of Yōsun Revolts and wrote a report that supported the government position that termed the

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<sup>378</sup> Encyclopedia of Korean Culture

rebels as Reds and subversives.

The Editor-in-Chief was Kim Chinsŏp. He was an essayist who had worked as a professor in the Department of German Literature at Seoul National University (SNU) and Sungkyunkwan University before he joined the Seoul Sinmun. He was also a member of the Foreign Literature Study Group (海外文學研究會) with Son Usŏng, Chŏng Insŏp and Lee Hayun in the 1930s. The Study Group was known as a rival to the KAPF<sup>379</sup> which supported proletarian literature and was criticised as a petit bourgeois reactionary literary group. When he first acted as a member of the Study Group, he did not seem to belong to any faction, such as the KAPF literary circle or the nationalist literary circle. Rather he wanted to introduce foreign literature to nourish Korean literature. After the inauguration of the government the South Korean government, he founded the All Chosŏn Writers' Association (全朝鮮文筆家協會) in 1946 with Pak Chonghwa, Kim Yŏngrang, Lee Hayun, and Kim Kwangsŏp, and organised a “Rally of Anti-communist Literary Figures (滅共文化人 蹶起大會)” in October 1950.<sup>380</sup>

The director of the publishing department was Kim Tongni. As discussed in the previous chapter, he was a prominent “political” literary figure. O Chongsik was an executive director as well as an editor-in-chief.<sup>381</sup> He was a member of the Central Cultural Association (中央文化協會) which was organised with an anti-communist spirit to compete with leftist literary groups in 1945.<sup>382</sup>

Unlike these senior figures at the press, not much is known about the translators of *Shinchunji* in the post-reorganisation period. From the August 1949 issue to the June 1950 issue, thirty-six translators translated articles but only five can be identified. Among the five, Kim Ŭlyun and Lee Yunsu were literary figures and An Ŭngryŏl, was a professor of French Literature at SNU. Kim Hansu was a journalist and Ha Kuch'ŏn worked as a government officer. Aside from Lee Yunsu who was a poet as well as a member of the Association of Chosŏn Young Writers (朝鮮青年文學家協會) which was a representative anti-communist literary group, the

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<sup>379</sup> Doopedia; KAPF: Korea Artista Proletaria Federatio. The representative literary association organised for socialist revolution of Korea in 1925 (Dictionary of Korean Language and Literature).

<sup>380</sup> Kim, CH, “Chŏngch'ŏn”, p. 37.

<sup>381</sup> Dictionary of Korean Languages and Literature:  
terms.naver.com/entry.nhn?docId=689645&cid=41708&categoryld=41711

<sup>382</sup> Dictionary of Korean Languages and Literature:  
terms.naver.com/entry.nhn?docId=690804&cid=41708&categoryld=41711

ideological orientation of the others was not easy to find.

The process of translation is not clearly known either. It does not seem likely that the translator had full authority to select and translate articles for the magazine. As discussed, each issue had a special featured theme, and the translators translated different articles. This means it was unlikely that the translators selected the STs and sold them to the press. Kim Yunsŏng mentioned that before the reorganisation of the press, the biased editors selected biased works and ultimately made the magazine ideologically biased.<sup>383</sup> He also asserted that the biased translators needed to be replaced. Kim’s argument confirmed that the source texts were selected by editors.

Needless to say, the new translators were naturally people who supported anti-communist policies of the government or the policies of the government-owned press. They were outsourced translators because, unlike the literary figures who worked at The Seoul Shinmun, the translators Kim Ŭlyun and Lee Yunsu were not listed as working at the press in the Address Book<sup>384</sup> and An Ŭngryŏl was already teaching French at SNU at the time. In short, activist editors who were engaged in pro-government and anti-communist projects now occupied the press and selected translators and source texts. In turn, the translators, who possibly held the same political position as the editors, translated articles actively out of their faith or passively for the money they had to earn.

## 5.2 Narratives found in *Shinchunji* after the reorganisation of the Seoul Shinmun

Table 5. 1 Narratives of Korean writers in *Shinchinji* after the reorganisation of the Seoul Shinmun (my translation, originals in Appendix 5)

	Text	Target of Evaluation	Attitudinal Terms/ Diaglossic Positions
Perspective of Unification of Korea <sup>385</sup>			

<sup>383</sup> Kim, YS, “Shinmunbururŭl,” *Shinchunji*, p. 235.

<sup>384</sup> An address book of literary figures published in February 1950 revealed that some literary figures worked in the press. Rightist literary figures such as Kim Yunsŏng, Kim Song, and Kwak Hasin were listed in the address book.

<sup>385</sup> Kim, Sŏkkil, *Shinchunji*, Oct 1949, pp. 20-26.

1	In the north of the 38 <sup>th</sup> parallel, there is established a group called 1) <b><u>People's Republic of Korea which is under the control of the Soviet Union (...)</u></b> This group adopted the political system of 2) <b><u>a proletarian autocracy, (...)</u></b>	1) N. Korea 2) N. Korean system	1) –tenacity 2) –propriety
2	The result of the General Election predicted the (...) dominance of the proletarian class, which will naturally lead into 1) <b><u>proletarian autocracy</u></b> ... The transitional form of a state is nothing more than preparing itself for its 2) <b><u>own destruction</u></b> (...)	1) dominance of proletariat 2) the transitional governmental system	1) heterogloss –propriety 2) monogloss –security
3	The unification of the South and the North (...) was (...) unification 1) as a part of <b><u>global communist revolution</u></b> 2) <b><u>supported by the Soviet Union</u></b> . (...) they focused 3) <b><u>on riots</u></b> (...) They were involved in 3) <b><u>all kinds of destruction, murder, and arson</u></b> , (...)	1) radical communist 2) the USSR 3) communists insurgents	1) –propriety 2) +capacity –propriety 3) –security –propriety
4	Rather, some of the nationalist groups 1) <b><u>cooperated (with communists) in organising the</u></b> so-called People's Republic, 2) <b><u>the puppet regime</u></b> .	1) Nationalists 2) N. Korea	1) –propriety 2) inscribed –tenacity
An Annual Review and Prospect of the Unification Front <sup>386</sup>			
5	Likewise, the Soviet Union has 1) <b><u>strengthened the North Korean</u></b> 2) <b><u>puppet regime</u></b> , and the United States has 3) <b><u>legitimised</u></b> _____ internationally <b><u>and strengthened</u></b> the Republic of Korea.	1) The USSR 2) N. Korea 3) The US	1) –propriety 2) Inscribed –tenacity 3) +capacity
6	(...) the North Korean puppet regime 1) <b><u>will not be able to sustain itself</u></b> .	1) N. Korea	1) inscribed/ –security –capacity
Prospect of the Movement of National Organisation <sup>387</sup>			
7	In South Korea, the communist 1) <b><u>rioters</u></b> ...	1) communists in S. Korea	1) –security –propriety
8	(UN Temporary Commission) Even if there is a massive invasion, (...) 1) it will <b><u>succeed in preventing</u></b> it by supporting and helping us.	1) The UN	1) +capacity
9	It is 1) <b><u>proper to purge</u></b> the leftists in order to prevent and 2) <b><u>crush</u></b> communist expansion and 3) the <b><u>subversive activities</u></b> of North Korea, the puppet...	1) leftists 2) communist scheme 3) N. Korea	1) inscribed –propriety 2) invoked –security 3) inscribed –propriety –security

<sup>386</sup> Kim Samkyu, *Shinchunji*, January 1950.

<sup>387</sup> Pae Söngryong, *Shinhunji*, January 1950.

			–capacity
On General Election <sup>388</sup>			
10	I'm so sorry to say that our country's living standard is 1) <b><u>still low</u></b> .	1) South Koreans	1) –capacity
	Pacific Pact and Japan <sup>389</sup>		
11	Every Asian nation has in common that they are under the 1) <b><u>threat of Communism</u></b> .	1) Asian countries/communism	1) Asian countries: –security Communism: –propriety
12	It is not necessary to say that South Korea is 1) the <b><u>most directly threatened</u></b> by the 2) <b><u>Soviet Union</u></b> . 3) It is more than a threat. We are <b><u>being damaged right now</u></b> . For us, the Pacific Pact is 4) <b><u>absolutely needed</u></b> .	1) Korea 2) Korea 3) Korea 4) the Pacific Pact	1) –security 2) –security 3) –security 4) +security +reaction +capacity
13	The 1) Soviet invasion is real. Automatic intervention is 2) <b><u>absolutely needed</u></b> .	1) Soviet invasion 2) the Pacific Pact	1) –security 2) +security +capacity +reaction
Ethnological and Psychological Consideration of Ethnicity			
14	For the reason, black people have 1) <b><u>lower mental and intellectual capability</u></b> . Yellow people (...) remain 2) <b><u>ambivalent in all things and neither ambitious nor reach a deep understanding</u></b> .	1) The black 2) The yellow	1) inscribed –capacity 2) inscribed –capacity

As can be seen in the table above, a variety of narratives were promoted. First of all, the impotence of Asians was stressed, and they were described as inherently weak and/or inferior to Westerners and as being vulnerable to the expansion of Soviet communism. Generally, Asians were inferior in terms of intellectual and internal strength and were facing an external threat. Asians, who were represented as “yellow”, had weak will and did not understand everything in depth as can be seen in example 14.

In the case of Korea, as example 10 shows, the country was under-developed in terms of its standard of culture/living (民度). Also, Koreans were vulnerable to communist expansion as can be seen in examples 11, 12 and 13. Among the unstable Asian nations that were facing the communist threat, Korea's problem was the most serious since Koreans came face to face with the Soviet and North Korean

<sup>388</sup> Lee, Kōnhyōk, *Shinchunji*, April 1950.

<sup>389</sup> Chang, Ch'ōlsu, *Shinchunji*, May 1950.

communism and the horror of the war (as in examples 11, 12 and 13). These stories framed the narratives of the “hierarchy between nations” and the “threat of communism”.

The existence of the dangerous leftists or communists made Korea more precarious. The communists in South Korea were described as “rioters” in example 7 and as supporters of North Korean puppet communists, who had to be purged, as in example 9. They were unethical in that they engaged in violence, murder and arson, as in example 3. Some nationalists in Korea were also described as cooperative to the leftists and North Korea as in example 4. These attitudes not only framed “dangerous leftists” and “unreliable leftists and communists in North Korea” but were also examples of narratives that reflected and hence strengthened the political background in which the government tried to frame nationalists and leftists as Reds and tried to purge them.

To face the external threat, help for Koreans would come from the UN and the organisation of the Pacific Pact. In the example 8, the UN was capable of isolating the Soviet Union from world politics, and consequently the UN could weaken its influence. The Pacific Pact and the automatic intervention of the member nations at the moment of the outbreak of a war was inevitable (examples 12 and 13).

The reason to protect Korea from the threat of Russia was because “democracy” as a political system was regarded as superior to communism. The Russian political system was no different from autocracy, and North Korea, as a puppet, depended on Russia as described in examples 1, 2, 3, and 5. North Korea was doomed to be a autocratic puppet nation which only prepared the way for its self-destruction (example 2) and for being a satellite nation of the Soviet Union (as in example 3).

In contrast, the US-Korea relationship and Korean political system were illustrated much more positively. The US worked for South Korea to be acknowledged by the UN (example 5) and provided Korea with a better future than North Korea, which was under Soviet control (example 9). These stories emphasised the narrative of “the US as a helper” and “the USSR as an exploiter”.

From the narratives above, we can see that Koreans had internalised the hierarchy between nations and races. To them, America was a “capable” country that had achieved a high degree of civilisation, while Asians and Africans lagged behind them and were weak compared to them. For this reason, “democracy, the more

advanced political system” narratives were framed. In contrast, the Soviet Union and North Korea that adopted communism as their political systems were regarded as dangerous and unethical. Likewise, the socialists and insurrectionists in South Korea were also identified with them and considered subversive and destructive. Hence, the “dangerous communism” narrative was created, and these narratives resonated with the narratives the government tried to promote to secure the regime.

These narratives are in clear contrast with the narratives developed in the same magazine in the pre-1949 period. Whereas in former period the dominant narratives were slightly more favourable to the Soviet Union and negative to America, the dominant narratives in this period were clearly hostile to the communist countries. They were also very positive in their framing of America. These narratives cannot be separated from the government policies of the time that sought to purge leftists to prevent communist expansion and to cooperate with America in order to receive financial and military aid.

### 5.3 Translation Analysis

#### 5.3.1 Composition of *Shinchunji* after the reorganisation of the Seoul Shinmun

Table 5.2 Special Featured Themes of *Shinchunji* after the reorganisation of the Seoul Shinmun

Issue	Featured themes
August, 1949	Current Issues in China
September, 1949	Current Issues in the Pacific Countries
October, 1949	The United Nations
November, 1949	Eastern Europe
January, 1950	Atomic Energy
February, 1950	Current Situation of the World, 5 years after the War
March, 1950	3.1 Independence Movement
April, 1950	US Culture
May, 1950	Current Korean politics
June, 1950	South East Asia

While culture-related themes occupy a large portion of the special themes of the previous period, in this period, nine out of the ten themes are about politics and only

one theme is about American culture. The reason the editors selected more political themes for this period is not clearly stated, but whatever the reason is, it is evident the new editors decided to focus more on the political situation.

From the articles on Eastern Europe, they intended to learn how the people had planned to rebuild their countries, which is similar to the special featured themes of the previous period. In this period, articles on “China” and “Atomic Energy” were newly introduced. These themes seemed to be related to the imminent communisation of China and the successful development of the atomic bomb in the Soviet Union. A theme on “Pacific countries” was closely related to Rhee’s plan to form the Pacific Pact in imitation of NATO.

Table 5.3 Topics of Translations after the reorganisation

Topics	Sub-topics	Number
Politics	US Policy/US Policy on Atomic Power	7
	US- Soviet relation/Soviet Policies	6
	Political System	6
	Pacific Pact	5
	UN/International Law	5
	Political Figures	3
	East Europe	3
	China Problem	2
	General	8
	<b><u>Total</u></b>	
Economics	General economics	3
<b><u>Total</u></b>		<b><u>3</u></b>
Literature	Essay	4
	Fiction	3
	Literary figure	2
	Criticism	3
	<b><u>Total</u></b>	

The composition of the translations exactly reflects the main drive behind the reorganisation of the the Seoul Shinmun company. Around half of the translations

are for the featured themes and the other half have nothing to do with them. Combining these two kinds of translations, it becomes clear what topics were chosen for translation. The most frequently chosen topic was politics, followed by literature and then economics.

The majority of the translations, forty five out of sixty, are on “politics.” Among politics, articles on the policies of the US and the USSR made up seven and six articles respectively. The translations on the US are mostly about the US foreign policies such as foreign aid, control of atomic energy and policies on China. The articles on the Soviet Union are about its relationship with satellite countries, its foreign policy and its political system.

Translating those articles is reasonable because of the situation South Korea found itself in. After the inauguration of the South Korean government, US economic and military aid was vital to the survival of the country because South Korea had lost a significant amount of natural resources and electricity generation facilities due to the division of the peninsula. In addition, the apparently successful reform process in North Korea seemed to worry Koreans and the regime. In addition, after the Cold War began, the communisation of China and development of the Soviet atomic bomb became apparent. Consequently, a fear of the South Korea being communised or of the outbreak of World War III led them to keep their eyes on the subtle changes in the power balance between the two countries.

Articles on the political system were also translated six times. Out of six articles, five were on the American political system (4 articles) and democracy (1 article) and the remaining article was about the Conservative Party of the United Kingdom. The articles on the American political system discuss American political parties, the system of local self-government, and distinctive features of the US political system. The reason that material on the US political system occupied a significant proportion of the translated articles might be that the American democratic system was purported to be a role model for the new South Korean government system, though Rhee’s way of controlling Koreans was actually far from democratic. As a way of converting people from communism as well as a way of promoting democracy, it seemed to be necessary to envision the future that the new democratic political system would bring to the Korean people.

Articles on the Pacific Pact and the UN were translated five times each.

Needless to say, the articles on the Pacific Pact were translated to support Rhee's ambition to form an Asian equivalent of the North Atlantic Treaty. Alliances such as the Pacific Pact and the North Atlantic Treaty cannot be separated from the concept of internationalism and a world government. The articles on the UN contained the possibility that the UN as a world government could stop the expansion of communism and prevent another devastating war.

Literary works were the second most frequently translated type of article, though the number of translations is just a quarter of that of politics. It is an interesting fact that even though the articles are about literary figures such as T.S. Eliot and Jean Paul Sartre or literary trends such as existentialism, the topics were discussed in their political context. More specifically, discussions about literature and literary figures were about how the prominent literary figures supported democracy or were against communism, and how a literary trend resonated with the democratic spirit. In short, the desire of the Rhee government and rightist literary figures who wanted to create a pro-democratic and anti-communist environment was reflected in the topic selection.

To summarise, selection of topics and selection of STs reflected the government policies in some ways. The topics and texts usually concentrated on contrasting positive aspects of the American system with negative aspects of the Soviet system and contrasting democracy to communism. Even the texts on literature were used to strengthen these narratives.

### 5.3.2 Paratexts: Titles and Leads

Table 5.4 Title and Lead translation (my translation, originals in Appendix 6)

No.	ST Title and Lead (abbreviation in brackets)	TT Title and Lead (Back Translation) (abbreviations in brackets)
1	<i>The Struggle behind the Iron Curtain</i> <sup>390</sup>  ( <i>Struggle</i> )	Soviet Policy on the Satellite Countries <sup>391</sup>  (대위성국)

<sup>390</sup> Nagy, Ferenc, *The Struggle behind the Iron Curtain*, (New York: Macmillan, 1948)

<sup>391</sup> *Shinchunji*, August 1949.

2	Unwritten Rules of American Politics <sup>392</sup> (Unwritten)	Ethics of American Political Parties <sup>393</sup> (정당윤리)
3	<i>An Introduction to A Modern Law of Nations</i> <sup>394</sup> (Modern Law)	Principle of New Modern Law of Nations and United Nations An Introduction to a Modern Law of Nations <sup>395</sup> (국제법)
4	<i>Confucius, the Man and the Myth</i> <sup>396</sup> (Confucius)	Confucius and Democracy <sup>397</sup> (공자)
5	Economic Planning in Poland. (Poland is following a plan for reconstruction. Can she succeed?) <sup>398</sup> (Poland)	Criticism on Postwar Economic Plan of Poland <sup>399</sup> (파란)
6	Bulgaria I. Consolidation of the Fatherland Front <sup>400</sup> (Post-war Bulgaria silences opposition) (Fatherland Front)	How Fatherland Front of Bulgaria wins <sup>401</sup> (조국전선)
7	Czechoslovakia: Moscow's Reluctant Ally (A first-hand report of "Communism in white gloves") <sup>402</sup> (Czechoslovakia)	Inside Story of Czechoslovakia <sup>403</sup> (체코)
8	World Statesman from Quebec <sup>404</sup> (Statesman)	Evaluation on World Politician: St. Laurent, the Initiator of the North Atlantic Treaty <sup>405</sup>

<sup>392</sup> Fischer, John, "Unwritten Rules of American Politics", *Harper's Magazine*, 1, Nov 1948.

<sup>393</sup> *Shinchunji*, August 1949.

<sup>394</sup> Jessup, Philip, *Modern Law of Nations: An Introduction*, (New York: Macmillan, 1948).

<sup>395</sup> *Shinchunji*, September 1949.

<sup>396</sup> Creel, H.G., *Confucius, the Man and the Myth*, (New York: John Day, 1949)

<sup>397</sup> *Shinchunji*, September 1949.

<sup>398</sup> Warne, Colstone E., *Current History*, 01, November 1947.

<sup>399</sup> *Shinchunji*, October 1949.

<sup>400</sup> Vucinich, Wayne S., "Bulgaria I. Consolidation of the Fatherland Front", *Current History*, 1 Nov 1947.

<sup>401</sup> *Shinchunji*, December 1949.

<sup>402</sup> Talmadge, I.D.W., *Current History*, 1 November 1947.

<sup>403</sup> *Shinchunji*, December 1949.

<sup>404</sup> "World Statesman from Quebec", *Reader's Digest*, April 1949.

<sup>405</sup> *Shinchunji*, December 1949.

		(싼 로란)
9	Boom or Depression? <sup>406</sup> (Boom)	Complete Analysis on Current American Economy: Boom or Depression? <sup>407</sup> (불경기)
10	Poetry in Machine Age <sup>408</sup> (Poetry)	Poetry and Machine Age <sup>409</sup> (시)
11	We must risk a New Policy in China <sup>410</sup> Are we recklessly gambling our lives and treasure by doing nothing about the communist sweep in Asia? Is our Department of State dead wrong? Should we boldly take the lead in forging a Pacific Pact similar to the Atlantic Pact? (New Policy)	Call for Making New American Policy on China <sup>411</sup> (신중국정책)
12	Machines with and without freedom <sup>412</sup> (Machines)	Scientific Technology in the Atomic Age and the Human Spirit <sup>413</sup> (원자시대)
13	Control of Atomic Energy <sup>414</sup> (Control)	Total Control of Atomic Energy Matters <sup>415</sup> (원자력 관리)
14	Confessions of a Universalist One Man's Re-education <sup>416</sup> (Universalist)	Confessions of a Universalist: Re-education of Human <sup>417</sup> (세계정부론자)
15	Building a People's Foreign Policy <sup>418</sup>	Post-war American Foreign Policy: For Building People's Foreign

<sup>406</sup> Warne, Colston E., *Current History*, 1 June 1949.

<sup>407</sup> *Shinchunji*, December 1949.

<sup>408</sup> Engle, Paul, "Poetry in a Machine Age", *The English Journal*, vol. 26, no. 6 (June 1937).

<sup>409</sup> *Shinchunji*, December 1949.

<sup>410</sup> Noble, Harold J., *Saturday Evening Post*, 9 July 1949.

<sup>411</sup> *Shinchunji*, January 1950.

<sup>412</sup> Lilienthal, David E., "Machines with and without Freedom", *The Saturday Review of Literature*, 6, August 1949.

<sup>413</sup> *Shinchunji*, January 1950.

<sup>414</sup> Byrnes, James, F., *Speaking Frankly*, (London and Toronto: William Heinemann, 1945)

<sup>415</sup> *Shinchunji*, January 1950.

<sup>416</sup> Cousins, Norman, "Confessions of a Universalist", *The Saturday Review of Literature*, 6 August 1948.

<sup>417</sup> *Shinchunji* February 1950.

<sup>418</sup> Byrnes, James, F., *Speaking Frankly*, (London and Toronto: William Heinemann, 1945)

	(People's Policy)	Policy <sup>419</sup> (전후미국외교)
16	What of Our Future? <sup>420</sup> (Have we Americans taken on more than we can handle in sponsoring the North Atlantic Treaty? What will our vast worldwide commitments do to our cherished way of life? America's "elder statesman" discusses these vital questions candidly.)  (Future)	What of America's Future: American Policy on Crossroads <sup>421</sup>  (화전간두)
17	Remembering the Poets A Reviewer's Vista <sup>422</sup>  (Poets)	30-Year History of American Poetry <sup>423</sup>  (미국시단)
18	The Country of the Blind: The Soviet System of Mind Control <sup>424</sup>  (Mind Control)	Soviet System of Mind Control <sup>425</sup>  (정신지배)
19	Current Ills and One Remedy <sup>426</sup> Things Existing and Oneself Existing  (Current Ills)	Laski and Sartre <sup>427</sup>  (라스키)
20	T.S. Eliot and the Moral Issue <sup>428</sup>  (Eliot)	T. S. Eliot and his Worldview <sup>429</sup>  (엘리엇)

As I have discussed previously, the title and lead translations can be ideological since they can guide the readers' interpretation of the texts. In terms of title translation in

<sup>419</sup> *Shinchunji*, March 1950.

<sup>420</sup> Baruch, Bernard M., *The Saturday Evening Post*, 23 April 1949.

<sup>421</sup> *Shinchunji*, March 1950.

<sup>422</sup> Benet, William Roze, *The Saturday Review of Literature*, 6 August 1949.

<sup>423</sup> *Shinchunji*, March 1950.

<sup>424</sup> Counts, George Sylvester, *The Country of the Blind: the Soviet System of Mind Control*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1949).

<sup>425</sup> *Shinchunji*, April 1950.

<sup>426</sup> Howe, Mark DeWolfe, "Current Ills and One Remedy" and Munson, Gorham, "Things Existing and Oneself Existing", *The Saturday Review of Literature*, 9, July 1949.

<sup>427</sup> *Shinchunji*, September 1949.

<sup>428</sup> Catlin, George, "T.S. Eliot and the Moral Issue", *The Saturday Review of Literature*, 2, July 1949.

<sup>429</sup> *Shinchunji*, April 1950.

this magazine, of the twenty titles analysed, three source titles were kept intact or were subject to minor changes while the other seventeen titles were given major changes. “Poetry in Machine Age” was translated as “Poetry and Machine Age” and “Control of Atomic Energy” was transferred into “Total Control of Atomic Energy Matters”. “T. S. Eliot and Moral Issues” was translated into “T. S. Eliot and His Worldview”. These translated titles did not induce great change of meaning or impact/influence.

Of the remaining seventeen titles, the shifts can be classified into two broad strategies: ideologically driven translation to guide readers to politically intended goals and explicit translation to make the meaning of the title or contents of the articles clearer. Titles 1, 4, 7, 8, and 14 are the examples of ideological title translation. Among these titles, “*The Struggle behind the Iron Curtain*” and “World Statesman from Quebec” changed the most to the extent that the originals cannot be found in the target titles. In the original text, the focus of *The Struggle* is on the “real struggle” of the Hungarians and the author, former Hungarian Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy, in building their new “democratic” nation in the midst of the harsh intervention of Russians and communists. The translated title, however, shifted the focus to “the Soviet Union” and its “policies” on the satellite countries. The title confirmed the hierarchy between Soviet and Eastern European communist countries and implied that the Soviet Union was in a position of influencing these countries. While the original title contains implications of what both “struggle” and “iron curtain” represent, the translated title only contains the effects we can expect from the “iron curtain”.

“The World Statesman from Quebec” is also an interesting example. While the original title focused on the fact the famous statesman was from Quebec, the translated title paid attention to the fact that the man was an initiator of the North Atlantic Treaty. Out of the five pages of the original text, the description of him as an initiator of the Treaty occupies less than one page, while the remaining pages are occupied by discussion of his role as a prime minister from “Quebec” who qualified as a mediator between Quebec and the other parts of Canada and of his achievements. The rationale behind this choice cannot be interpreted without considering President Rhee’s desire to form the Pacific Pact, which was modelled on the North Atlantic Treaty.

The title of the chapter “Tradition and Truth” of the book, *Confucius, the Man and the Myth*, changed to “孔子와 民主主義 (Confucius and Democracy)”. The original chapter title implied that the “democratic” teaching of Confucius had been wrongly interpreted. The translated title made the relation between Confucius and democracy clearer.

In the original title of “Confession of a Universalist: One Man’s Re-education”, “One Man’s Re-education” was translated into “인류의 재교육 (man’s re-education) or re-education of humans.” This article explains how the author was re-educated to support internationalism more than before. With the new title, the target of re-education was expanded to the whole of the human race.

In the case of “Czechoslovakia, the Reluctant Ally”, the translator concealed that Czechoslovakia was the “ally” of the Soviet Union. Instead, the translator added “내막 (behind story)” or “inside story” and tried to give the impression that there was a story which was unknown to the Korean people or which contradicted common knowledge on Czechoslovakia that the country was an “ally” of the Soviet Union.

The other titles are examples of explicit translation where the translators endeavoured to make abstract titles or cultural context clearer to the target readers. The phrase “Complete Analysis of Current American Economy” was added to the original title “Boom or Depression”, while “Post-war direction of US Foreign Policy” was added to “Building a People’s Foreign Policy”. Also “US Foreign Policy on the Crossroads of Peace and War” was inserted to the original title “What of Our Future?” to re-contextualise the title and to make it clear that the articles were about the US. In addition, “Remembering the Poets: A Reviewer’s Vista” was translated as “The Thirty-Year History of American Poetry”. In the case of “Machines with and without freedom”, a reference to atomic energy was inserted. These more specified titles helped Korean readers to get hints on the content of the texts from the titles. Finally, the articles “Current Ills” and “Things Existing” were translated and conflated into “Laski and Sartre”. Rather than focusing on the abstract thought of the two writers, the translators concentrated on the writers themselves instead.

In terms of leads, only two articles have leads and they disappeared in the TTs. Leads generally summarise the contents of articles and/or clarify the implied meaning of the titles. The reason behind the omission of the leads seems to be related

to the general tendency to insert prefaces at the top of the translated articles, as I will discuss in the following section. Instead of the original writer's summary, the translators or editors preferred to insert their own interpretation of the text and to point out for Korean readers which points needed to be concentrated on.

In short, narratives were also framed through the translation of titles. Though not all of the titles brought about ideological changes, the translations either deliberately framed pro-democracy, anti-Soviet/communism and pro-world government narratives that clearly reflect the priorities of the Rhee regime or made the contents more accessible by translating the titles explicitly.

### 5.3.3. Translation Prefaces

Table 5.5 Prefaces to Translations in *Shinchunji* after the reorganisation of the Seoul Shinmun (my translation; originals in Appendix 7)

Title	Contents
<i>Struggle</i>	We translated this book keeping in mind the diverse hardships the people above the parallel are experiencing.  Writer: the translator
Unwritten rule	The essay by John Fisher, translated and presented here, .... gives significant insight into political parties for us who lack enough knowledge and who have not been trained on them.  Writer: the translator
<i>Modern Law</i>	This article was written by Professor Jessup who is a prominent American academic specialising in international law .... The translator is not the only one who hopes the entire book would be introduced in our academia...  Writer: Park Kijun
<i>Confucius</i>	The true and revolutionary doctrine of Confucius was decayed by totalitarian monarchs in their attempt to promote their imperial ambitions.  Writer: unknown
Poland	(...) they courageously stand up again. ... The author is a prominent figure in this matter and this article might be beneficial to readers.  Writer: unknown
Fatherland Front	The "Fatherland Front", a legacy of the anti-fascist war, still remains in contemporary Bulgaria. Bulgarian Communists controlled all aspects of the politics and economics of this country through the "Fatherland Front".

	Writer: unknown
Czechoslovakia	Here I introduce an article by Mr. Talmadge, the main writer of a prominent American journal on foreign policies". According to Mr. Talmadge, though Czechoslovakia is close to Soviet geographically, they feel more intimate toward America economically, culturally and sentimentally. ... however, the clever Czechs ... cannot forget the old friendship with America, the author says.  Writer: unknown
World Statesman	He is the most prominent figure in Canadian politics and also, as French-Irish from Quebec, is the Prime Minister of Canada.  Writer: unknown
Boom	N/A
Poetry	Paul Angel is a professor at Iowa University and a young poet who inherits the tradition of Whitman and Sandburg.  Writer: unknown
New Policy	Profile of the author: Born in Korea and educated in Japan. Worked as information agent at MacArthur's Headquarters. He worked night and day to achieve the recognition of South Korea by the UN.  Writer: unknown
Machines	Author Profile: Chief of US Atomic Energy Commission Atomic energy, science, machines and technology cannot be said to be either evil or good.  Writer: unknown
Control	The Soviet Union finally announced the production of an atomic bomb. This article would be helpful for (understanding) the history of atomic energy and predicting its future.  Writer: unknown
Universalist	Based on this argument, the possibility of world government arises.  Writer: unknown
People's Policy	N/A
Future	In terms of foreign aid, the author emphasises that the recipient countries should develop their own ability....  Writer: unknown
Poets	Therefore, what matters to American poets is to decide ... between pure and political.  Writer: the translator
T.S. Eliot	N/A
Current Ills	The writer of this article published in <i>The Saturday Review of Literature</i> argues that Laski's stance that ignores the "freedom" of entrepreneurs is contradicting to his own opinion that (...)  Writer: the translator
Mind Control	(...) The writer, George S. Counts, is a professor at Columbia University

	in New York (...)
	Writer: not known

The majority of translations in *Shinchunji* during this period - sixteen out of twenty - had prefaces. Four prefaces confirmed that the writers of the prefaces were the translators while the other twelve articles did not identify who the preface writers were. These twelve prefaces might have been written either by the translators or by the editors. Either way, it demonstrates the direct engagement of the translators or institutional staff in the process of translation.

Eleven articles out of sixteen that had prefaces provided information on the original authors. The descriptions were usually about the position the ST authors had or used to have or about how distinguished the authors were in terms of their expertise. The preface to “International Law” mentioned that the author of the article was the US ambassador to the UN, Professor Philip Jessup, and the writer asserted that this book ought to be translated. By stressing these facts in the preface, the writer tried to make this book more convincing and attractive to the general public.

The preface to “Universalist” took a similar strategy. The writer introduced the author as a person who considered himself as a “leader” of American intellectuals and who was proud of himself as a universalist. The writer also asserted that the article was the fruit of the author’s personal and ideological development.

In the case of “World Statesman”, the writer of the preface introduced the writer as the “most prominent” political figure. Such information could be used to guarantee the credibility of the TTs. Considering that these three articles supported world government, the titles might have been used to support the ROK government’s stance, which backed the Pacific Pact and world government, as discussed in the previous chapter.

There are also ideological prefaces. The most vivid example is the preface to the translation of *Struggle*. The writer of the preface mentioned that the book was translated keeping in mind the “diverse hardships North Koreans were going through.” It aimed to lead South Koreans to relate the adversity Bulgarians had experienced to life in North Korea.

In the translation of “Unwritten Rule”, the writer made it clear that the contents about the principles of American political parties would give valuable insights

(+reaction) to “us” who had not been trained enough to have a proper political party and who did not have enough knowledge on political parties.

In the preface to “Czechoslovakia” the writer argued that the Czechs were more familiar with America economically and culturally than the USSR, in contrast to the general belief. The propaganda of the Communist Party became cleverer after the withdrawal of the Red Army. He added that the “clever” Czechs would not forget the old friendship with America even though the communist regime was in power. These prefaces were inserted to deliver a negative impression of the Soviet Union and communism and a positive impression of the US.

The translator of “Poets” mentioned the struggle between pure literature and political literature<sup>430</sup> which was ongoing in US literary circles which needed to be solved. Considering that the ST and TT defined political poets as “walking corpses”, we can easily deduce why the translator inserted such a preface.

In the preface to “Future”, the writer of the preface argued that the recipients of foreign aid had to try to develop their own capacity. This argument resonated with what President Rhee and the government usually emphasised in speeches or government documents on US economic aid towards Korea.<sup>431</sup>

The other characteristic of the translator’s preface is explicitation or summary of the contents of the STs. The preface of “Fatherland Front” provided a short explanation on the origin of the “Bulgarian Fatherland Front” which was not familiar to Korean people. In the preface to “Control”, the translator made it clear that the Soviet Union succeeded in developing the atomic bomb and summarised how the people of the world wanted it to be controlled. As for the preface to “Current Ills,” the writer of the preface summarised what the writers of the two articles combined said in the articles.

As shown above, prefaces were inserted deliberately to directly denounce the Soviet Union and communism. These strategies in some way strengthened the

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<sup>430</sup> Of course, in the original text, there is no reference to “pure literature” and “political literature”. These phrases are from the writer of the preface. It is an important fact that the author of the ST mentions the debate between Archibald MacLeish and communist poet Michael Gold only in the last part of the article which was a short summary of 30 years of literary history. This means the writer of the preface deliberately inserted the term to classify the two poets politically and used the debate and the author’s support for MacLeish to solidify the preface writer’s own ideology regarding the role of literature.

<sup>431</sup> Department of Public Relations, *Taet’ongnyŏng*, p. 4.

ideological narratives mentioned before but it cannot be said that all the prefaces aimed to impose the translators' ideological stance on the readers. The effects of the prefaces could also be indirect and implicit. They exerted influence, however, on readers, especially when they were combined with ideological translation strategies, which will be discussed below. That is to say, their role of improving the value of STs as well as readers' understanding and guiding readers into "desired" interpretations could result in the readers' ready acceptance of ideologically manipulated contents.

### 5.3.4 Text Selection and Macro-textual Translation

The table below shows the results of direct comparison of source texts and target texts in terms of which parts of the STs were selected and which were ignored in the process of translation.

Table 5.6 Omitted and Selected Sections

Title	Omitted/Selected
<i>Struggle</i>	- The whole book is reduced to four pages - Selection of cruelties of the Soviet Union and communists - Omission of the efforts of Hungarians (including the prime minister, the writer) to establish a democratic nation
<i>Modern Law</i>	- Omission of unimportant content such as dichotomy between law and diplomacy, and the origin of the term "law"
<i>Confucius</i>	- Just one chapter selected from sixteen chapters and postscript
Unwritten Rule	- Omission of explanation on cultural figures and their works and which are intelligible only to the source culture readers.
Poland	- Mostly translated
Fatherland Front	- Omission of too culture-specific contents such as election campaign and historical facts which are unintelligible to Koreans
Czechoslovakia	- Complete translation
World	- Almost complete

Stateman	
Boom	- Almost complete
Poetry	- Complete translation
New policy	- Complete translation
Machines	- Omission of explanation on the advantages of atomic power in changing lives - Selections of contents on the military aspects of atomic power and its maintenance
Control	- Omission of people's personal episode related to the development of the atomic bomb
Universalist	- Almost complete
People's Policy	- Omission of too specific description of national policy and personal episodes related to the policy making.
Future	- Omission of personal preference on a certain city.
Poets	- Last paragraphs that contrast proletarian literature to pure literature were selected.
Current Ills	- Current Ills: Almost complete - Things Existing: Almost complete
T.S. Eliot	- Almost complete

As can be seen in the table above, out of twenty articles, eight are complete or near complete translations. "Poland", "Czechoslovakia", "Boom", "Poetry", and "New Policy", "Universalist", "Current Ills" and "Eliot" were translated fully or almost fully except one paragraph. Three translations out of the remaining twelve are vivid examples of ideological selection. Representatively, *Struggle*, which is about four hundred pages long was reduced to four pages. In this process, the translator selected negative descriptions of the Soviet Union and communists exclusively, including examples such as the Soviet occupiers' abuse of Hungarian soldiers and the kidnapping of the son of the author in order to force the democratically elected prime minister's letter of resignation.

Among the chapters of *Confucius*, only one chapter was translated. As a part of a section titled "Background", this chapter summarised the whole life of Confucius and concluded that the life and teaching of Confucius was full of democratic spirit.

In “Poets”, the parts on the struggle between two different literary circles were fully translated while other parts on the history of US poetry were omitted.

In the other articles, overly-specific or culturally-specific descriptions were omitted. In “People’s Policy” and “Control”, the overly-specific description of the US decision-making process and the names and positions of the people who participated in the process were usually deleted. In “Unwritten Rule” also, detailed explanations on cultural figures and their works were omitted. In “Fatherland Front”, the description of the election campaigns and specific historical facts on Bulgaria were removed. In “Machines”, the translator omitted the changes to the lives and minds of people who lived near the valley where the laboratory was located, and the advantages of atomic power in changing the lives of the neighbours. With this strategy, the translator succeeded in leading readers to focus only on what they deemed to be the most important content of the article.

To summarise, about one third of the translations are complete, while the other two thirds of the articles experienced changes. Among the examples which were reduced in the process of translation, some show the obvious will of the translator to deliver only the contents that the translator wanted to deliver. The other examples from which detailed contents were removed were also ideological in that the translator tried to make the readers focus only on the contents they chose to keep intact.

As a way of framing narratives, the selective choice of texts to be translated contributed to the solidification of some narratives, such as the anti-communist narrative. This strategy not only transformed the TTs into a more closely weaved type of ideological text but also in some cases, the newly constructed texts contributed to the consolidation of these ideological narratives.

### 5.3.5 Micro-level analysis

For the translations published in the issues from August 1949 to June 1950, the translators used similar translation strategies to those used by the translators of the previous period such as explicitation, including addition and politically selective appropriation. What is noteworthy in these translations, as will be discussed below, is that the translators seemed to translate STs literally, but they tended to selectively

choose parts of STs and omitted more texts than the translators of the previous period. Their manipulation usually centred on the character of the big powers and their political systems. The following examples are the most vivid and representative manipulations found in the translations from this period.

### **Explicitation**

The following are examples of addition or explicitation. As can be seen below, sometimes additional information was inserted for ideological reasons and sometimes, of course, without any ideological intentions.

1) ST: Professor Laski's (Current Ills, p. 19)

TT: 英國 勞動黨의 하나의 指導者인 同時에 倫敦大學教授인 著者는 (라스키 p. 226)

2) American aid (Future, p. 19)

TT: 美國의 經濟援助 (화전간두, p. 102)

These two examples have implicit ideological intentions. In example 1, the positions the author Laski occupied as a “leader” of the British Labour Party and “professor” of the University of London, were added. These additions seemed to intensify his authority. The second instance was translated into American “economic” aid. As discussed, the US was described positively in terms of its foreign policy, especially its economic policy towards Europe and Asia.

The following are examples of the additions of simple explanations. In the first example, the translator explains the current events Poland experienced five years after World War II. In the next instance, the translator added when the election was held and in the third example, “his enterprise” was translated into “the third party, Progressive Party”. In the last example, the translator defined “pre-1938 days” as “days before the outbreak of World War II.” These examples were added to increase the readers’ understanding.

Example 7 is a rare example of the addition of a “sentence” that explained that the two parties of the US supported the UN with an unconditional agreement. This addition can be interpreted in two ways. First, it emphasised their support for the UN. Secondly, it stressed the bilateral agreement between the two parties in the US on this issue. Both interpretations resonated with Rhee’s policy to depend on the UN

and the concept of world government for the future of South Korea and Rhee's belief that Koreans must be one ("ilmin") and political factions were not needed.

3) ST: The war's devastation still rolls on (Future, p. 29)

TT: 거기에다가 戰爭이 끝난 지 五年이 지난 現在이지마는 波蘭이 입은 戰禍는 (화전간두, p. 104.)

4) ST: By dawn the results were in (*Struggle* p. 152)

TT: 一九四五年 十一月 四日의 自由選舉의 結果는 다음과 같었다 (대위성국 p. 152)

5) ST: **his enterprise** almost certainly would fail to develop into a major party. (Unwritten Rules, p.27)

TT: 第三黨인 進步黨은 主要한 政黨을 形成하는데 分明히 失敗했다. (정당윤리 p. 192)

6) ST: In the good old pre-1938 days (Czechoslovakia p. 270)

TT: 第二次 世界大戰이 일어난 一九三八年 以前의 좋은 時節에 (책코 p. 68)

7) ST: N/A

TT: 美國의 二大政黨은 絶對一致의 步調를 가추고서 國際聯合을 支持하였다. (전후미국외교 p. 107).

These are examples of explicitation aimed to increase intelligibility for Korean readers, but when they are combined with ideological manipulation it can intensify the ideological interpretation of the given texts.

### 5.7.2 Selective Appropriation- Political Manipulation

#### **Anti-communism**

Ideological translations in *Shinchunji* during this period can be divided into three categories: anti-communism (including criticism of totalitarianism, anarchism and negative descriptions of the Soviet Union); positive descriptions of America; and positive descriptions of world government. Many translations were in line with the

government's position which was opposed to the dissemination of communism.

1) ST: A small group **accepted** collaboration with the Communists as the only possible choice (...) (Fatherland Front p. 273)

TT: 그 中의 一部는 西方列國의 後援이 무슨 所用이 있느냐고, 벌써부터 共產黨의 支援을 甘受 하였다. (조국전선 p. 63)

2) ST: the Community party, **sponsored and supported** by the Soviet occupation authorities, **proceeded vigorously to consolidate its dominant political position and to destroy both its real and potential enemies.** (Fatherland Front p. 273)

TT: 소聯占領軍當局의 庇護아래 共產黨의 猛烈한 對敵破壞工作이 進行되고 있다. (조국전선 p. 62)

No.	ST	Appraised	TT	Appraised
1	Accepted	N/A	甘受하였다	invoked -happiness
2	sponsored and supported	Soviet occupation authorities +capacity	庇護 아래	Soviet occupation authorities +graduation, -veracity
	proceeded vigorously ... to destroy...	Communist Party - security	共產黨의 猛烈한 對敵 破壞 工作이 進行되고 있다	Communist Party +graduation -propriety -security

In the first example, “accepted” was translated into “tolerated”. This implies the inevitability of the Bulgarians’ choice to collaborate with “communists”. Example 2 used a monoglossic sentence that does not grant open interpretation and translated “proceeded” into “is proceeding”. Also “proceeded vigorously ... to destroy...” was translated into “猛烈한 對敵破壞工作 (fierce manoeuvre to destroy the enemies)”. Here the word “工作 (manoeuvre)” usually has negative connotations. “Sponsored and supported” was translated into “blind protection”.

3) ST: Every generation [Professor Laski says] contains examples (omitted) of men who, in the context of ultimate experience, deliberately decide that an anarchy in which they seek to maintain some principle is preferable to an order in which that

principle must be surrendered... **They illustrate the inescapable proof that law must make its way to acceptance through the channel of consenting minds.**

(Current Ills, p. 20)

TT: 모든 世代의 人事들은 人生經驗을 土臺로 해서 故意로 하나의 無政府狀態를 想定하고서 스스로의 原則까지도 無視할 수 있는 그러한 秩序를 내세울려고 하는 傾向이 보인다... 그들은 이에 대한 不可避의 證據로서 讓步해서 易易服從하는 人間性을 **미끼로해서** 無一無三으로 法の 履行을 **強要하게 되는 것이다.** (라스키 p. 227)

4) ST: When he 1) **spoke thus of** the anarchic man whose liberty must be protected, Professor Laski presumably had the 2) **rebel**, not the conservative, in mind. (Current Ills, p. 20)

TT: 이와 같이 1) **辛辣하게 指摘함으로써** “라스키” 교수는 2) **頑迷한** 無政府主義者들의 自由까지를 回復하기 위해서 保守的이 아닌 참으로 하나의 反撥的인 試論을 展開한다. (라스키 p. 227-8)

No.	ST	Appraised	TT	Appraised
3	N/A	N/A	미끼로 해서... 強要하게 되는 것이다.	Anarchists -veracity -propriety
4	spoke thus of	N/A	辛辣하게 指摘함으로써	Anarchists +graduation -veracity
	Anarchist	N/A	頑迷한 無政府主義者	Anarchists -capacity -reaction (quality)

In example 3, in contrast to the meaning in the ST, anarchism was identified with a system that could ignore the legal system. And the supporter of anarchism was described as preying on people and forcing them to obey the law. In example 4 also, the translator described “the anarchic man” as “頑迷한 (stubborn and impervious to reason)”. Though these two examples show radical shifts or manipulation, it is not easy to define whether they are mere mistakes due to lack of capability in English or deliberate manipulations. It is clear, however, that the translator interpreted anarchists in negative ways.

5) ST: **The barbarism of** the Soviet occupying **forces can best be judged** by the fact ....  
(*Struggle* p. 63)

TT: 나는 소聯占領軍이 그 얼마나 無慈悲 하였던가를 말하고 싶다. (대위성국 p. 152)

6) ST: When the Russians wanted food they **simply sequestered** everything they could lay hands on, (...) (*Struggle*, p. 103)

TT: 한편 소聯 사람들은 食糧을 획득하기 위해서는 피도 눈물도 없는 計劃을 修行하였다.  
(대위성국 p. 152)

7) ST: **In the village** they forced the elders, at the points of guns, to assist in requisitioning, and thus peasant families lost their scanty supplies and sometimes the livestock vitally needed to work the farms. (*Struggle*, p. 103)

TT: 이 동네 저 동네에서는 銃口를 겨누고 村長을 협박하여 (...) 狂暴을 어디서나 볼 수 있었다. (대위성국 p. 152)

8) ST: Soon after its formation, the new police force rounded up at Gyomro, not far from Budapest, those opposed to Communism and secretly **tortured to death or shot down twenty-six men, including the parish priest.** (*Struggle* p. 116)

TT: (...) 그 중 二십 六名이 秘密리에 拷問을 받고 結局은 虐殺當하고 많은 事件이 發生하였다. 그 중에는 이 동네 主任司祭도 석겨 있었다. (대위성국 p. 152)

No.	ST	Appraised	TT	Appraised
5	barbarism	USSR/-propriety	그 얼마나 無慈悲하였던가	USSR /-propriety +graduation
6	Often these abductions	USSR/-propriety	이러한 誘拐가 거듭됨에 따라	USSR/-propriety +graduation -security
7	simply sequestered	N/A	피도 눈물도 없는 計劃을 修行하였다	USSR/+gradation -propriety
8	In the village	N/A	이 동네 저 동네에서는... 어디서나 볼 수 있었다 (added in TT)	USSR/+gradation
	Forced	-propriety	狂暴을	USSR/+gradation -propriety -security

tortured to death or shot down twenty-six men, including the parish priest	-propriety -security	拷問을 받고 결국은 虐殺당하고 많은 事件이 發生하였다. 그 중에는 이 동네 主任司祭도 석겨 있었다.	+gradation -propriety -security
----------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------

The translator added “피도 눈물도 없는 계획을 수행하였다 (carried on bloodless operations)” in example 6), and added “이 동네 저 동네 (in this village and that village)” and “광폭을 어디에서나 볼 수 있었다 (ferocity could be seen everywhere)” in example 8. Also in example 8, “tortured to death or shot down” was intensified to “학살 (massacred)” and a phrase about a priest was separated into an independent sentence. These examples intensified the narrative of the “ruthlessness of the Soviet Union” and can be contrasted with examples where democracy and the US/UN are romanticised, which will follow in the next sections.

### US/UN/World government

In this section, I will discuss how the images of the US and the UN described in the STs were improved in the TTs. The first three examples are from a single ST, “Czechoslovakia”. The distinctive feature of the translations is that the translator described the US more positively than the ST, and the positive features of the US centred on US economic aid/policies and on its superiority when compared to the Soviet Union.

In examples 9 and 10, the translator seemed to stress that the US was friendlier and more helpful than the Soviet Union. “Tops” was translated into “the most intimate friend”, and “to give thanks to US” was added in the second example. In example 11, “Munich sell-out” was translated into “betrayal at Munich conference” and it is declared that it was a “fact” that the US did not participate in the Munich betrayal. This alienated the US from any nations who were part of Munich conference. The translator also added that “(the Czechs) still remember well about it”. This example emphasised the ethical aspects of America.

9) ST: ...is still **“tops”** with the Czechs (Czechoslovakia p. 270)

TT: 아직도 체코 사람들의 가장 다정한 벗 (체코 p. 69)

10) ST: Erected a monument to UNRRA. (Czechoslovakia p. 270)

TT: UNRRA 事業에 感謝를表하는意味에서 紀念碑를... (체크 p. 69)

11) ST: Besides, America was not a party to the **Munich sell-out** (Czechoslovakia p. 270)

TT: 그기에다가 미국은 “문헨”會談의 背信行爲에 加擔하지 않았다는 事實을 “체코슬로바카”  
사람들은 잘 記憶하고 있다. (체크 p. 69)

No.	ST	Appraised	TT	Appraised
9	Top	America/ +affection	가장 다정한 벗(the most intimate friend)	America/ +affection +graduation
10	a monument to UNRRA	UNRRA +valuation	感謝를表하는意味에서	UNRRA +graduation +valuation
11	Munich sell-out	countries other than the US -propriety	문헨회담의 背信行爲	countries other than the US -propriety +graduation
11	N/A	N/A	체코슬로바카 사람들은 잘 記憶하고 있다.	faithfulness of the US +veracity

12) That is how Americans were brought up to regard war-**as a temporary** interruption of normal, peaceful pursuits to which we return as quickly as we can. (Future p. 19)

TT: 美國인이 생각하는 戰爭은 平和에의 不可避한 手段으로서만 있을 수 있는 것이다. (화전간두 p. 102)

13) Our first futile **reaction** to this perilously new plight has been to try to **spend our way out**. (Future p. 19)

TT: 이와 같은 未曾有의 危機를 打開하기 爲하여 처음에 美國은 成果 없는 犧牲을 아끼지 않고 있었던 것이다. (화전간두 p. 102)

14) ST: within a year we were **assuming the bulk of Britain’s** burden in Germany. (Future p. 19)

TT: 그러던 것이 其後 一年內에 美國은 英國占領軍을 爲하여 獨逸에서 不小한 費用을

負擔하게 되었다. (화전간두 p. 103)

15) ST: History will not disclose action by any governments comparable to this **generous offer**. (Control p. 265)

TT: 歷史를 읽는 사람이면 이와 같은 善意의 膳物이야말로 前無後無임을 率直히 認定할 것이다. (원자력 관리 p. 159)

16) ST: Even Generalissimo Stalin, (...), acknowledged the world-wide interests and **responsibilities** of the United States and declared... (People’s policy, p. 233).

TT: 卞聯 首相 말을 傳하여 美國이 지닌 地球內利害關係와 莫重莫大한 責任을 認定한다면... (전후미국외교, p. 106).

17) ST: The **responsibilities** that clearly are ours... (People’s policy, p. 233)

TT: 우리가 짐머진 이 무거운 짐은 (전후 미국 외교, p. 106)

No.	ST	Appraised	TT	Appraised
12	as a temporary interruption of normal, peaceful pursuits to which we return as quickly as we can	The US +valuation	美國人이 생각하는 戰爭은 平和에의 <u>不可避한 手段으로서만</u> 있을 수 있는 것이다	The US +valuation +gradation
13	N/A	N/A	<u>犧牲</u> 을 아끼지 않고 있었던 것이다	The US +gradation +propriety
14	assuming the bulk of Britain’s burden	Britain -capacity +propriety	英國 <u>占領軍</u> 을 위하여	Britain -propriety
15	The generous offer	The US +reaction	善意의 膳物	The US +gradation +reaction
16	Responsibilities of the United States	The US +capacity	莫重莫大한 責任	The US +gradation +capacity
17	The responsibilities that clearly are ours	The US +capacity	우리가 짐머진 이 무거운 짐은	The US +gradation +capacity +propriety

In the above examples, the US was portrayed as a “peace-loving” nation by changing “temporary interruption” into “inevitable interruption”. In this translation, the will of America to participate in a war significantly decreased. The translator also stressed the sacrifice of Americans in example 13. “Reaction” changed to “犧牲

(sacrifice).” In example 14, Britain was translated into “occupier Britain”. This contrasted America to Britain and stressed the imperial nature of Europe, which Britain represented. Example 15 stressed the good-will of the US by translating “generous offer” into “offer of good-will”. Examples 16 and 17 both highlighted their acceptance of Manifest Destiny, the idea that Americans were given a “special” responsibility to save the world.

18) ST: 1) **It had been undertaken and carried to a conclusion solely** because of **his vision and courage** in the days when the effort seemed hopeless. (Control, p. 259).

TT: 1) 이와 같이 크게 成功할 수 있었던 것도 따지고 보면 그의 偉大한 視野와 勇氣의 힘이었다. (원자력 관리, p. 155)

19) ST: This respite, though short-lived, 1) **enabled the Opposition to organize and to conduct** a limited degree of political activity. (Fatherland Front p. 276-7)

TT: 이렇게 해서 短期間이나마 1) 反對派의 活動이 눈에 띄게끔 되었다. (조국전선 p. 66)

No.	ST	Appraised	TT	Appraised
18	undertaken and carried to a conclusion	President Truman +capacity	이와 같이 크게 成功할 수 있었던 것도	President Truman +gradation +capacity
	Vision and courage	President Truman +capacity	그의 偉大한 視野와 勇氣	President Truman +gradation +capacity
19	enabled the Opposition to organize and to conduct	The US +capacity	反對派의 活動이 눈에 띄게끔 되었다	The US +gradation +capacity

In the translations above, the appraised, President Truman and the US, were described as being more capable of helping the people of the world than in the STs. Example 18 shows that the translation was used to exaggerate the achievement of the US. The phrase “undertaken and carried to a conclusion” was translated into “undertaken to a great success” and “vision and courage” of the president was translated into “great vision and courage”. These results stressed the aid of the US. In example 19, “enabled the Opposition to organize and to conduct” was translated into “the activities of the Opposition became more conspicuous”. This romanticised

their claim that the US helped the Opposition to the communist party to act more actively than the ST had described.

### The US vs the Soviet Union

20) ST: What soured the Czechs on the Soviet was the behavior of the Soviet army in Czechoslovakia. To this day, the Czechs still sigh, “**Liberate us from such liberators.**” (Czechoslovakia p. 271)

TT: “체코슬로바키아”에 들어 온 소련 軍人의 舉動 때문에 “체코” 사람들의 비위가 상하고 말았다. 그래서 오늘날까지 “체코” 人民은 歎息하고 있을 것이다. “**왜 애초에 이런 解放者로부터 解放되었던가?**” (체코 p. 70)

21) ST: Here is rich America wanting to help us but the **Russians** won't let us accept this help. (Czechoslovakia: p. 271)

TT: 富者나라 美國이 우리를 援助하고자 **하지마는 가난뱅이 소련 때문에 그 援助를 못 받게 되는 것이다.** . (체코 p. 72)

22) ST: Most of Czechs I talked with were embarrassed by their government's about-face on the Marshall Plan and expressed the hope that America realized that **it was not a voluntary decision.** (Czechoslovakia, p. 271)

TT: 著者が 만나서 이야기한 체코 사람은 大部分이 마-셜 計劃의 **眞意를 疑心하고 있는 政府를 批判하고서** 그것을 拒否한 것이 **決코** 체코 **國民의 意思가 아니라는 것을 美國에서 알아다오** 하는 것이었다. (체코 p. 71-2)

23) ST: Why? Demanded his questioner. “Because,” **he replied, “I would rather be taken prisoner by the Americans.”** (Czechoslovakia p. 272)

TT: “理由는?” 이렇게 反問이 나오면, 反問에 대한 對答이 **어지간히 傑作이다-** “왜 그러나하면- **美國의 捕虜가 되어 끌려갈 수 있는 길은 이밖에 없을 테니까...**” (체코 p. 73)

24) ST: American movies **draw larger crowds** than Soviet films and even the poorest are regarded as more **entertaining** than the propaganda-laden Moscow products. (Czechoslovakia p. 270)

TT: 美國에서 온 映畫면 소련映畫를 **물리치고서** 觀客의 人氣를 **獨占 하다싶이** 하고 있다.

가장 滋味 없다는 美國映畫라도 宣傳을 爲主로 하는 모스크바 映畫보다는 歡迎을 받고 있는 것이다. (책코 p. 69)

No.	ST	Appraised	TT	Appraised
20	Liberate us from such liberators	Czechs (-tenacity)	왜 애초에 이런 解放者로부터 解放되었던가	The USSR -reaction
21	Russians	N/A	가난뱅이 倂聯 때문에	The USSR -capacity
22	Embarrassed	Czechs -reaction (impact)	批判하고서	The Czech government: -veracity
22	it was not a voluntary decision	Czech government -veracity	決코 체코 國民의 意思가 아니라는 것	The Czech government +gradation -veracity
23	he replied	N/A	어지간히 傑作이다	+gradation
	I would rather be taken prisoner by the Americans	America (+happiness)	美國의 捕虜가 되어 끌려갈 수 있는 길은 이밖에 없을 테니까	America (+happiness) +reaction +gradation
24	draw larger crowds	American film +reaction (quality)	獨占하다싶이	American film +gradation +reaction (quality)
	Entertaining	American film +reaction (impact)	歡迎을 받고 있는 것이다.	American film +gradation +reaction (impact)

In contrast, Russian people were “unethical” people who were poor (example 21). In example 22), the translator not only added “決코(never)” but also translated “embarrassed” into “criticised”. In example 23, “어지간히 傑作이다 (the reply was quite a masterpiece) was added and “would rather be taken” changed to “it is the only way to be taken”. The gradation strategies strengthened the image of the government and the Soviet Union, which did not take people’s desires into consideration. In the cultural aspect also, as shown in example 24, it was described that American films “are nearly monopolising” the market and more “welcomed” by the Czechs. These examples, which contrasted the US with the USSR, contributed to the framing of anti-communist and pro-democracy narratives.

## Democracy

The next set of examples of ideological manipulation comes from *Confucius, the Man and the Myth*. As mentioned above in the “Text Selection” section, this book was translated to show how the teaching of Confucius was originally “democratic in nature”, and how it had been manipulated to support the totalitarian nature of later dynasties such as Ch’in.<sup>432</sup> The first strategy the translator employed was to describe Confucius more positively than the ST, and consequently to induce a more positive evaluation of democracy.

25) ST: Whose life was to **influence** human history as few have done. (*Confucius*, p. 1)

TT: 人類歷史上 稀有한 **德性을 베푸른 자가** 誕生하였다. (공자, p. 136)

26) ST: Tradition says that he came of noble ancestry and was the **descendant of kings**. (*Confucius*, p. 1)

TT: 傳說에 依하면 그는 어느 高貴한 門閥의 出身이며, **皇帝의 後裔**라고 傳하고 있다. (공자, p. 136)

27) ST: In fact, he advocated and helped to bring about such **sweeping** social and political reforms that (...) (*Confucius*, p. 1)

TT: 그는 **이와 같은 훌륭한** 社會와 政治的 改革을 唱導 하였으며 助力을 **아끼지 않았고** (공자, p. 136)

No.	ST	Appraised	TT	Appraised
25	Influence	Confucius +valuation	德性을 베푸른	Confucius +valuation +gradation
26	descendant of kings	Confucius +normality	皇帝의 後裔	Confucius +gradation +normality
27	Helped	Confucius +propriety	助力을 아끼지 않았고	Confucius +gradation +propriety
	Sweeping	+reaction	훌륭한	Confucius +composition

<sup>432</sup> Though the Chinese Ch’in dynasty is usually romanised as Qin, but, in this thesis, I follow the author’s romanisation, Ch’in, for a consistency.

				+gradation
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In example 25, two aspects are noteworthy. “Influence” was translated into “gave virtue”. This not only provided a more positive image of Confucius but also, when combined with “a few” in this TT it became ambiguous. “Few” can be bound either with “influence” or with “Confucius”, and can be interpreted either as “the person who gave influence that has been rarely seen in human history to (...)” or as “one of few men who gave virtue...” Either way, Confucius was described more positively than in the ST. In the second instance, Confucius was explained as a descendant of “emperors” rather than kings. And in the last example, “sweeping” changed to “this great” and “helped” was translated into “gave every effort to help.”

28) ST: Yet some of his countrymen today think of Confucius as a reactionary who helped to forge the chains of despotism, and regard him with hostility or indifference. (*Confucius*, p. 2)

TT: 그러나 오늘날 中國人 가운데는 孔子를 가르쳐 專制政治의 鐵鎖를 鑄造하는데 이바지한 保守主義者로서 敵愾心과 冷然한 態度를 禁치 않는 자가 있다. 事實은 이와는 正反對인 것이다. (공자, p. 137)

29) ST: Within less than two decades Ch'in **was destroyed** by a revolution in which the Confucians took a prominent part. (*Confucius*, p. 4)

TT: 儒者들은 研究를 中止 當하고 一部는 死刑臺에 올랐다. 그러나 二十年도 가지 못하여 드디어 짧은 儒者들이 顯著한 地位를 차지하게 된 革命에 의하여 抹殺되어 버렸다. (공자, p. 139)

No.	ST	Appraised	TT	Appraised
28		N/A	事實은 이와는 正反對인 것이다	+gradation
29	was destroyed	totalitarian Ch'in -capacity	드디어 ... 抹殺되어 버렸다	totalitarian Ch'in +gradation -capacity

Example 28 shows that the translator added a sentence which contradicted the generally accepted notion of the teaching of Confucius. In example 29, it was

described that Ch'in was “finally” “obliterated”. Combined with the preceding explanation on the “totalitarian” character of Ch'in, this translation focused on the “inherent vulnerability” of the country. Though it is not shown here, the later part of the chapter was about the democratic character of Confucius’ teaching. The first three examples stressed the distinctiveness of Confucius and the last three underlined how his teaching was misused by totalitarians. The later part of the text highlighted that Confucius was supporting democracy. Therefore, combined with the superiority of Confucius and dishonesty of totalitarians, democracy could be valued more positively.

30) It was our conviction that **we were expressing the will** of the majority of the people in supporting the idea of the republic. We **sincerely hoped** that under this form of government the Hungarian people, **who had so often bled for foreign interests**, might at last live their own lives. (*Struggle*, p. 172)

TT: (...) 共和政體 選擇하는 길만이 **옳은 길이라고** 確信하고 있었다. 從來 **우리들이 겪어 온** **苦難의 길은** 여러 번이나 오직 外國의 利益을 위한 **犠牲의 祭物이 된 데서부터 始作되었으니** 헝가리의 國民이 적어도 自己自身을 爲한 生活을 榮位하는 데에는 共和政體를 取하는 **길밖에는 없다고 確信하고** 우리들은 眞情 그것을 希求했다. (대위성국 p. 153)

31) ST: The free elections “permitted by mistake” in 1945 **and the attitude of her government** allowed the country **far more freedom** than the other states in this region enjoyed. (*Struggle* 291)

TT: 1945 년에 “錯誤로 許可된” 헝가리의 自由投票가 그 밖에 東歐羅巴에 比하여 **엄청난** **自由를** 招來했다는 것을 (대위성국 p. 153)

No.	ST	Appraised	TT	Appraised
30	so often bled for foreign interest	Hungarians -tenacity	우리들이 겪어 온 고난의 길은	Hungarians -tenacity Soviet -propriety
	we were expressing... we sincerely hoped...	idea of republic +reaction (impact)	옳은 길.. 길밖에는 없다고 확신하고	+reaction (impact) +gradation
31	far more freedom	Free election +reaction (impact)	엄청난 자유를	Free election +gradation +reaction

				(impact)
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In examples 30 and 31, addition and gradation strategies are conspicuous. In example 30, “the only right way” was added to the translator’s evaluation on the republic. From the context, here the “republic” indicated the “democratic” republic, of course. “The way of hardship we had experienced” was also added. These two additions were used to emphasise the need for a republic and the harsh rule of the Soviet Union. “Often bled for” was translated into “being a sacrifice” and emphasised how oppressed Hungarians were. In example 31, “far more freedom” was translated into “tremendous freedom” and the example translation relates “free election” to “freedom.”

32) ST: I suggest that the difficulties of reconciling the two faiths are greater than Professor Laski in this volume admits them to be, and that his diagnosis of current ills and his prescription of remedies will continue to be somewhat ambiguous until he faces the problem of reconciliation more squarely than he has in any of his recent writings (Current Ills p. 20)

TT: 評者의 私見에 依하면 社會主義가 資本主義의 妥協이 그다지 深刻한 것이 아니라는 것은 “라스키” 教授의 自信滿滿한 處方濟에도 不拘하고 이 問題를 一層 堅實하게 再檢討하기 前에는 模糊하다는 非難을 免치 못할 것이다. (라스키 p. 228)

Example 32 is interesting in that the translator rewrote the parts, and the meaning became totally different from the ST. First of all, the translator translated “the two faiths” into socialism and capitalism. However, in the ST, the two faiths changed to Laski’s faith in socialism and liberty. The translator also added “confident (自信滿滿한)” and “cannot avoid condemnation (非難을 免치 못할 것이다).” The socialist professor Laski was described as a person who exaggerated his capacity, which could reduce confidence in him.

## Literature

33) ST: Today it still seems to me an irresponsible and contradictory sort of

comment. I **called** it then “loose, lazy thinking solemnly expressed,” (Poets, p. 48).

TT: 오늘에 와서 다시 내가 『엘이엇』의評을 말한다면 無責任한 自己撞着이라고 **할 수밖에 없다**. 『內容 없는 思想을 莊嚴하게 表現』한데 **不過했다**. (미국시단, p. 308)

34) ST: But it seems to me that Mr. Gold is claiming for the Communistic view of things an omniscience that it has not justified. Nor do I believe that he helps his cause by an essentially superficial attack upon the musings of one of the most cogently ironic poets turn propagandists for a particular political and economic thesis. (Poet p. 52)

TT: 그러나 여기에 『골드』 氏는 純全히 共產主義란 大前提를 내세우고서 **當然急하게 달려드는 것이다**. 그렇게 해서 美國現詩壇에서 가장 異彩를 띤 『마크리슈』를 조금이라도 칠 수 있었던 지가 疑心스러워진다. 『골드』 氏의 缺陷은 一言而蔽之 해서 (한 마디 말로 능히 그 뜻을 다함) 詩人을 宣傳이나 特殊한 政治的 經濟的 目的을 爲한 **道具 모양으로取扱하려는 데 있다**. (미국시단 p. 311)

No.	ST	Appraised	TT	Appraised
33	seems to me	T. S. Eliot -heterogloss - veracity	할 수 밖에 없다	T.S. Eliot heterogloss - veracity +gradation
	called	T.S. Eliot N/A	불과했다	T.S. Eliot - reaction
34	N/A		道具 모양으로取扱하려는 데 있다	Mr. Gold -propriety

Examples 33 and 34 show how the translators described writers and poets who were not favourable to democracy more negatively than in the STs. In example 33, the translator used “I cannot help saying” rather than “seems to me” and “it is no more than loose, lazy...” instead of “I called”. These replacement phrases created a more negative impression of T.S. Eliot. In example 34, the translator added “(Mr. Gold) tries to treat them as a means for political and economic objectives” in the translation. T. S. Eliot and Mr. Gold were both treated negatively in the STs and this was intensified in the TTs. These new stories created through the translation were related to the facts that the two literary figures were not favourable to democracy, as implicitly suggested in the STs, and then induced a more favourable reaction to

democracy from the readers. This also means that literature was used to enforce anti-communist narratives, in contrast to the contention of the rightist literary figures who might have been involved in the selection and translation process of these texts as editors and/or translators.

## Conclusion

In this chapter, I studied the narratives developed in the magazine articles written by Korean writers and whether the translators manipulated the original texts and how the translations served to frame the ideological narratives. In the narrative section, I revealed that the writers developed anti-communist and pro-American narratives. They labelled the communist countries such as the Soviet Union and North Korea as “poor”, “unethical”, and “dangerous” countries. Consequently, the followers of communism or socialism in Korea were regarded as “enemies” and a “threat” to the security of South Korea. In contrast, the UN and the US that contributed to the recognition of South Korea as the only lawful country in Korea were portrayed as “supporters of world peace”.

The translations reflected these narratives through manipulation. The translators selected texts that were mostly positive to democracy and the US and texts that were negative to communism and the Soviet Union, even if the STs were about literature. In terms of macro-level text selection -- i.e. selection of specific parts of the STs to translate-- the translating agents omitted significant parts of STs or, rather extremely, translated STs by piecing together parts of books.

The translations in this period developed anti-communist narratives by describing democracy, the US and the UN more positively than in the STs and the Soviet Union, North Korea and communism more negatively. In this process, democracy was narrated as an ideal political system and the US as Korea’s friend as well as a helper, while communists and the Soviet Union were poor, threatening and untrustworthy enemies. These narratives exactly reflected the narratives that the Rhee regime promoted when it persecuted its political rivals and opponents through a series of political events.

It can be said, therefore, that the nationalised press and the translating agents who actively engaged in anti-communist activities at the institution, deliberately or

under the pressure of the government, promoted these narratives, and the narratives could be used to defame Rhee's political rivals and ultimately to consolidate the Rhee regime.

## Chapter 6: US Foreign Policy and the Cultural Cold War

This chapter focuses on US foreign policies and the objectives the US tried to achieve in the world politics. I will discuss the US perception on its superiority influenced the formation of the US foreign policies, and through the policies the US wanted to persuade people to accept democracy and reject communism. In this chapter, I will examine the rise and fall of US cultural policies and agencies and how the policies and agencies undertook diverse programmes to stop the expansion of communism and to promote US democracy.

In the latter part of this chapter, I will analyse key policy documents and speeches to show how the narratives embedded in them corresponded with the cultural policies and to what extent the narratives were related to US foreign policies.

### 6.1 Foreign Policy as Ideology

Obviously, ideological crusades had always been at the center of popular understanding of America's role in the world. But, during the 1940s, that sense of ideological mission became not only the rationale for a predetermined set of foreign policies but an actual component of foreign policy itself, as image became a critical tool of empire.<sup>433</sup>

If this nation is to have such friends, especially when it needs them most, then it must actively seek the friendship of others. (...), so we must persuade others of its validity. We call this our "information programme"; others call it propaganda.<sup>434</sup>

In understanding US foreign policy after the end of the World War II, US ideology is one of the most important facts to consider. The War had changed economic, political and military relations between nations, and the US thought that was an opportunity to build a world of peace and prosperity where American ideology could

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<sup>433</sup> Hart, "Empire", p. 9.

<sup>434</sup> Sorensen, "The Word War," p. 3.

prevail.<sup>435</sup> Hunt defines ideology, explaining US foreign policies, as “an interrelated set of convictions or assumptions that reduces the complexities of a particular slice of reality to easily comprehensible terms and suggests appropriate ways of dealing with that reality.”<sup>436</sup> It is necessary to investigate the “convictions or assumptions”, “complexities of a particular slice of reality” and the messages the assumptions and reality yielded to understand the implication of US policies.

We have some things in this country which are infinitely precious and especially American—a love of freedom, a feeling for the equality of opportunity, a tradition of self-reliance and independence and also of cooperation. ... We are the inheritors of all the great principles of Western civilization—above all Justice, the love of Truth, the ideal of Charity.<sup>437</sup>

And the cure is this: to accept wholeheartedly our duty and our opportunity as the most powerful and vital nation in the world and in consequence to exert upon the world the full impact of our influence...<sup>438</sup>

We have that indefinable, unmistakable sign of leadership: prestige. ... American prestige throughout the world is faith in the good intentions as well as in the ultimate intelligence and ultimate strength of the whole American people.<sup>439</sup>

The article titled “American Century”<sup>440</sup> written in 1941 by Henry Luce, the founder of *Life*, *Time* and *Fortune*, is one of the most important articles that suggested “the conviction” the post-war Americans had: “The US as a guardian of the legacy of western civilisation represented as freedom, liberty and justice”, “the responsibility of the US imposed on it as the most powerful nation to cure the world”, and “good

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<sup>435</sup> Kim CP, “Naengjōnūi Kiwōn,” p. 16.

<sup>436</sup> Hunt, *Ideology*, p. xi.

<sup>437</sup> Luce, “Century”, p. 170.

<sup>438</sup> *Ibid*, p. 165.

<sup>439</sup> *Ibid*, p. 169.

<sup>440</sup> “American Century” by Henry Luce: this article was first published in the magazine *Life* in 1941. In this editorial, Luce recommended the shift of the US foreign policy from isolationism to internationalism. As a son of a missionary, Luce positioned the US as a chosen nation and claimed the US had been given a mission to improve and to help the other nations.

intention of the US". These notions resonate with the long-standing ideology of America inherited from the early period of American settlement, Manifest Destiny.

Manifest Destiny is an idea that Americans had been given a right from God to expand its territory and conquer the native Indians. This idea reflects Americans' belief that God had given them the racial superiority over the races they encountered while expanding. The development they had achieved and/or experienced in Europe and their pride in religious and political freedom was the basis of their belief on their superiority. They took it for granted that there existed hierarchy between "self" and "other", and owing to their special status "free, confederated, self-governed" America was entitled to "subdue and fertilize" new territory and "to civilize, educate and absorb" the native Indians in the cause of freedom.<sup>441</sup> In other words, Americans understood that their nation was a "great center from which civilization, religion, and liberty should radiate and radiate until the whole continent shall bask in their blessings."<sup>442</sup>

James Peck's visionary globalism expands Manifest Destiny into world politics and economics. Visionary globalism is "an ideological vision, a way of perceiving and shaping the world to achieve American objectives", and an ideological means that enabled American to "dominate, organize, and direct the "free world".<sup>443</sup> This vision becomes ideologically fully-laden when combined with economic and political desire. Economically, it supports the notion that US capitalism could build a sounder global economic system, and capitalism could be a vision of "competition designed to serve the needs of the center".<sup>444</sup> Politically, dividing the world into two ideological spheres, "free world" and "totalitarian" world, it provided the rationale that the enemy should be conquered by America, the centre of the world.<sup>445</sup> Hence, visionary globalism became a form of "ideological total war against all who stand apart from an American-centric world, a war waged endlessly at the apex of the American state".<sup>446</sup>

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<sup>441</sup> Merk, *Manifest Destiny*, p. 29.

<sup>442</sup> Recited in Merk, *Manifest Destiny*, p. 28.

<sup>443</sup> Peck, *Washington's China*, p. 17-21.

<sup>444</sup> Ibid, p. 21.

<sup>445</sup> Ibid, p. 22.

<sup>446</sup> Ibid, p. 22.

Americans tended to depend on these ideologies and used them to justify their direct intervention in the world politics and their attempts to implant in foreign countries American ideals such as freedom, justice, and democracy and equality. Americans' preoccupation with their racial superiority justified and even reinforced her expansion in the name of "pursuit of American greatness" and dominion over other peoples.<sup>447</sup> Combined with their new need faced in the new world order, they executed ideological programmes more actively.

## 6.2 America, the New Hegemon

After the end of the World War II, it was undeniable that the US became a new hegemon in many aspects. Economically, the US enjoyed a boom. Even before the War, the US industry had been running in full capacity and, during the war, had been benefitted by wartime demand and governmental aid.<sup>448</sup> This led to the investment in additional production, and the products were fully sold in domestic and overseas markets. Not only did America achieve economy of scale, but also it could produce high value products<sup>449</sup> that would not have been thought possible in the post-war devastated Europe. On top of this, unlike the other European powers, the US was the least decimated nation among the Allies. With this background, US could be competitive both in the high value heavy industry and in agriculture.

The military capacity of the US could be summarised as the sole possession of an atomic bomb and overseas military bases. The monopoly of the atomic bomb could contain Russian expansion into Eastern Europe and defuse the assimilation of the European nations into the communist bloc by showing that the US was more powerful than the Red Army.<sup>450</sup> The US military bases that totalled two thousand in around one hundred regions were maintained. Aside from the sole possession of atomic power, overseas bases were the most vivid symbol of American military

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<sup>447</sup> Hunt, *Ideology*, p. 55.

<sup>448</sup> McCormick, *America's*, p. 47.

<sup>449</sup> *Ibid*, p. 47.

<sup>450</sup> *Ibid*, p. 46

superpower over other nations.<sup>451</sup> Supremacy of naval and strategic air power also gave the US great advantages in terms of mobility and firepower.<sup>452</sup>

The major concern for the US after the World War II was how to maintain the supremacy. The nightmare of depression Americans had experienced after the World War I had still been lingering among Americans. The New Deal had not solved the unemployment problem even in peace time, and the fear that the military spending curtailment could lead into higher unemployment rate after the war increased.<sup>453</sup> The maintenance of production level and purchase of surplus products was required to sustain its economic advantage and to maintain its markets.

The American economy depended upon the European markets. In the early Cold War period, the main markets for American export were the Western European markets, and the proportion of export doubled that of US import from Europe.<sup>454</sup> For America, economic supremacy could not be maintained without the economic revival of European countries. However, problem arose from the fact that the European countries needed to pay dollars for the imports. Before the War, the colonies of Western European countries were the main source of the dollars since the resources could be sold to America.<sup>455</sup> With the independence movement of the colonised countries, it became much harder for the Europeans to secure dollars.

Another problem was natural resources. To make plants in Western Europe run again, the coal mines and steel mills in Germany needed to recover production to its maximum limit.<sup>456</sup> The same applied to the resources of Eastern European countries. In this sense, if the influence of the Soviet Union was extended and solidified in the Eastern Bloc, it would be hard for the Western countries to run their plants again.

The US experience of the Open Door Policy with China contributed to the making of their economic plan. The US officials thought free trade and a liberal world market system would maximise the profits for all participant nations, of which America would be the biggest benefactor.<sup>457</sup> The Europeans' suspicion of American

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<sup>451</sup> Recited in Marion, "US Military Bases," p. 2.

<sup>452</sup> McCormick, *America's*, p. 47.

<sup>453</sup> Gaddis, *The United States*, p. 21.

<sup>454</sup> US exported products worth of \$16 billion while imported products worth of \$8 billion (Ambrose 1980: 137).

<sup>455</sup> McCormick, *America's*, p. 73.

<sup>456</sup> Ambrose, *Rise*, p. 137.

<sup>457</sup> McCormick, *America's*, p. 40.

intention for the project and the consequent economic nationalism were the biggest stumbling blocks. The Europeans suspected that the US was trying to take advantage of the Europeans and became reluctant to join this new world economic system of which America was in control.

The other matter was military security. It was true that the US military forces maintained its superiority by the possession of an atomic bomb and its overseas bases but it did not guarantee the security of the US. After the War, US demilitarisation had been happened rapidly. Defence expenditures which was \$81.6 billion in the fiscal year 1945 decreased to \$44.7 billion in the fiscal year 1946 and to \$13.1 billion in the next fiscal year.<sup>458</sup> Decrease of defence expenditure also meant the reduction of domestic and overseas military forces. By 1947, the Army had been reduced to fifteen percent of the wartime personnel. The Navy also had been cut almost by half, and only a quarter of the Air Force remained.<sup>459</sup>

In this context, suspicion of the intentions of Stalin, as shown in his Election Speech delivered in February 1946, political instability of European countries and economic nationalism of the European countries increased US concern on post-war security. Concerns about post-war depression, rapid demilitarisation and suspicion of Communist expansionism, combined with the inherent ideologies analysed above, generated the post-war foreign policy of US global dominance.

### 6.3 Gaining the Hearts and Minds of the Peoples: The History of US Foreign Cultural Policy

From 1946 to 1948, the US treatment of information and culture as part of its foreign policy changed dramatically as the cold war emerged around the world. (...) Culture, information, and academic exchange became new weapons in the cold war.<sup>460</sup>

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<sup>458</sup> National Security Expenditures as a Percentage of Total Government Expenditures and Gross National Product: 1945-1980, US Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970 (Washington: 1975) recited in Gaddis, *Strategies*, p. 23.

<sup>459</sup> Ambrose, *Rise*, p. 122.

<sup>460</sup> Armstrong, "The Cultural," p. 78

Though the US used cultural media or propaganda to explain their war aims, foreign policy and the ideal the US strived to achieve even during the World War I, it was after the outbreak of World War II that the US buckled down to organise more systemic or active propaganda programmes. The US aimed to persuade the people of the world to stop the expansion of Soviet communism and to win the hearts and minds of people with whom US tried to maintain her economic and military superiority. Due to the ambivalent position of America between isolationism and active engagement in the world affairs and its disinterest in developing communication techniques,<sup>461</sup> only after the Japanese invasion of Pearl Harbour, Americans felt the need to mount an international propaganda and informational offensive.<sup>462</sup>

The history of post-war US information programmes can be divided into four phases: 1) 1945 to 1947 when an Interim International Informational Service (IIS) and its descendant the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs (OIC) carried out the informational programmes, 2) from late 1947 to 1949 when the US started to prepare for the Cold War and when the Office of International Information and Educational Exchange (OIE) was established, 3) from 1950 to 1951 when the “Campaign of Truth” began, and finally 4) from 1951 onward when USIE became free from the control of the Department and was reorganised as the “semi-autonomous” US International Information Administration (IIA), which was renamed as the United States Information Agency in 1953 (USIA).<sup>463</sup> As this thesis deals only with the period before the outbreak of the Korean War, the final phase will not be discussed here.

### 6.3.1 The First Phase: The Beginning of US Informational Offensive (1945-47)

After the War, the Office of War Information (OWI)<sup>464</sup> was restructured into the Interim International Informational Service (IIIS) rather than being abolished as was the case of CPI.<sup>465</sup> This decision was based on the recommendation that “wartime

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<sup>461</sup> According to Dizard, Radio Act of 1911 prevented the US companies from using electrical communication techniques for overseas informational activities. This led into the European domination of the global communication network (Dizard 2004: 2).

<sup>462</sup> Dizard, *Inventing*, p. 3.

<sup>463</sup> Cull, *The Cold War*, p. 23.

<sup>464</sup> OWI: an agency which carried propaganda programmes during the World War II (1941-1945).

<sup>465</sup> Committee on Public Information (CPI) was created by the President Wilson during the World War

information apparatus should be retained as a resource for post-war US foreign policy".<sup>466</sup> In 1945, IIS temporarily took over the informational programmes of OWI that were operating International Broadcasting, International Press and Publications, Libraries and Institutes, International Exchange of Persons and International Motion Pictures.<sup>467</sup> A year later, a permanent organisation, the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs (OIC) that would be controlled by the Department of State was established in January 1946. The Office did not have legislative authority, and it usually focused on improving the Department's domestic relations and on re-educating former enemies through occupied forces. The Office carried out programmes that delivered positive messages of democracy and maintained control over the media and education. This series of decisions and empowerment of the organisations cannot be separated from the deteriorating relations between the US and the USSR and their competition for information programmes.

Joseph Stalin's "Election Speech" that was delivered in February 1946 became a turning point that heightened the tension between the Soviet Union and the US. In this address, Stalin asserted the superiority of Soviet Communism in terms of social and military capacity and stressed the superior system needed to be maintained. At the same time, he criticised the expansion of the US capitalism saying, "the development of world capitalism in our times does not proceed smoothly and evenly, but through crises and catastrophic wars".<sup>468</sup> Whether or not he really intended to prepare for war against Western capitalism, this speech worked as a catalyst that brought about George Kennan's "Long Telegram".

Kennan's "Long Telegram", written in the same month as a reaction to the Stalin's speech, combined with an internal personnel change in the State Department,<sup>469</sup> exerted significant influence on the change of the US foreign policy.

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I to give influence on the public through persuasion and information. Just after the end of the war, its activity was terminated by the President.

<sup>466</sup> Recited in Cull, *The Cold War*, p. 23.

<sup>467</sup> Cull, *The Cold War*, pp. 24-8.

<sup>468</sup> Stalin, "Speech," p. 22.

<sup>469</sup> During the War, Roosevelt and his administration supported Open Door Policy since it was thought to contribute to the promotion of trade and to the prevention of the war. Therefore, he tried to collaborate with the Soviet Union and to jointly supervise the world. As the key decision makers of Roosevelt administration had been replaced since the sudden demise of the president with tough-minded decision makers of Truman administration, the foreign policy inevitably changed and Kennan's containment could be accepted among them (Kim MS 2009: 67-73).

In this “Telegram”, Kennan warned of the danger of Soviet expansion and asserted that any Soviet attempt to expand its influence would have to be contained.<sup>470</sup> Backed by Winston Churchill’s Iron Curtain speech, a change of US foreign policy to containment became apparent.

In this period of increased tension, Soviet propaganda seemed to be mounting from mid-1945. From May 1945, Russia started information programmes such as news feed, propaganda on Soviet life and prosperity, and distribution of photos and periodicals on Russian life style and ideology in Europe, Middle East and Latin America.<sup>471</sup> In reaction to the Soviet propaganda, the US launched diverse cultural programmes. From 1944, the US distributed Russian *Amerika*, a magazine that aimed to disseminate American life style and American affluence in Moscow and the US Department of State launched Voice of America<sup>472</sup> Russian service in 1946. The OIC held exhibitions and carried out informational programmes to open libraries which held American books and periodicals. This new policy, disseminating products and artefacts such as magazines and movies “posited a new beginning to a new story. The story began with Soviet expansionism and situated the US response as a benign reaction to ‘contain’ the new menace.”<sup>473</sup>

### 6.3.2 The Second Phase: Consolidation of Containment and Increasing Importance of Information Programmes

Before the announcement of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, the two superpowers heated up the psychological warfare by responding to each other’s political and economic policies and by increasing propaganda activities accordingly.<sup>474</sup> Until the early 1947, however, the US informational and propaganda

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<sup>470</sup> Though Kennan warned the expansion of Soviet communism, it does not mean that Soviet planned immediate military actions. Rather, it is more plausible that they had no plan of aggressive military actions in the near future.

<sup>471</sup> Cull, *The Cold War*, p. 30.

<sup>472</sup> Voice of America: US radio broadcast service that started in 24<sup>th</sup> February 1942 as an important means of war propaganda. It initially provided English, German and Spanish services and then expanded its service to forty language services during the War (YH Kim 2009: 146). Though the language service had decreased to twenty-four languages after the War, it was still considered as the “principal medium for the conduct of the Cold War, carrying the entire burden (...) of the psychological warfare effort behind the Iron Curtain” (Hixon 1997: 32).

<sup>473</sup> Field, *American*, p. 51.

<sup>474</sup> From 1946, the relationship between the Soviet Union and the US had deteriorated more, and accordingly, anti-American propaganda from Russia became more intense and prevalent. The Polish election in 1947 signalled the fall of the Yalta system. Then the Czech Coup and the Berlin Blockade

programmes were on an unstable foundation. Though the US carried out information programmes through the OIC and its overseas branches as well as VOA services,<sup>475</sup> opposition on the activities had been prevalent among the Congress members and key foreign policy makers of the State Department. It was because that the perception of Americans on propaganda was not favourable and they thought propaganda inevitably entailed manipulation and exaggeration of truth.<sup>476</sup>

The introduction of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan in 1947 provided plausible reasons of increasing and supporting the information and educational services. The Truman Doctrine announced the economic aid of America toward Greece and Turkey in March 1947. This Doctrine contrasted the free world where individual liberty, freedom of election and representative government were guaranteed to the totalitarian world where the peoples were oppressed and suffer from poverty. The Doctrine positioned the US as a “global leader” to whom was given the “great responsibility” to save the peoples in need. With this polarised narrative, President Truman could frame the conflict between the two powers as “a global struggle against Soviet Communism” and it could justify the US intervention in Europe.<sup>477</sup>

This signalled that the US publicly no longer anticipated cooperation with the Soviet Union, and turned to containing the expansion of Russia and communism in Europe.<sup>478</sup> Containment consolidated, and it necessarily needed the launch of information programmes because, as discussed in Theoretical Framework section, information programme as a form of soft power could be an effective and more economic measure to promote American superiority over the Soviet Union. Just after the announcement of the Truman Doctrine, VOA restarted the Greek service, and the US increased the information programmes in Greece and Turkey.<sup>479</sup>

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in 1948 seemed to confirm that US suspicion of the Soviet expansionism was not just “suspicion”. In addition, the successful test of a Soviet atomic weapon and the communisation of China was threatening to Americans. With increasing Soviet propaganda programmes such as VOA jamming, suspension of *Amerika* and the establishment of Cominform, USIS posts and other agencies including the CIA increased information programmes.

<sup>475</sup> VOA Russian service: Though in the initial stage the programme usually broadcast music and straightforward newsfeeds, it had come to increase the amount of ideologically laden contents that counteract Soviet anti-American propaganda (Whitton 1951: 151).

<sup>476</sup> Chang YM, “Chōngbu Surip”, p. 276.

<sup>477</sup> Liem, *Telling the “truth,”* p. 39.

<sup>478</sup> Dubofsky and Athan, *Imperial Democracy*, p. 21.

<sup>479</sup> Cull, *The Cold War*, p. 36.

The Marshall Plan was another milestone that shed light on the importance of informational programmes. This plan aimed to revitalise the European economy by requiring the recipient nations to “reduce foreign debt, balance budgets and keep a lid on wages so as to make them price competitive and take steps towards a European common market”.<sup>480</sup> According to Hogan, for the short-term goal, the US tried to allocate resources and to grant commodities and capital equipment in order to boost production. For the long-term goal, it aimed at the reorganisation of world market. Lowering the barrier for trade and capital and creating “a truly open-door world” were their main means of achieving their goal such as promoting economic development and controlling world economy. In short, establishing a European customs union and a currency-clearing scheme were the ultimate goals of the US. However, this aim would have to be executed after they had solved production and trade problems.<sup>481</sup>

The political intention of the Marshall Plan cannot be ignored. The policy makers considered that the Marshall Plan could relieve the Europeans’ suffering from food and fuel shortages and could prevent them from being swayed by Communism.<sup>482</sup> While the debate on the Plan was ongoing, Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) convened by Stalin urged communist parties to oppose the Plan, and even intervened in the elections of France and Italy by initiating political riots though not successfully.<sup>483</sup> It became necessary to use informational or cultural means to persuade Americans on the execution of the Plan.

The Smith-Mundt Act, drafted in 1947 and put into effect in 1948, gave legislative powers and consequently, the budgetary support for the propaganda activities. This act aimed to “promote a better understanding of the United States in other countries and to increase a mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries.”<sup>484</sup> Its stated objectives were “to disseminate abroad information about the United States, its people, and policies”

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<sup>480</sup> Liem, *Telling the “truth”* p. 51.

<sup>481</sup> Hogan, *The Marshall Plan*, p. 57.

<sup>482</sup> Landrum, “Harry S. Truman” p, 348. Though the author acknowledges that there has been discussion that by 1948 the economic recovery programmes were not needed because the countries had been showing signs of recovery (Leffler and Westad 2012 and McCullough 1992), the author stressed that the people were still suffering from the shortage of necessities.

<sup>483</sup> Landrum, “Harry S. Truman,” p. 35.

<sup>484</sup> United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/177574.pdf>, p. 6.

through information service and “to exchange people, knowledge, skills, to render technical and other services and to exchange the development in the field of education, arts, and sciences”.<sup>485</sup> However, its more fundamental and realistic objectives were to persuade peoples abroad to support US foreign policies and to dispel peoples’ ignorance, distrust and hostility about the US. Based on this act, the OIC was reorganised as the Office of International Information and Educational Exchange (OIE)<sup>486</sup> and carried out information and educational programmes that covered broader targets with an increased budget.<sup>487</sup> Not only was the VOA operation expanded but also the International Press and Publication Division (INP) provided press services as well as photographs that demonstrated American life and American political system to strategically important regions. In addition, motion pictures were more actively produced.<sup>488</sup>

The other notable event of 1947 that brought about change on the propaganda programmes was the creation of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Out of the need to coordinate foreign information measures to counter Soviet propaganda, NSC 4-A, which was drafted in December 1947, endowed the CIA with the responsibility of covert and overt psychological overseas operations such as information activities, diplomatic and military operations<sup>489</sup> to turn down the USSR’s propaganda that undermined US activities. Afterwards, CIA was entitled to secretly carry and fund diverse cultural programmes and the publication of a range of magazines and books afterwards.

In 1948, the political situation and propaganda warfare seemed have worsened. The Czech coup that ultimately led to the establishment of the communist regime with the backing of the Soviet Union, the impending general election of Italy, the Berlin Blockade in June 1948 and the aggressive Soviet activities such as jamming of VOA became pretexts for the hardening of the US position against the Soviet Union and its propaganda programmes. Among those, “fast media” VOA and

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<sup>485</sup> Ibid, p. 6.

<sup>486</sup> OIE was divided into two divisions: Office of International Information (OII) and Office of Educational Exchange (OEX). OII was in charge of “fast media” such as radio, press and motion pictures while OEX was of “slow media” such as exchanges, libraries (Cull 2008: 41).

<sup>487</sup> Chang YM, “Chǒngbu Surip”, pp. 277-8.

<sup>488</sup> Kim HS, *Uneven Screens*, pp. 186-87.

<sup>489</sup> NSC 4-A Coordination of Foreign Information Measures, <http://fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsc-hst/nsc-t.htm>, p. 15.

*Amerika* were still working as the most effective means in “diminishing the effectiveness of Soviet internal propaganda.”<sup>490</sup> Hollywood films needed to show the pictures of America world widely, which were in accordance with the foreign policy. The producers were urged to “downplay class division, show consumption as virtuous (...)” and to “show the nation as unique” and the Soviet Union needed to be described as “a bastion of depravity”.<sup>491</sup> The CIA also supported (secretly) diverse covert propaganda programmes especially in Western Europe where people considered American cultural products were inferior to theirs. The CIA secretly funded the publication of journals such as *Der Monat*<sup>492</sup> in Germany, but also it helped to carry a “good books” programme which translated and distribute selected quality books and held massive theatre programmes of selected playwrights.<sup>493</sup> The CIA even intervened in Italian election campaign and provided the Christian Democratic Party with cash and newsprints. USIS also screened motion pictures which showed “everyday prosperity under capitalism”.<sup>494</sup>

### 6.3.3 The Third Phase: The Campaign of Truth, NSC 68 and the Congress for Cultural Freedom in 1950

In 1950, NSC 68, which was signed in April 1950 “provided the basis for the post-war US rearmament program and was a milestone in the Cold War”.<sup>495</sup> This document acknowledged the rising danger of the Soviet Union and sanctioned the tripled budget on military expenditure, maintenance of overseas military bases and engagement in the internal affairs in the name of “national security”.<sup>496</sup> An important fact is that this document was the first one in which the US government officially acknowledged information programmes as a means of thwarting the influence of Soviet communism and of influencing the peoples.<sup>497</sup>

In this context, President Truman launched the Campaign of Truth, in reaction to the Soviet “Hate America” programme. Truman asserted the need to deliver “truth”

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<sup>490</sup> Hixon, *Parting*, p. 32.

<sup>491</sup> Falk, *Upstaging*, pp. 99-100.

<sup>492</sup> An international journal for politics and intellectual life that was the most powerful in German speaking world. (Marko 1985: 319).

<sup>493</sup> Saunders, *Who Paid*, p. 20.

<sup>494</sup> Cull, *The Cold War*, p. 43.

<sup>495</sup> Young, “Revisiting,” p. 3.

<sup>496</sup> Hixon, *Parting*, p. 14.

<sup>497</sup> Barret recited in Cull, *The Cold War*, p. 54.

about America. This campaign did not seem to have enough funds to execute the programme immediately, but the outbreak of the Korean War stimulated the need for active psychological warfare. As a result, this campaign supported more comprehensive USIE information programmes.

In the mid-1950, the CIA also founded the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF hereafter) which was an anti-communist group. Consisted of artists, musicians and writers. The CCF tried to disseminate the virtues of the democracy of western countries in reaction to Soviet government-controlled cultural programmes,<sup>498</sup> to prevent the western European intellectuals from being swayed by illusive Marxism and Communism and to lead them to American ideals.<sup>499</sup> With secretive funding from the CIA, this group which had offices in thirty-five countries carried out diverse cultural programmes such as the publication of magazines and newspapers and holding exhibitions and conferences.<sup>500</sup>

The history of the US cultural programmes witnessed how the US operated cultural programmes in the midst of the emerging Cold War. Soft power or cultural hegemony in a global historic bloc was used to gain “consent” of the people all over the world. The ultimate aim of propagating this ideology was to secure American economic and military superiority in the world by promoting American ideology. Here American ideology means its superiority, democratic spirit and its responsibility as a world leader who was entitled to save countries from the influence of the Soviet Union. These also justified and supported its economic and political expansion to the other parts of world including Europe and East Asia. In the next section, I will discuss how this ideology was framed as concrete narratives in representative foreign policy documents as well as speeches.

#### 6.4 What They Wanted to Say: Narratives in US Foreign Policies

If what the US government tried to promote is best revealed in their foreign policies, and if foreign policy itself is ideology and ideology influences in the way the reality is narrated, it is important to investigate what narratives were framed in the foreign

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<sup>498</sup> Bartley, “The Piper” p. 574.

<sup>499</sup> Saunders, *Who paid the piper?* p. 1.

<sup>500</sup> *Ibid.* p. 1.

policies and in what ways the narratives echoed with the ideology. The Cold War was an “all-encompassing rhetorical reality that developed out of Soviet-American disputes” and the rhetoric “creates political consciousness, define political settings, create national identity, stimulate people to act, and give sense and purpose to these actions”.<sup>501</sup> It means that political narratives and the rhetoric embedded in the narratives in foreign policies can provide more detailed clues on the American ideology US policymakers tried to deliver among peoples in the world and to use to achieve their political and economic goals in the Cold War era.

To find out the nature of the narratives, I selected representative foreign policy documents and speeches of key decision-makers that triggered the change of (cultural) foreign policies: George Kennan’s “Long Telegram” (February 1946), Truman Doctrine speech (March 1947) by the president Harry S. Truman, Marshall Plan speech (June 1947) by General George Marshall, and “The Source of Soviet Conduct (X article)” by George Kennan (July 1947), Campaign of Truth speech (July 1950) and NSC 68 (June 1950).

#### 6.4.1 “Long Telegram” (by George Kennan, Feb 1946)<sup>502</sup>

Table 6.1 Narratives in “Long Telegram”

	Text	Target of evaluation	Attitudinal terms/ Diaglossic positions
1	To this was added as Russia came into contact with <b>economically 1) <u>advanced</u></b> west, 2) <b><u>fear</u></b> of 3) <b><u>more competent more powerful, more highly organized societies</u></b> in that area.	1) West/the US 2) Russia 3) West/the US	mono 1)+ capacity 2) –inclination 3) +capacity +composition + graduation
2	They are seeking 1) <b><u>guidance</u></b> rather than responsibilities.	1) European nations	mono 1) inscribed –tenacity

<sup>501</sup> Hinds and Windt, Jr, *The Cold War*, pp. xix-7.

<sup>502</sup> Telegram, George Kennan to George Marshall, “Long Telegram”, 22, Feb 1946, Harry S. Truman Administration File, Elsej papers.

3	Russia has thus <b>1) far</b> been spared not by socialism <b>but 2) only by her own 3) <u>backwardness.</u></b>	1), 2), 3) Russia	mono 1) + force 2) + focus 3) inscribed –valuation
4	for Russian rulers have invariably sensed that their rule was relatively 1) <b><u>archaic in form, 1) fragile and 1) artificial in its psychological foundation, 1) unable to stand comparison or contact with political systems of western countries.</u></b>  For this reason they have always 2) <b><u>feared</u></b> foreign penetration, 2) <b><u>feared</u></b> direct contact between western world and their own, 2) <b><u>feared</u></b> what would happen if Russians learned 3) <b><u>truth</u></b> about world without or if foreigners learned 3) <b><u>truth</u></b> about world within.	1) Russia 2) Russia 3) Russia	mono 1) – capacity –normality 2) – inclination + graduation 3) –veracity
5	but as bearing within itself 1) <b><u>germs of creeping disease</u></b> and 2) <b><u>destined to be wracked with</u></b> 3) <b><u>growing internal convulsions...</u></b>	1) Russia 2) Russia 3) Russia	mono 1) provoked: –capacity 2) –security 3) inscribed –security
6	in the atmosphere of 1) <b><u>oriental secretiveness and conspiracy</u></b> which pervades this government, possibilities for 2) <b><u>distorting or poisoning sources</u></b> and currents of information are infinite.	1) Russia 2), 3) Russian government	mono 1) inscribed –veracity 2) – veracity
7	Toward colonial areas and 1) <b><u>backward or dependent peoples</u></b> , Soviet policy, even on official plane, will be directed (...)	1) colonised nations/ nations under Soviet influence	hetero 1) –reaction –tenacity
8	they are in reality working closely together as 1) <b><u>an underground operating directorate</u></b> of world communism, a 2) <b><u>concealed</u></b> Comintern rightly coordinated and directed by Moscow.	1), 2) communist parties in other countries	mono 1) inscribed –veracity 2) – veracity
9	Efforts will be made in such countries to 1) <b><u>disrupt national self confidence, to hamstring measures of national defense,</u></b> to increase social and industrial	1) Russia 2) Russia 3) Russia	hetero 1) inscribed –propriety 2)inscribed –security 3)inscribed

	<b>2) <u>unrest</u>, to stimulate all forms of 3) <u>disunity</u>.</b>		– composition
10	On unofficial plane 1) <b><u>particularly violent</u></b> efforts will be made to weaken power and influence of western powers of 2) <b><u>colonial, backward, or dependent peoples</u></b> .	1) Soviet Union 2) colonised people	hetero 1) + force –propriety 2) –valuation/ –capacity / +force
11	Soviet dominated 1) <b><u>puppet political machines</u></b> will be undergoing preparation to take over domestic power (...)	1) Soviet dominated regions	mono 1) inscribed/ provoked –tenacity –capacity
12	All Soviet propaganda beyond Soviet security sphere is basically 1) <b><u>negative and destructive</u></b> .	1) Soviet propaganda	mono 1) –satisfaction –security
13	World communism is like 1) <b><u>malignant parasite which feeds only on 2) diseased tissue</u></b> .	1) world communism 2) communised regions	mono 1) provoked –tenacity 2) provoked –capacity

In this telegram, American traits and Soviet traits were directly and starkly evaluated. The capacity of the US/the West depended on their economic power and political stability. Kennan described the West/America as “(economically) advanced”, “more competent, more powerful, more highly organized society” as in example 1 which had international authority. In contrast, the Soviet Union was a nation that was less powerful and that was “unable to and fears to stand comparison or contact” with the US as in example 4. An interesting fact was that the sentences in the paragraphs were in monoglossic forms. This means the evaluator, the US, did not allow alternative interpretation of the narratives.

This article divided the world into two spheres: the advanced and the backward. The backwardness of the Soviet Union was emphasised in example 3 with the addition of “only”. Its secretiveness was explained as “oriental” secretiveness as shown in example 6. This implied the degradation of Russia, once an ally of the US, into the “inferior” and “secretive” orient.<sup>503</sup>

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<sup>503</sup> In *Orientalism* Said explained the attempts of the West to look down on the East by labelling them as “inferior” and needing to be civilised and educated by the West.

The nations under the influence of Soviet communism or colonised nations were also described as nations of dependency and lack of capacity. They were “backward or dependent people” and acted as “puppet political machines” as in examples 7, 10, and 11. Even European countries are described as countries “seeking for guidance” as in example 2. This polarisation envisioned the American plan of reorganising the world and strengthening American global hegemony.

Metaphors were used to highlight the difference between the two. “Germs of creeping disease” in example 5 means the growing Soviet internal convulsion. For the description of world communism, Kennan uses a metaphor, “malignant parasite which feeds only on diseased tissue”. The first metaphor implies the internal instability and unavoidable weakness of the USSR. The second metaphor implied the destructive nature of the Soviet Union (malignant parasite) and the weakness of European communised countries (diseased tissue). It is also notable that these metaphors were contained in monoglossic sentences. The unethical aspects of the Soviet Union were also emphasised. The Soviet Union aimed to “increase social unrest and to stimulate all forms of disunity”, and it was “negative and destructive” in nature as in example 12. Their operations were secretive and concealed.

#### 6.4.2 Truman Doctrine Speech (by Harry S. Truman, March 1947)<sup>504</sup>

Table 6.2 Narratives in Truman Doctrine Speech

	Text	Target of Evaluation	Attitudinal terms/ Diaglossic positions
1	The Greek Government had also 1) <b><u>asked for assistance of</u></b> 2) <b><u>experienced</u></b> American administrators, economists and technicians	1) Greece 2) the US	1) inscribed –capacity –tenacity 2) +capacity
2	The United States must supply that assistance. There is no other country 1) <b><u>to which democratic Greece can turn.</u></b> No other nation is 2) <b><u>willing and able</u></b> to provide	1) the US 2) the US	1) +capacity 2)+force + reaction + capacity

<sup>504</sup> Truman Doctrine, President Harry S. Truman’s Address before a Joint Session of Congress, 12 March 1947.

	the necessary support for a democratic Greek government.		
3	One of primary objective of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work 1) <b><u>out a way of life free from coercion.</u></b> 2) <b><u>Our victory</u></b> was won over 3) <b><u>countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations.</u></b>	1) the US 2) the US 3) totalitarian/ Communist Countries	mono 1) +propriety +reaction 2) inscribed +capacity 3) -propriety -inclination
4	One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by 1) <b><u>free institutions, representative government, 1) free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, 1) freedom of speech and religion, and 1) freedom from 2) political oppression</u></b>	1) the US 2) the Soviet Union (implied)	Mono 1) repetition: + force/ +valuation 2) inscribed -propriety
5	1) <b><u>our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid</u></b> which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.	1) the US	hetero 1) inscribed + capacity +reaction
6	1) <b><u>Great responsibilities</u></b> have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events.	1) the US	mono 1) gradation: +force inscribed + capacity
7	1) <b><u>aggressive movements</u></b> that seek 2) <b><u>to impose upon them totalitarian regimes.</u></b> This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect 3) <b><u>aggression,</u></b> undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States	1) Soviet movement 2) Russia 3) Russia	1)- security 2) inscribed -inclination 3) inscribed -propriety
8	The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes 1) <b><u>forced upon them against their will.</u></b> US has made frequent protest against 2) <b><u>coercion and intimidation.</u></b>	1) totalitarian regimes 2) totalitarian regimes	1) inscribed -inclination 2) inscribed -propriety
9	The seed of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by 1) <b><u>misery and want.</u></b> They spread and grow in the 2) <b><u>evil soil of 3) poverty and strife.</u></b> They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life had died.	1) countries in need 2) countries in need 3) countries in need	mono 1) -happiness 2) -propriety 3)-happiness
10	1) <b><u>exploiting human want and misery</u></b>	1) Soviet Union	1) -happiness -propriety

11	threatened by the <b>1) <u>terrorist activities</u></b> of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the government's authority	1) communists	1) – security
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In this address, President Truman dealt with the economic relations of the United States, totalitarian countries and (especially European) countries in need and the essence of the political systems of the two powers. An important feature of this speech is that it polarised the world into two spheres, free and totalitarian world. In the speech, Truman did not pay special attention to the difference between fascism and communism. For him, fascism and communism “became immediately linked as only two different faces on the same totalitarian coin” while reframing a community that opposed the totalitarian nations as a community that consisted of nations of “common heritage of democratic government” and “common aspiration for independence.”<sup>505</sup>

Truman concentrated on how forceful, unethical and dangerous the totalitarian countries including the Soviet Union were. The totalitarian countries were represented as an unethical nation that employed “imposition”, “coercion” (example 3), “subjugation”, “aggression” (example 7), “intimidation” (example 8), and “exploitation” (example 10). The aggressive totalitarianism could be “forced” against the will of the oppressed as shown in example 8. In contrast, the US was a nation that placed “freedom” and “democracy” at the very centre of her political system as in example 4.

Truman stressed that the dangerous and unethical aspects of totalitarian regimes could grow out of the misery and poverty that European countries were experiencing in example 9. In this aspect, America was the “only” and “experienced” country that could provide the help as in example 1, and it was American “responsibility” to help them as can be seen in example 6. It is interesting that these statements were also written in monoglossic forms.

This speech emphasised the fundamental differences between the two blocs. One bloc of free nations was represented by the US which was responsible, “willing and able” to help the countries in need while the other bloc of totalitarian nations

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<sup>505</sup> Hinds and Windt Jr., *The Cold War*, p. 50 and p. 154.

was represented by the Soviet Union which tried to take advantage of poor economic conditions of other nations. By attributing the rise of unethical and dangerous totalitarianism to poverty, the US highlighted the need to contain totalitarianism through the improvement of the economic conditions of the European countries.

#### 6.4.3. “The Sources of Soviet Conduct” (X article)<sup>506</sup>

Table 6.3 Narratives in “The Sources of Soviet Conduct”

Text	Target of Evaluation	Attitudinal Term/ Diaglossic positions
1 The security of Soviet power came to rest on the 1) <b><u>iron discipline</u></b> of the Party, on the severity and ubiquity of the 2) <b><u>secret</u></b> police, and on the 3) <b><u>uncompromising</u></b> 4) <b><u>economic monopolism of the state</u></b> . The 5) “ <b><u>organs of suppression</u></b> ,” in which the Soviet leaders had sought security from rival forces, (...)	1) Communist Party 2) police 3), 4), 5) communist state	mono 1) provoked –reaction 2) – veracity 3)+tenacity 4) inscribed –propriety –composition 5) provoked –propriety
2 And from it flow many of the phenomena which we find disturbing in the Kremlin’s conduct of foreign policy: 1) the <b><u>secretiveness, the lack of frankness, the duplicity, the wary suspiciousness, and the basic unfriendliness of purpose.</u></b>	1) Kremlin	mono 1) inscribed –veracity
3 1) Like <b><u>a persistent toy automobile wound up</u></b> and headed in a given direction, stopping only when it meets with some unanswerable force. 1) <b><u>Like the white dog before the phonograph,</u></b> they hear only the “master’s voice”.	1) Russia 2) communis- ed countries under Soviet influence	mono 1) metaphor: –reaction 2) metaphor: –tenacity
4 We have in Russia today a population which is physically and spiritually 1) <b><u>tired</u></b> . The mass of the people are 2) <b><u>disillusioned, sceptical</u></b> (...) 3) <b><u>The forced labor camps and the other agencies of constraint</u></b> provide temporary means of 4) <b><u>compelling</u></b> people to work longer hours than	1) Russians 2) Russians 3) Russian agencies 4) Russian agencies	mono 1) –capacity 2) –satisfaction 3) inscribed, –inclination

<sup>506</sup> X (George Kennan), “The Sources of Soviet Conduct”, *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 25, no. 4 (July 1947), pp. 566-582

	their own volition or mere economic pressure would dictate.		4) –inclination
5	Russian Communists (...) should 1) <b>blush</b> at the contemplation of their own national economy.  Construction is 2) <b>hasty and poor in quality</b> .  Russia will remain economically a 3) <b>vulnerable</b> , and in a certain sense an 4) <b>impotent</b> , nation, capable of exporting its enthusiasm and radiating the strange charm of its 5) <b>primitive political vitality</b> (...)	1) Russia 2) Soviet construction 3), 4), 5) Russia	1) –reaction 2) –reaction hetero 3) –security –capacity 4) –capacity 5) –valuation
6	for the membership at large has been exercised only in the practices of 1) <b>iron discipline</b> and 2) <b>obedience</b> and not in the arts of compromise and accommodation.	1), 2) Soviet practices	mono 1) provoked –reaction 2) inscribed –tenacity
7	... Soviet policies will reflect 1) <b>no abstract love of peace and stability</b> , 1) <b>no real faith in the possibility of a permanent happy coexistence</b> of the Socialist and capitalist worlds, but rather <b>a cautious, persistent pressure</b> toward the 2) <b>disruption and weakening</b> of all rival influence and rival power.	1) Soviet policies 2) Soviet policies	hetero 1) + force –reaction 2) inscribed –security

While the Truman Doctrine speech underlined the need for economic relief by suggesting the nature of totalitarian domination of the communist nations, “X article” spent a great portion of the article on the identification of the ideological and economic nature of the Soviet regime itself. The writer paid great attention to the unethical, impotent, unreliable and dangerous character of the USSR.

According to George Kennan, the Soviet Union was not ethical because it suppressed people with “iron discipline” as in examples 1 and 6 above. Compared to the US, the Soviet Union was portrayed as impotent, because its economic situation was shamefully primitive and other techniques were “hasty and poor in quality as shown in example 5. The Soviet Union was unreliable because it showed qualities of “secretiveness”, “duplicity” and “wary suspiciousness” and lacked frankness as in example 2. The Soviet economy was also on a shaky basis. It had tenacity only in expanding its influence. “Like a persistent toy automobile” as can be seen in example 3, it would not stop its expansion unless by an external “unanswerable force”, which was, of course, America.

In addition, the Soviet Union not only lacked a love of peace and trust in coexistence but also imposed long work hours and labour camps as shown in examples 4 and 7. “X Article”, as the foundation of containment policy, justified US right to prevent the peace-threatening expansion of the Soviet Union and supported the implementation of containment policy. Its power is compelling.

#### 6.4.4 Marshall Plan Speech at Harvard (5 June 1949)<sup>507</sup>

Table 6.4 Narraives in Marshall Plan Speech

	Text	Target of evaluation	Attitudinal terms/ Diaglossic positions
1	It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is 1) <b>able to do to assist</b> in the return of 2) <b>normal economic health in the world</b> , without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace	1) the US 2) (implied) Capitalist economy	hetero 1) + capacity 2) provoked: + normality
2	Its purpose should be the 1) <b>revival of a working economy in the world</b> so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which 2) <b>free</b> institutions can exist. 3) <b>Any assistance</b> that this Government may render in the future should provide a 4) <b>cure</b> rather than a mere palliative.	1) the US 2) institution 3), 4) US assistance	hetero 1) provoked: + capacity 2) +valuation 3) inscribed: +capacity 4)+capacity
3	its efforts to 1) <b>alleviate the situation</b> and 1) help start the European world on its way to 1) <b>recovery</b> ...	1) US effort	1) inscribed + capacity
4	An essential part of any successful action on the part of the United States is (...) the 1) <b>remedies</b> to be applied.	1) US effort	mono 1) provoked: + capacity
5	The 1) <b>remedy</b> lies in breaking 2) <b>the vicious circle</b> and restoring the confidence of the European people in the economic future of their own countries and of Europe as well.	1) US effort 2) (implied) Soviet control	mono 1) provoked: + capacity 2) inscribed: -propriety

The distinctive feature of this speech is that George C. Marshall linked economic stability to the appearance of democratic government. In doing so, he used metaphors

<sup>507</sup> [www.oecd.org/general/themarshallplanspeechatharvarduniversity5june1947.htm](http://www.oecd.org/general/themarshallplanspeechatharvarduniversity5june1947.htm)

to provoke American capacity. Example 1 shows that economic recovery of European countries was a precondition of political stability of the countries. As “X article” showed, this speech also emphasised that American economic recovery programmes, as a remedy and cure for economic problems, were in contrast to the Soviet “vicious circle”. The capacity of America to provide a remedy to alleviate current economic problem was stated in monoglossic forms so that the statement could be taken it for granted. The “remedy” metaphor positioned the US as a “doctor” who had the right and responsibility for curing the patients, and entitled the US to act as a global leader who had licence to take more active and bolder actions.<sup>508</sup>

#### 6.4.5 Campaign of Truth Speech (1950) by Harry S. Truman<sup>509</sup>

Table 6.5 Narratives in Campaign of Truth Speech

	Text	Target of Evaluation	Attitudinal terms/ Diaglossic positions
1	Now that is a 1) <b>tremendous</b> 2) <b>responsibility</b>	1) the US 2) the US	mono 1) + force 2) inscribed + capacity
2	1) <b>Only</b> in a democracy is there such 1) <b>mutual trust and confidence</b> among citizens	1) democracy	mono 1) + focus inscribed + veracity + reaction
3	The cause of freedom is being challenged throughout the world today by the forces of 1) <b>imperialistic</b> communism. This is a struggle, above all else, for the minds of men. (...) 2) <b>Deceit, distortion, and lies</b> are systematically used by them as a matter of deliberate policy	1) communism 2) Soviet propaganda	mono 1) –propriety 2) inscribed –veracity
4	This propaganda can be overcome by the 1) <b>truth</b> --plain, simple, unvarnished 1) <b>truth</b> --presented by the newspapers, radio, newsreels, and other sources that the people 1) <b>trust</b> . If the people are not told the 1) <b>truth</b> , or if they	1) US information 2) Soviet propaganda	hetero 1)+force Inscribed + veracity 2)+force

<sup>508</sup> Ivie, “Fire,” p. 584.

<sup>509</sup> Address on Foreign Policy at a Luncheon of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, <http://trumanlibrary.org/publicpapers/index.php?pid=715>

	do not have confidence in the accuracy and 1) <b><u>fairness</u></b> of the press, they have no defense against 2) <b><u>falsehoods</u></b> . But if they are given the 1) <b><u>true</u></b> facts, these 2) <b><u>falsehoods</u></b> become laughable instead of dangerous		Inscribed –veracity
5	In Berlin, in Czechoslovakia, in the Balkans, in the Far East, they have proved, time after time, that their talk about peace is only 1) <b><u>a cloak for imperialism</u></b> .	1) Soviet talk about peace	mono 2) provoked –propriety/ –veracity
6	stream of 1) <b><u>slander</u></b> and 1) <b><u>vilification</u></b> that the Communists pour out in an effort to 1) <b><u>discredit</u></b> the United States and other free nations	1) communist propaganda	2) inscribed –veracity
7	We know that the United States is 1) <b><u>wholly dedicated</u></b> to the <b><u>cause of peace</u></b> .	2) US dedication	hetero 1) + force/ +propriety
8	Our agricultural production is more than adequate for our needs. Our people enjoy the 1) <b><u>highest standard of living in the history</u></b> of the world. Our economic strength is the 1) <b><u>bulwark</u></b> of the free world	1) US living standard	mono 1) inscribed + capacity +reaction
9	From every standpoint, our free way of life is 1) <b><u>vastly superior</u></b> to the system of oppression which the Communists seek to impose upon mankind	1) free way of life	mono 1) + force + capacity
10	Our task is to show them that freedom is the way to economic and social 1) <b><u>advancement</u></b> , the way to political 1) <b><u>independence</u></b> , the way to 1) <b><u>strength</u></b> , 1) <b><u>happiness</u></b> , and 1) <b><u>peace</u></b>	1) The US	mono 1)+ capacity +valuation inscribed: +capacity +tenacity +happiness
11	We have 1) <b><u>truth and freedom</u></b> on our side.	1) the US	mono 1) inscribed + veracity/ +valuation + force
12	Communist propaganda is <b><u>so false, so crude, so blatant</u></b> , that we wonder how men can be swayed by it.	1) Soviet propaganda	mono 1) –veracity +force
13	In the Far East, for example, millions are <b><u>restlessly</u></b> seeking to break away from the conditions of <b><u>poverty and misery</u></b> that have surrounded them in the past.	1), 2) Far Eastern people	mono 1) –security (disquiet) 2) –security

The contrasting descriptions of the veracity of the two Powers underlined the falsehood of Soviet propaganda. President Truman described the Soviet Union and

Soviet propaganda as a symbol of “falsehood” as in examples 3, 4 and 12. Their propaganda was “deceit, distortion and lies” while America had truth and freedom on its side. The truth on America was that the “free way of life is vastly superior to the system of oppression”, that “truth and freedom is on its side” and that the US was given a “task” to provide this “truth” to the peoples who were susceptible to the Soviet falsehood as can be seen in examples 6, 11, and 12.

The American capacity to maintain a peaceful world (examples 7 and 9) and its trustfulness would have to be contrasted with the nature of Soviet imperialistic dominance examples 3 and 5. The difference could yield a portrayal of the two countries and could put on a firmer basis the belief of Americans about their “task” and “responsibility” for the advancement of the human, economy and happiness as shown in examples 1 and 10. On top of all this, democracy was explained as the only way of achieving mutual trust and a high standard of living as was the case of the US as can be seen in examples 2 and 8, while communism only results in poverty and misery as example 13 shows. An important aspect of this speech is that most of the statements of the task given to the US and its superiority are stated in monoglossic sentences. This means that the US had responsibility as a superior global leader while Soviet falsehood was considered as “taken-for-granted” or “indisputable.”

#### 6.4.6 NSC 68<sup>510</sup>

Table 6.6 Narratives in NSC 68

	Text	Target of evaluation	Attitudinal terms/ Diaglossic positions
1	Three realities emerge as a consequence of this purpose; our 1) <b>determination</b> to maintain the essential elements of individual 2) <b>freedom</b> , as set forth in the Constitution and Bill of Rights; our 1) <b>determination</b> to create conditions under which our 2) <b>free and democratic</b> system can live and 3) <b>prosper</b> ; and our 1)	1) the US 2) individual 3) free and democratic system	mono 1) + force/ Inscribed + capacity 2) + force/ Inscribed +tenacity/ + valuation

<sup>510</sup> Selected Historical Materials in the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library Relating to Korea: White House Office, NSC Staff: papers, 1948-61, NSC 68, Box 7.

	<b>determination</b> to fight if necessary to defend our way of life 1		3) + happiness
2	The design, therefore, calls for the 1) <b><u>complete subversion</u></b> or 1) <b><u>forcible destruction</u></b> of the machinery of government and structure of society in the countries of the non-Soviet world and their replacement by an apparatus and structure 2) <b><u>subservient</u></b> to and 2) <b><u>controlled</u></b> from the Kremlin.	1) design of Kremlin 2) non-Soviet world	mono 1) gradation + force/ inscribed –security 2)–tenacity
3	1) <b><u>Marvellous diversity, the deep tolerance, the lawfulness of the free society</u></b> The United States, as the 2) <b><u>principal center</u></b> of power in the non-Soviet world and the 3) <b><u>bulwark</u></b> of opposition to Soviet 4) <b><u>expansion</u></b> , is the principal enemy whose integrity and vitality must be subverted or destroyed by one means or another.	1) free society 2) the US 3) the US 4) Russia	mono 1) inscribed: +reaction + propriety +valuation + force 2), 3) inscribed: +capacity 4) inscribed –propriety +capacity
4	This fact imposes on us, in our own interests, the 1) <b><u>responsibility of world leadership</u></b> .	1) the US	mono 1) inscribed + capacity
5	The 1) <b><u>idea of slavery</u></b> can only be overcome by the 2) <b><u>timely and persistent 3) demonstration of the superiority of the idea of freedom</u></b> .	1) Soviet ideology 2) the US 3) the US	hetero 1) inscribed –tenacity 2) +tenacity 3) inscribed +capacity
6	There is basic conflict between the 1) <b><u>idea of freedom</u></b> under a government of laws, and the 2) <b><u>idea of slavery</u></b> under the 3) <b><u>grim oligarchy</u></b> of the Kremlin.	1) the US 2) Soviet 3) Kremlin	mono 1) inscribed +tenacity 2) inscribed –tenacity 3) inscribed –propriety
7	Antipathy of 1) <b><u>slavery</u></b> to 2) <b><u>freedom</u></b> explains the 3) <b><u>iron curtain, the isolation, the autarchy</u></b> of the society whose end is absolute power	1) the USSR 2) the US 3) (implies) Russia	hetero 1) inscribed –propriety 2) inscribed + tenacity 3) + force/ –propriety –reaction
8	Kremlin’s design for 1) <b><u>world domination</u></b> begins at home.	1) Kremlin 2) Russia 3) Russia	mono 1) inscribed –propriety –reaction

	The massive fact of the 2) <b><u>iron curtain</u></b> isolating the Soviet peoples from the outside world. Being a 3) <b><u>totalitarian dictatorship</u></b> , the Kremlin's objectives in these policies is the total 4) <b><u>subjective submission</u></b> of the peoples now under its 5) <b><u>control</u></b> .	4) peoples under Soviet control 5) Soviet	2) provoked -reaction 3) inscribed -propriety 4) inscribed -tenacity -reaction 5) inscribed -propriety
9	In a system where supreme power is acquired and held through 1) <b><u>violence</u></b> and 1) <b><u>intimidation</u></b> , the transfer of that power may well produce a period of 2) <b><u>instability</u></b> .	1) Russia 2) period of power transfer	mono 1) inscribed -security/ -inclination 2) inscribed -normality
10	It also tends to inhibit our initiative and deprives us of opportunities for maintaining a <b><u>moral ascendancy</u></b>	1) the US	1)inscribed +propriety
11	1) <b><u>A large measure</u></b> of 2) <b><u>sacrifice</u></b> and discipline will be demanded of the American people.	1) Americans' sacrifice 2) American	mono 1) gradation +force 2)inscribed -satisfaction +propriety

NSC 68 is a general policy document which covered American global military, economic, and cultural strategies prepared in the context of rising tension between the two superpowers. Rather than focusing on specific elements such as economic or military conditions, it naturally concentrated on the ideological dimensions of the two powers. This document related ideas such as “freedom”, “diversity”, “equality”, “unity” and “superiority” to America as in examples 3, 5 and 6. The idea of “slavery”, “submission”, “subversion”, “destruction”, “intimidation”, “violence”, “instability” and “compulsion” were related to the Soviet Union as can be seen in examples 2, 3, 5, 7 and 9. The two superpowers, therefore, could not coexist, and the Soviet system needed to be overcome or contained for the peace of the world.

The US, morally ascendant as in example 10, was given “responsibility of world leadership” for the job and was described as a sustainer of freedom and prosperity as examples 1 and 4 show. In contrast, the Soviet Union was unethical because it was described as imperialistic seeking to dominate the world against the will of peoples as shown in example 8. By focusing on the inherent weakness and viciousness of

Russia and the inherent impeccability and inherently given “responsibility” of the US, this document succeeded in justifying the tripling of the military expenditure and hence more active intervention of the US in the world politics.

From these documents analysed above, it is clear that the ideology of American greatness had been prevalent in the early Cold War era. Combined with economic, military and political superiority, the US ideology interpreted its position as the “hegemon” which can be differentiated from all the other nations.<sup>511</sup> The US interpreted America as the only one who was “able” to provide economic aid and to protect democratic values such as freedom while it interpreted the Soviet Union as a destructive, forceful and backward nation which fed on the misfortune of the other nations.

In the narratives, poverty was described as the main cause of social unrest and the Soviet expansion, which was imperialistic, destructive and suppressive in nature and which could not be a solution to the poverty. Therefore, the US economic relief could not be just an economic relief. Rather, the American duty would be to save the nations in need of economic revival and in danger of communisation. In this sense, the US positioned herself as a “doctor” who was both “eligible” and “responsible” for the “remedies”.

The narratives such as “great responsibility”, “the only country able to give aid” and “world leadership” vividly show that not only these narratives exempted Americans from the charges of imperialism but also were used to label them as the ultimate power above the European powers. In addition, the narratives legitimated the expansion of “its sphere of influence, its power and its way of life.”<sup>512</sup> In contrast, countries in need or communised countries were described as suffering from poverty and backwardness. Then, the US was entitled to “uplift lesser ones and if necessary drag them into modernity”<sup>513</sup> as a civilised nation.

These interpretations were justified by the contrast of the nature of US propaganda and Soviet propaganda. The US asserted that the information it disseminated were “truth” while that from the Soviet Union was deceit and lies. This

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<sup>511</sup> Hõ argues that the US consistently tried to differentiate herself even from European powers and to position herself as superior over the countries by showing its economic affluence and cultural and military superiority (Hõ 2008: 103-104).

<sup>512</sup> Field, *American*, pp. 53-54.

<sup>513</sup> Hunt, *American Ascendancy*, p. 197.

strategy not only prevented peoples from being persuaded by Soviet propaganda but also persuaded them to accept the US assertion as truth. These narratives ultimately led to the justification of US economic intervention in European countries and provided the possibility for the US to dominate the world market and reorganise it based on its own needs.

## Conclusion

After the end of World War II, the US appeared as a new hegemon in terms of economic and military capacity. One of the main stumbling blocks that would hinder the maintenance of economic superiority was the devastated European markets which were the main overseas markets that consumed the surplus products of the US. The expansion of Soviet communism that might cause the communisation of European markets mattered too. The choice of the US on this economic matter was the implementation of Open Door Policy which demolished barriers that prevented the free flow of cash and products.

In terms of military capacity, the US was faced with the scheduled demilitarisation and the fact increased not only the concern about a depression but also the security due to the expansion of the USSR. In this respect, gaining the hearts and minds of Europeans to reduce the suspicion of US expansion and to alienate them from Soviet propaganda was required.

To win the hearts and minds of people in Europe who were suspicious of the intentions of US expansion, the US launched projects such as the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan as a means of reviving the European economic system and containing Soviet communism. With these projects, the US Department of State strengthened the US overseas information programmes and aimed to propagate the ideological narratives.

The narratives embedded in the national foreign policy documents and key speeches divided the world into two spheres of the advanced West and lagging-behind East and communised countries. The narratives also put the US at the top of the advanced West and awarded itself the responsibility as a world leader while they positioned the USSR as the leader of ferocious and untrustworthy communist nations.

In these narratives, the US tried to consolidate and justify its position as a world leader who controlled the new world order.

## Chapter 7 US Cultural Foreign Policy towards Korea

This chapter focuses on US foreign policy with regard to the Republic of Korea in the period 1945-1950. I aim to show that the ultimate aim of US foreign policies toward Korea was to stop the expansion of the North Korean and the Soviet communism and to gain the hearts and minds of South Koreans and to implant democracy. Based on this assumption, I will study how the US government interfered in the cultural spheres of South Korea and examine specific cultural programmes they undertook, which is the area of history studies that has been less investigated. In addition, I will analyse the narratives delivered through the policy documents, and will relate the findings to the objectives of the US government towards South Korea.

### 7.1 Cultural Policy of the US toward Korea during the USAMGIK period (1945-1948)

The US foreign cultural policies with regard to South Korea had undergone modification in response to the social and political challenges the Americans in Korea had faced. According to Armstrong, the cultural policy of America towards Korea from 1945 to 1950 can be divided into three stages: apathy (1945-1946), alienation (early 1946-1947) and activism (mid-1947-1950).<sup>514</sup>

The apathy period was when most public relation and information activities had been done focusing on publicity mainly by the Public Information Office of USAMGIK. The alienation period was when the officers of USAMGIK realised Koreans' hostility against US officers and the possibility of communist subversion. The period of activism was when the Office of Civil Information (OCI) and its successor United States Information Services (USIS) opened and started to engage actively in information activities.

One of the main reasons that USAMGIK initiated informational programmes was that they considered Koreans as people to be educated under the instruction of Americans. From the moment of their occupation, the US officers did not treat Koreans as independent people with equal rights but looked down on them, asserting

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<sup>514</sup> Armstrong, "The Cultural Cold War," p. 74.

they did not have the ability of self-governing. The Proclamation No. 1 by General of the Army Douglas MacArthur made clear the hierarchy between Koreans and Americans by asserting that all Koreans ought to “obey promptly” all his orders and any resistance to the occupying forces would be “punished severely”.<sup>515</sup> Richard D. Weigle, Executive Director of the Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs in the Department of State, confessed that they regarded Koreans as “second-rate citizens”.<sup>516</sup> The rationale of the informational or cultural programmes of USAMGIK, therefore, was to educate them to be more like “superior” Americans.

The beginning of the information programmes of USAMGIK targeting Koreans can be traced back to the formation of the Korean Relations and Informations Section (KRAI hereafter). As soon as the occupation of the US forces was determined, three officers and five enlisted men of Psychological Warfare Detachment of the 24<sup>th</sup> Corps<sup>517</sup> Intelligence Office were dispatched to Seoul for informational works, and took the Japanese Office of Information under the name of KRAI in August 1945. Aiming “to establish a liaison between Koreans and the Government, to screen and channel Korean personnel and to collect and distribute information,” it organised press conferences with General Hodge, re-distributed his message to Koreans that was distributed first by G-2<sup>518</sup> even before the arrival of USAFIK<sup>519</sup> and took over the ten stations of the Korean Broadcasting Corporation.<sup>520</sup> Not only that, it interviewed and registered members of political parties at the General Hodge’s speech on 10<sup>th</sup> September, and interviewed prominent Koreans to organise an Advisory Council.<sup>521</sup> This means the duties of KRAI did not supersede the general publicity programmes.

The Information and Intelligence Section (IIS hereafter) opened on 20<sup>th</sup> September in 1945 as a successor of KRAI. As a permanent organisation that consisted of the Office of Public Information and the Office of Public Opinion,<sup>522</sup> it

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<sup>515</sup> Proclamation No. 1 by General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, *FRUS* 1945, vol. 6.

<sup>516</sup> Oral History Interview with Richard D. Weigle, <https://trumanlibrary.org/oralhist/weigle.htm>

<sup>517</sup> XXIV Corps was a US Army Corps-level command during WWII which participated in the invasion of Okinawa and after the surrender of Japan, it moved to Korea to do occupation duty until its withdrawal in January 1949 (Wikipedia).

<sup>518</sup> G-2 means a military intelligence staff in the US Army (Wikipedia).

<sup>519</sup> History of the Department of Public Information, USAFIK (An Outline), RG 554, XXIV Corps, G-2 Historical Section, 290/51/19-23/E.1256 (A1)/ Box 41, p. 5

<sup>520</sup> *Ibid*, p. 5.

<sup>521</sup> *Ibid*, p. 5

<sup>522</sup> *Ibid*, p. 5.

covered informational, publicity and propaganda activities as well as research and analysis on public sentiments. IIS had been renamed as the Public Information Section in November 1945, as Bureau of Public Information in February 1946, and as the “Department” of Public Information,<sup>523</sup> in March in 1946. The names imply it had been elevated to “department” which had more responsibilities. Until the Department of Public Information (DPI hereafter) opened with expanded coverage and covered a range of intelligence and informational activities, the precedents carried out all the programmes focusing on publicity, propaganda, intelligence and press control.<sup>524</sup>

With the opening of DPI, the beginning of the alienation period, the informational work of USAMFIK had become more active and had expanded its scope more broadly. Consisting of first two<sup>525</sup> and later five Bureaus,<sup>526</sup> DPI not only ran cultural programmes such as the distribution of films, publications and posters and publicity programmes such as the release of publication of MG news items but also conducted research on public opinion.

It was because USAMFIK realised the suspicion of Koreans who were disappointed with the policies of USAMGIK and the residue of anti-American propaganda promoted by Japanese during the colonisation period. One of the surveys that had been conducted in April 1946 showed that Koreans had negative perception of certain aspects of America and the policies of the Military Government (MG). Forty percent of the survey subjects responded that Americans were contemptuous of Koreans and almost seventy percent believed that minority racial groups were oppressed in the US. In terms of land reform, almost ninety percent of people answered that they had heard of land reform executed in North Korea and around seventy percent of people replied that the MG would need to enact a similar one in South Korea.<sup>527</sup> In late February to March 1946, Bureau of Public Information reported that increase in unemployment, decreased food availability and consequent

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<sup>523</sup> Ibid, p. 8.

<sup>524</sup> For example, the Office of Public Information subsection distributed daily press releases and conducted daily press conferences, radio section operated programs to publicise the directives of the MG. The Office of Public Opinion recorded public opinion and interviewed Korean political leaders (An Outline, p. 5-7).

<sup>525</sup> Public Information and Public Opinion

<sup>526</sup> Public Information, Publication, Radio, Public Contact and Public Opinion.

<sup>527</sup> Effectiveness of Japanese and Soviet propaganda, 12/April/1946. (RG 332, USAFIK, XXIV Corps, Historical Section, Box 34)

rise of prices, lack of drugs and proliferation of disease had consistently resulted in disgruntlement and indifference to the MG.<sup>528</sup> Of course, the response on the USSR was more negative<sup>529</sup> than the US, the results allude that Koreans were not totally satisfied by the administration of the MG.

The intensification of Cold War tension between the two powers, the frustration of the Joint Commission and Koreans' dissatisfaction with the US opened the activism period. USAMGIK became more obsessed to publicise the policies of MG and to instil a democratic spirit to Koreans so they contributed to the formation of a separate South Korean government that would form friendly relations with the US. John H. Hildring and Edwin E. Pauley's report show how seriously the American officers took the Korean ideological situation in 1946. In June, the Assistant Secretary of State for Occupied Areas, John H. Hildring, advised the War Department that the public information programme needed to be "utilized to the fullest to further Korean understanding of and support for United States policies in Korea."<sup>530</sup> Ambassador Edwin W. Pauley depicted Korea was "an ideological battleground upon which our entire success in Asia" might depend.<sup>531</sup> Accentuating the unsavoury propaganda of the Soviet Union and its grave influence on South Korea, Pauley recommended the US run information and educational programmes because "communism in Korea could get off to a better start than a practically anywhere else in the world."<sup>532</sup> President Truman also declared "one of the principal objectives of our policy there to be to prevent Korea from again becoming the source of future conflict" and decided to accept Pauley's proposal on propaganda and educational programme and to endeavour to "build up a self-governing and democratic Korea, neither subservient to nor menacing any power" and to sell democracy to Koreans.<sup>533</sup> In September, Lt. Col. Rankin Roberts proposed a plan for

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<sup>528</sup> Weekly Opinion Trends, #1 and #2, 23, February 1946-2, March 1946, RG 332, USAFIK, XXIV Corps, Historical Section, Box 34.

<sup>529</sup> In the same survey, Koreans replied that USSR was more interested in the trusteeship and the US people were not more contemptuous than Russians.

<sup>530</sup> Memorandum by the Assistant Secretary of State for Occupied Areas (Hildring) to the Operations Division, War Department, Washington, 6/June/1946. (*FRUS* 1946 The Far East VIII)

<sup>531</sup> Pauley's Report; *FRUS, 1946, The Far East Volume VIII*

<sup>532</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>533</sup> President Truman to Ambassador Edwin W. Pauley, at Paris, Washington 16/July/1946, *FRUS*, the Far East Volume VIII.

“coordinated and accelerated political education and information program” which was approved.<sup>534</sup>

Not only did the MG and American government need broader and greater services<sup>535</sup> and an active and progressive programme, but it also needed to centralise the programme under the Commanding General USAMFIK because Koreanisation of USAMGIK had been in progress and there had been concern among American officials that message of America could not be directly addressed to Koreans.<sup>536</sup> In addition, because of the consistent propaganda inside and outside of Korea, the officers felt the need for “aggressive and independent propaganda and counter-propaganda agency.”<sup>537</sup> By the end of 1946, James L. Stewart visited Korea with professionals in public relation and information, and organised the Office of Civil Information at the end of May 1947 as a Special Staff Section reporting directly to Gen. Hodge under USAFIK General Order No. 10. Based on the Order it did not belong to USAMGIK but to Government Aid and Relief in Occupied Areas fund which the United States provided.<sup>538</sup> This Office expanded its activities by fifty percent for six months from October 1947.<sup>539</sup>

Taking over DPI’s role, the basic mission of OCI was to carry informational programmes to make the policies, activities and achievements of USAMGIK known to Koreans so as to establish a free and independent nation and to promote a friendly American-Korean relationship.<sup>540</sup> They ultimately hoped that Koreans would not be

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<sup>534</sup> An Outline, p. 16.

<sup>535</sup> “Inclosure #4, Purpose and Function of OCI”, *History of Civil Information 5/30/1947-30/6/1948*, RG 554, USAFIK: XXIV Corps, G-2 Historical Section 1945-48, 290/51/19-23/3-5/E.1256 (A1) Box 42, p. 9.

<sup>536</sup> “Inclosure #3, Propaganda Plan”, From James. L. Stewart to CG, XXIV Corps, *History of Civil Information, 5/30/1947-30/6/1948*, RG 554, USAFIK: XXIV Corps, G-2 Historical Section 1945-48, 290/51/19-23/3-5/E.1256 (A1) Box 42, p. 64/ According to Stewart, if they would “continue to operate informational activities solely under Military Government, (they) would soon reach a situation where the Korean people would not be hearing a straight American message but instead would be hearing about America exactly what a small clique of Korean leaders would like for them to hear.”

<sup>537</sup> “Inclosure #8, Blanket Rejection of OCI Personnel Request”, *History of Civil Information 5/30/1947-30/6/1948*, RG 554, USAFIK: XXIV Corps, G-2 Historical Section 1945-48, 290/51/19-23/3-5/E.1256 (A1) Box 42, p. 77.

<sup>538</sup> “Report on the History and Growth of the Office of Civil Information, USAFIK,” dated 10. Nov. 1947, RG 554, USAFIK: XXIV Corps, G-2 Historical Section 1945-48, 290/51/19-23/3-5/E.1256 (A1)/Box 32, p. 1.

<sup>539</sup> “United States Information Activities in Korea before the Establishment of the Office of Civil Information”, *History of Civil Information Office 5/30/47-6/30/48*, 290/51/19-23/3-5/E.1256(A1)/Box 42, p. 24.

<sup>540</sup> “History of Civil Information Office”, *History of Civil Information 5/30/1947-30/6/1948*, RG 554, USAFIK: XXIV Corps, G-2 Historical Section 1945-48, 290/51/19-23/3-5/E.1256 (A1) Box 42, p. 1

swayed by internal and external propaganda against the US and it would promote friendly relationship between Korea and the US

Along with the programmes taken over from DPI, OCI started new programmes to strengthen its propaganda function such as publication, opening of libraries and education. The Translations Section of the Publications Branch started to publish a weekly news sheet named *Segye Chubo (World News)* from June 1947 targeting the uneducated living in rural areas who had no access to daily newspapers.<sup>541</sup> A magazine, *Culture and Customs*, contained articles on agriculture, art, biography, democracy, fiction, industry and culture was published from 1948 until it was replaced with *Wolgan Amerika*.<sup>542</sup>

As a task of top priority, OCI opened Information Centers in major cities in provinces. As channels to connect people in small cities to OCI works, these centres provided American books and periodicals, exhibited posters and photos which illustrated American ideals and became venues for motion pictures and speeches. Starting with the opening of the Pusan Centre in September 1947, openings in Taegu, Inchön, Chunchön and Chöngju followed.

Adult education programmes were also provided. With the belief that the adults of the generation would be “vital and immediately concerned with the setting up of a Korean national Government” it provided evening classes to around 750,000 men and women.<sup>543</sup> In the class, they used translated materials for the teaching of Hangül, and the materials used were “The Essence of Democracy”, “United Nations-What is It,” “Rice Collection”, “The Vote”, “Solving Community Problems”, and “Increased Agricultural Production”.<sup>544</sup> These materials show that the informational programme not only focused on ideological aspects but also on life-related aspects.

The programmes tailored for specific situation cannot be overlooked. OCI focused on individual political or military events until the construction of South Korean government though it aimed to propagate democratic values, American

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<sup>541</sup> “United States Information Activities in Korea before the Establishment of the Office of Civil Information”, *History of Civil Information 5/30/1947-30/6/1948*, RG 554, USAFIK: XXIV Corps, G-2 Historical Section 1945-48, 290/51/19-23/3-5/E.1256 (A1) Box 42, p. 11.

<sup>542</sup> Report of Activities of the Office of Civil Information, USAFIK, 1-31 January 1948, RG 59 Central Decimal File, 250/36/23/6/E.CDF 1945-49/Box 3820, p. 2.

<sup>543</sup> Report of Activities of the Office of Civil Information, USAFIK, November 10, 1947 to January 15, 1948, RG 59 Central Decimal File, 250/36/23/6/E.CDF 1945-49/Box 3820, p. 13

<sup>544</sup> *Ibid*, p. 13.

education systems.<sup>545</sup> OCI monthly reports published in early 1948 proved that it ran its informational programmes focusing on political events. A report issued at the end of March 1948 revealed that the General Election of 10 May 1948 would have to be the first priority, and equal priority needed to go to the promotion of the land reform programme.<sup>546</sup> In a report written in April 1948, it is said that April's activities needed to focus not only on all the existing informational programs but also on the promotion of election and opening of information centres.<sup>547</sup>

## 7.2 Department of States Take Over: The Establishment of USIS

With the withdrawal of USAMGIK which was completed in early 1949, the responsibility for informational activities was transferred from USAMFIK to the US Department of State. United States Information Service in Korea (USIS hereafter), the forty-sixth overseas post of the US Department of State, took over most of the information activities of OCI including United States Education Exchange Programme which was a derivative of the Fullbright Act and the Smith-Mundt Act and the promotion of the ECA programme. It also took charge of nine information centres as well as nine libraries.

The establishment of the South Korean government and the impending withdrawal of the US military force generated the concern of the US about the sustainability of the South Korean government. The survival of the new government was critical for the US because the US decision makers thought that the US would be disgraced if democratic South Korean government collapsed. If the US would be disgraced, it would exert negative influence on the countries in East Asia including Japan and the possibility of communisation of the nearby nations would be increased.<sup>548</sup>

The objectives of USIS could be inferred from the policy documents of the Department of States with regard to South Korea. NSC 8/2 which was drafted in

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<sup>545</sup> Chang YM, "Chǒngbu Surip", p. 273.

<sup>546</sup> "Report of Activities of Office of Civil Information," USAFIK 3/Mar/1948, RG 59 Central Decimal File (CDF), 740.00119 Control (Korea)/4-148-5-3148, 250/36/23/6/E.CDF 1945-49/Box 3820, p. 1.

<sup>547</sup> Report of Activities of the Office of Civil Information, USAFIK April 1948, RG 59, CDF, 250/36/23/6/E.CDF 1945-49/Box 3820, p. 1.

<sup>548</sup> Lee CS, "Isǔngman," p. 29.

March 1949 as a supplement to NSC 8 recommended to make an effort to “increase the effectiveness of the informational, cultural, educational programmes and exchange of persons programmes in Korea in accordance with the peculiar requirements of the situation existing in that country”.<sup>549</sup> Since there had been a variety of informational activities even before the completion of NSC 8/2, this statement seemed to concern the “peculiar requirement of situation” which Korea might encounter after the withdrawal of USAMGIK. A report dated 15 June 1949 said that due to “the striking realities of the situation” they needed to undertake wide and varied coverage rather than “to implement general directives which guide USIE<sup>550</sup> activities in most part of the world”.<sup>551</sup> This report indicated that information activities aimed at “converting communist political and economic skulduggery” as well as at instilling in Koreans a belief that their new-born government could survive and develop under democratic spirit.”<sup>552</sup>

NSC 48 which was signed in December 1949 recommended that the containment of the expansion of Communism, to control the influence of the Soviet puppet regime in North Korea and to bring about the unification of Korea on democratic basis.<sup>553</sup> For the objective, the US was called to provide political, economic, technical and military assistance or aid to the democratically-elected government of the Republic of Korea and to continue to accord political support to the Republic of Korea.”<sup>554</sup>

The Department of State explicates that the aim of USIS Korea is to gain hearts and minds of Koreans on democracy and prevent Soviet expansion.<sup>555</sup> The

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<sup>549</sup> NSC 8/2, p. 978.

<sup>550</sup> United States Information and Education Services.

<sup>551</sup> United States Information Service in Korea, RG 59, Information Notes # 81-90, 250/49/24/3-4/E.1360/Box 6, p. 2.

<sup>552</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>553</sup> Etzold, Thomas H., and Gaddis, John Lewis, *Containment: Documents on American Foreign Policy and Strategy, 1945-1950*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1978.

<sup>554</sup> NSC 48, p. 272.

<sup>555</sup> Enclosure No. 1, USIE Country Papers-Korea, RG 59 General Records of the Department of State, Central Decimal File 1950-54, 250/39/19/6/CDF 1950-54/Box 2540.

The representative objectives were: A. to gain and keep friends and supporters for the US and democracy by (1) presenting a factual record of US principles and policies toward Korea as part of overall US foreign policy, (2) by presenting a factual record of world events to show the contrast between democratic and Communist attitudes, (3) by emphasizing the progress that could be made through the development of a sound economy and a sound educational system, thus encouraging the spread of democratic principles and practices in Korea, particularly full-fledged respect for civil liberties (5) by supporting the Republic of Korea, which was founded on democratic principles, without actually interfering in the internal affairs of Korea (6) by informing the Koreans of the

Department linked economic development to political stability and then emphasise the importance of the ECA publicity. The “good intention” of the US and the US advanced knowledge would be used for the development of democratic Korea and for the prevention of Soviet expansion should be explained through the programmes.

To achieve these aims, it was necessary to make Koreans familiar with the basic ideals and philosophy of democratic ways of life. USIS Korea was required 1) to deliver the policy of the United States, official statements, attitudes, institutions and life to the people of Korea through all possible media, 2) to explain the purpose and nature of American economic assistance in Korea, and 3) to foster educational programmes to ensure the continuance of solid democratic government which are free from other nations.<sup>556</sup> These programmes proceeded with caution so that it would not appear to meddle in the internal affairs of an independent nation; on the other hand, it must make every effort to represent itself as a progressive, liberal nation which was eager to see the fledgling government would grow up with “genuine” democracy.<sup>557</sup>

#### 7.2.1 Programmes & Activities

USIS carried out a range of cultural and informational programmes, targeting diverse audiences with direct and indirect contacts. USIS officials divided Korean audiences into two broad types; the educated and the uneducated. Their programmes were based on this division with the coordination of nine information centres across the country.<sup>558</sup> For the fiscal year 1949 and 1950, USIS provided press and publications services, radio services, Information Centers and Libraries, films and visual services.

Press and publication programmes included distribution of news articles, picture service, book translations, non-overt and overt magazine publication,

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purposes of ECA, (9) by establishing the fact that, although US forces have withdrawn from Korea, the US would continue to render economic, military, and educational assistance to the Korean people together with political support and (10) by convincing the Koreans that the US has never had and would never have any economic or other designs on them B. To combat the spread of the poison of Communism by: (1) Factual reporting on conditions in Communist-controlled areas, (2) informing the Koreans that the performance of the Communists in North Korea, as elsewhere, was outright colonial imperialism, (3) establishing clearly that areas outside of the Soviet Union were economically exploited for Soviet benefit, (4) pointing out that the only method of Communists for gaining control is that of confusion, conflict and aggression and (5) encouraging faith in the United Nations.

<sup>556</sup> Staffing plan, RG 59, Central Decimal File 1945-49, 250/35/6/1/E.CDF 1945-49/Box 1237, p. 3.

<sup>557</sup> Boyce Report, RG 59, Information Notes #81-90, 250/49/24/3-4/E.1360/Box 6, p. 5.

<sup>558</sup> Pusan, Chunchŏn, Inchŏn, Taejŏn, Taegu, Kaesŏng, Kwangju, Chŏnju and Cheju.

pamphlets and film strips. With these programmes, “virtually all segments of the literate populace are reached.”<sup>559</sup> In terms of press programmes, USIS took over press service from OCI and continued to provide the Korean press with its news articles and features airmailed by the Department as a means of explaining its policies and propagating its ideologies and of influencing attitudes of Korean publishers and editors.<sup>560</sup> Naturally, these news feed were closely related to the concurrent issues Koreans faced.<sup>561</sup> USIS published *Daily News Bulletin (or Wireless Bulletin)* in A.M. and P.M. editions to provide Korean news agencies with general materials on the functions and responsibilities of the American Mission in Korea<sup>562</sup> and the aims, objectives and operating procedures of the ECA. The bulletin was received in Seoul directly from Manila and translated and edited on the spot.<sup>563</sup> The translated articles as well as the original English texts were distributed to 138 newspapers, periodicals, individuals such as Korean governmental officers and private organisations.<sup>564</sup> Of the 303 different USIS wireless news items released during the month, 86% were published in Korean papers at least once or more times,<sup>565</sup> in an attempt by the US to influence on public opinion even through Korean presses.

The Publication Section produced other periodicals such as *Weekly Newsletter*, *Segye Chubo*, *Medical Newsletter* and *Wolgan Amerika*. *Weekly Newsletter* was distributed to 260 Korean newspapers<sup>566</sup> of which fifteen selected newspapers were

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<sup>559</sup> United States Information Service in Korea, RG59, Information Notes #81-90, 250/49/24/3-4/E.1360/Box 6, p. 9.

<sup>560</sup> Ibid, p. 6.

<sup>561</sup> In March 1950, news on the US aid to Korea and news from UN on eight watch dongs observing and reporting situations along the 38th parallel were provided to the Korean press. Foreign Services of the United States of America: Current Activities, News Section, USIS, RG 59 Central Decimal File 1950-54, 250/49/12/3/CDF1950-54/Box2539, p. 2.

<sup>562</sup> Highlights, RG 59, Records Relating to International Information Activities 1938-53, 1948 Korea Area (POS/J), 250/50/21/4/E.1558/Box152, p. 2. America Mission in Korea (AMIK): American organisation that replaced US Military Force in Korea. This consisted of the Embassy, USIS, ECA, Joint Administrative Service and the Korean Military Advisory Group.

<sup>563</sup> Boyce Report, p. 12.

<sup>564</sup> USIE Posts and American Personnel, RG 59, Office of Ambassador-at-large Philip C. Jessup, 1946-52, Folder No. 1 Korea-General (Prior to Outbreak of War), 250/49/35/2/E.1459/Box 3, p. 2.

<sup>565</sup> The most frequently published types of stories are as follows in order: the Marshall Plan (ECA), US Foreign Policy, the UN and Anti-Communism, Economics, Commerce and Industry, Defence, Military Aid and Security, Culture, Education and Science, Aid to Underdeveloped Countries, US Civil Affairs and Personalities; Foreign Service of the United States of America: Current Activities, News Section, USIS, RG 59, 511.95, 250/49/12/3/CDF1950-54/Box2539, p. 1.

<sup>566</sup> Boyce Report, p. 9.

given exclusive news articles two or three times a month.<sup>567</sup> As a fortnightly newspaper with free circulation, *Segye Chubo (World News)* had continued its publication from the period of OCI and distributed 300,000 to 700,000 copies per issue throughout the Korean provinces. *Medical Newsletter* started its publication targeting 3,319 medical doctors, health officials and medical students in Korea who were mainly exposed to German and Japanese medical knowledge. This magazine aimed to improve the “reputation of American medicine” by introducing new medical discoveries and techniques even though such discoveries were not directly related to Korean medical needs.<sup>568</sup> *Wolgan Amerika* was a successor of *Culture and Custom* and a sister magazine to Russian *Amerika*. This magazine will be discussed in detail in a separate section.

Translation Programme was also the important means of propagating the US ideals. At the time, Korean version of communist books had been sold cheaply across the country.<sup>569</sup> It was quite natural that the US launched a counteract translation programme. Targeting both intellectuals and literate and semi-literate general readers, it provided a diverse range of translated books from specialised books that aimed to improve the general quality of life in Korea focusing on “education” and “applied physical sciences,”<sup>570</sup> to the texts that introduce political/democratic aspects of America and fictions including dramas.<sup>571</sup> No matter what the genres were, the texts needed to highlight democratic aspects and its contribution to the life satisfaction and personal dignity.<sup>572</sup>

## 7.2.2 Regional Information Centres

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<sup>567</sup> Highlights, p. 2.

<sup>568</sup> *Medical Newsletter*, RG59, 250/49/12/3/CDF 1950-54/Box2539, p. 1.

<sup>569</sup> “Korea,” RG 59, Office Files of Ambassador-at-Large Philip C. Jessup, 1946-52, Folder no. 1 Korea-General (prior to Outbreak of War), 250/49/35/2/E.1459/Box 3, p. 1.

<sup>570</sup> Department’s Book Translation Program, RG59, 250/49/12/3/CDF 1950-54/Box2539, p. 2.

<sup>571</sup> To name a few of the recommended works to be translated, in February 1950: *Manual For Teaching Midwives*, *Until the Doctor Comes*, *Work with Safety*, *Education in the United States of America*, *Portrait of A Democracy*, *Soil Conservation Handbook*, *Little Waters: Their Use and Relation to the Land* were suggested (Translation of US Government Publications: 1, RG59, 250/49/12/3/CDF 1950-54/Box2539). In April 1950, the Department recommended to publish sixty thousand copies of *Toward World Peace and Progress* or *Outline of American history* or *Outline of American Education*.

<sup>572</sup> Translation of US Illustrated Books, RG59, 250/49/12/3/CDF 1950-54/Box2539, p. 1.

Before the outbreak of the Korean War, USIS Korea ran nine regional centres<sup>573</sup> that usually consisted of libraries, exhibit rooms, auditoria and lecture rooms. With the aim of reaching as many rural people as possible through cultural activities,<sup>574</sup> these centres took responsibility of distributing its publications to the people on selective mailing lists, which counted from 10,000 to 20,000 per branch.<sup>575</sup> The centres were also the places where cultural and propaganda activities such as lecture, motion pictures and exhibitions were carried out.

In March 1949, the total number of visitors of the information centres was 1,026,212 persons. And from November 1949 to April 1950, 3,197,360 in total had visited the centres.<sup>576</sup> These centres, especially those in big cities such as Seoul and Pusan, had been supported by pro-American governmental key officials and acted as the most important windows that promoted American ideologies as well as consolidated its hegemonic supremacy, even to housewives.<sup>577</sup>

Libraries located in or near the regional centres lent American (translated or original) publications and displayed periodicals for referencing. Books were regarded as the most principal and effective means of “delivering truth of America and consolidating its moral leadership”.<sup>578</sup> The libraries, as a means of “democratic reconstruction and rehabilitation”, were defined as specialised libraries that would contribute to the reorientation of people.<sup>579</sup>

It also provided periodicals.<sup>580</sup> The fact that USIS Korea provided US periodicals on the USIS library shelves is significant because those periodicals were

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<sup>573</sup> Pusan, Daegu, Daejŏn, Inchŏn, Gaesŏng, Chunchŏn, Cheju, Kwangju, Mokpo.

<sup>574</sup> United States Information Service in Korea, RG 59, Information Notes #81-90, 250/49/24-3-4/E.1360/Box 6, p. 2.

<sup>575</sup> USIE Program in Korea, RG 59, Central Decimal File 1950-54, 250/39/19/6/CDF 1950-54/Box 2540, p. 1.

<sup>576</sup> Enclosure 1, Statistical Report of US Information Centre Activities, RG 59, Central Decimal File 1950-54, 250/39/19/6/CDF 1950-54/Box 2540, p. 1.

<sup>577</sup> Hŏ Ŭ, “Mijŏmnyŏngun”, pp. 178-179.

<sup>578</sup> Hŏ Ŭ, “Migugŭi”, p. 561.

<sup>579</sup> Ibid, p. 568.

<sup>580</sup> The periodicals in the libraries let Korean people contact the newest happenings around the world. Based on the airgrams written in June and September 1950, they received from New York Magazine branch the following periodicals: *Time*, *Life*, *Newsweek*, *New York Times*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Readers Digest*, *Look*, *US News and World Report*, *Popular Mechanics*, *Journal of American medical Association*, *Surgery*, *Journal of Bone and Joint Surgery*, *Medicine*, *US Army Medical Department Bulletin*, *Harpers*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *Business Week*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Yale Review*, *Virginia Quarterly Review* (p. 1, Outgoing Airgram, From Department of State to Embassy Seoul, 7 June, 1950, RG59, 250/49/12/3/CDF 1950-54/Box2539). Among those, *Life*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Readers Digest*, *Newsweek*, *Look* were the most requested items. It means the ideological slant of the magazines could influence Korean readers who were most likely educated intellectuals.

not free from ideological bias, and some of them collaborated with the US government to promote US ideology. The periodicals in the early Cold War era were mobilised to “construct national identity for the United States as a global power”<sup>581</sup> and to clear the US of the charge of imperialism or expansionism suspected by Soviet propaganda. The most popular magazines at the time in terms of circulation such as *Readers Digest* and *Saturday Evening Post* acted as “Washington’s paraphrasers” and took on “the task of teaching Americans about their nation’s new role in the decolonising world”.<sup>582</sup> Not only that, it seemed quite clear that the Department itself asked the editors of the prestigious US presses to promote anti-communist narratives.<sup>583</sup>

The magazines which were loaded with pro-government or pro-Department ideology aiming to support the government’s foreign policy domestically could also be used as a means of converting the occupied or of planting the images of American ascendancy when they were distributed to the overseas libraries and exposed the people to the shelves for viewing. As *Saturday Evening Post* contributed to planting perception describing Japan as a twelve-year-old child who needed the guidance of “civilised” America<sup>584</sup> in Japan, the periodicals in rural libraries did the same roles in Korea.

The abundance of the book holdings of libraries were overwhelming. There were around forty Korean libraries with about 50,000 volumes in total at the time while USIS libraries hold 1,500 to 8,000 copies per each library.<sup>585</sup> It suggests how attractive the libraries were to the educated people and/or professionals who needed to access the specialised books which were hard to be gained in the Korean situation, though the most of books were US publications written in English. On average, for six months, 128,843 people used libraries and among them 4,985 people borrowed 7,466 books in total.<sup>586</sup>

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<sup>581</sup> Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, p. 9.

<sup>582</sup> Ibid, p. 63.

<sup>583</sup> OII-Korean Situation, RG 59 Records Relating to International Information Activities 1938-53, 250/50/20/4/E.1559/Box107, p. 59. In this report, the Department requests to ask the editors of *Saturday Evening Post* or *Collier’s* to have their best writers write “an article for a series of articles which will bring out all the ramifications and salient ways of Comintern tactics and techniques and strategies” and to make these articles reach as many readers as possible domestic as well as abroad.

<sup>584</sup> Ochi, “Democratic Bookshelf,” p. 104.

<sup>585</sup> RG59, Records Relating to International Information Activities 1938-53, 250/50/21/4/E.1559/Box 152, pp. 3- 6.

<sup>586</sup> Enclosure 1, Statistical Report of US Information Centre Activities, RG 59, Central Decimal File

The Visual Section of USIS was provided from the Picture Branch in New York with photographs. These photographs were usually about the modernised life in the US and were used for exhibitions in each centre. As a letter of commendation from a Korean says, “I hung those US pictures in every classroom and it much helped to teach children American culture, school”.<sup>587</sup> They were also distributed to some schools, colleges and clubs for education. Not only were the photos were hung on the bulletin board outside the Information Centres, they also were supplied to Korean newspapers.

### 7.2.3 Radio and Motion Pictures

Radio was one of the easiest ways for USIS Korea to deliver their messages to the less-educated people. USIS Korea provided programmes such as *Plain Talk*, *News Behind the News* and *News to North Korea* which were produced in Korea and broadcast through Korean Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) facilities. These programmes were used for the promotion of US policies. Programmes such as *Plain Talk* and *News behind the News* emphasised the North Atlantic Pact, the activities of the United Nations Commission in Korea and the Korean ECA programme. In addition, the programmes exposed Koreans to the diverse propaganda activities being done in communised areas so that they would not be swayed by the propaganda.<sup>588</sup> However, there were difficulties of reception because of technical matters, the scarce number of people who had receivers and the lack of electric power.<sup>589</sup>

Motion pictures were considered the most effective medium for all targets in Korea. USIS was not only supported by the Department of State in the provision of films but they themselves produced their own films, newsreels and filmstrips. In addition, USIS did the adaptation and translation of documentary films produced by the US, and produced documentary films on special subjects.<sup>590</sup> In 1950, USIS Korea

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1950-54, 250/39/19/6/CDF 1950-54/Box 2540, p. 1.

<sup>587</sup> Letters of Commendation and Request Received by USIE, RG59 General Records of the Department of State Record Group, Central Decimal File 1950-54, 250/49/12/3/CDF1950-54/Box 795, p. 25.

<sup>588</sup> Highlights, p. 2.

<sup>589</sup> Country Paper for Korea, RG 59, Records Relating to International Information Activities 1938-53, 250/50/18-22/3-4/E.1559/Box 41, p. 4.

<sup>590</sup> United States Information and Education Program for Korea, RG 59, Records Relating to International Information Activities 1938-53, 250/50/21/4/E.1558/Box 152, p. 14.

produced two newsreels and one documentary per month, two or three feature films per year, and a large number of adaptations of US documentaries.<sup>591</sup> By June 1950, local USIE had produced fifteen to eighteen films featuring local actors.<sup>592</sup> The films usually dealt with two main themes: First to propagate the validity of the ECA and to induce the voluntary involvement of Koreans, and secondly, to promote anti-communistic narratives.<sup>593</sup> In April 1949, motion pictures such as *Bringing World Culture to Korea*, *Brothers in Arms*, and a film on ECA fertiliser had been released.<sup>594</sup>

The films usually were screened in open spaces even in rural and isolated areas. The total number of viewers of motion pictures screened between November 1949 and April 1950 across the country was 2,919,715.<sup>595</sup> In a screening event held in a primary school in Pusan on 16th April 1950, in an audience of 3,000 two children died, five were critically injured and twelve got minor bruises after being trampled by the crowd.<sup>596</sup> This incident shows how enthusiastically Koreans responded to the films

#### 7.2.4 *Wolgan Amerika*

*Wolgan Amerika* (月刊 아메리카, *American Monthly*) was a general paid magazine published from March 1949 to July 1950.<sup>597</sup> This magazine was a successor of *Culture and Custom* and a sister of a magazine named *Amerika*. *Amerika*,<sup>598</sup> published first in Moscow and then other countries<sup>599</sup> from 1945 was attractive in

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<sup>591</sup> Kim HS, *Uneven Screens*, p. 53.

<sup>592</sup> US officials seemed to use USIS and USIE interchangeably. Enclosure 1, USIS Country Papers-Korea, RG 59, Central Decimal File 1950-54, 250/39/19/6/CDF 1950-54/Box 2540, p. 5.

<sup>593</sup> Lee CN, "Chõnhu", p. 252.

<sup>594</sup> Highlights of Monthly Report USIS Activities in Korea for March 1949, RG 59, Records Relating to International Information Activities 1938-53, Box 152, p. 1.

<sup>595</sup> Enclosure 1, Statistical Report of US Information Centre Activities, RG 59, Central Decimal File 1950-54, 250/39/19/6/CDF 1950-54/Box 2540, p. 1.

<sup>596</sup> Casualties at Primary School in Pusan, RG 59, Central Decimal File 1950-54, 250/39/19/6/CDF 1950-54/Box 2540, p. 1.

<sup>597</sup> There is no evidence which shows the date of suspension of this magazine except Yongkwõn Kim's article (Kim YK 1978: 99).

<sup>598</sup> As a consumer magazine which was similar to *Life* in its format and contents, the distribution of the magazine was made possible by the negotiation between Ambassador Averill Harriman and foreign Minister Molotov in 1944. For the first time, 1,000 copies of the magazine were published but after a year, it increased to 50,000 copies.

<sup>599</sup> This magazine was published also in Arabic and in Czechoslovakia.

format and better than other magazines in quality.<sup>600</sup> This magazine aimed to show what American life was like.<sup>601</sup> Even though it was repeatedly suspended and republished by the intervention of the Soviet government, it was regarded as being very effective in reducing the impact of Soviet domestic propaganda.<sup>602</sup>

The success of this magazine was the reason for the publication of the Korean version, *Wolgan Amerika*. According to Caldwell, information officers in the US who supported *Amerika* suggested other officers to consider the publication of Korea version of *Amerika*.<sup>603</sup> One of the staff members of *Amerika* visited Korea, evaluated the necessity and prospect of its efficiency,<sup>604</sup> and decided to publish the Korean version of *Amerika*. The US officials regarded this magazine as one of the main media items to attract Koreans and to disseminate their ideology as can be inferred from the fact that “full-colour cover” was recommended as a hall mark of *Amerika* series. It was because it would make the magazine “a prestige item to those Koreans who knew *Amerika*” and wanted to feel that they were being given “the best, and not the second-best” that America offered.<sup>605</sup>



Figure 7.1 A Cover Page of *Wolgan Amerika*

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<sup>600</sup> Peet, “Russian Amerika,” p. 17.

<sup>601</sup> Ibid, p. 20.

<sup>602</sup> Hixon, *Parting*, p. 32.

<sup>603</sup> Caldwell, *The Korea Story*, p. 85.

<sup>604</sup> Ibid, p. 85.

<sup>605</sup> Boyce Report, p. 31.

As *Wolgan Amerika* was a product of the US governmental agency, it was natural that its overall objectives were in accordance with its policy. Dorothy Boyce, the Publication Editor at INP New York, made it clear that the first and foremost aim of the magazine was “to expound and sell democracy as a working system” which would represent “a stable, independent Korea, in contrast to Communism”.<sup>606</sup> She explained that tackling communist propaganda should have equal importance, and envisioning the American life style to consolidate liberal thinking among Koreans was also important.<sup>607</sup>

She set long and short-range goals for *Wolgan Amerika*. As for the short-range goals, she first suggested overcoming the misconception which prevailed among Koreans on the ECA programme. She wanted to explain the ECA was motivated not from American imperialistic intention but from goodwill to rebuild and boost Korean economy. Secondly, she recommended to envision America as a “liberal and responsible nation” which wanted to contribute to Korean cultural, political and economic independence.<sup>608</sup> Thirdly, she advised providing true pictures of the United States and the US people to counteract Communistic influence. Since the majority of Koreans were illiterate, stimulating “democratic thinking” by disseminating more definite and practical information<sup>609</sup> was set as a long-range goal, rather than introducing obscure and sophisticated political “theories”.

*Wolgan Amerika* had come to be a magazine with the biggest circulation among paid magazines in South Korea reaching at sixty thousand copies per issue in mid-1950. USIS first printed seven thousand copies for the March 1949 issue. Lee Chonghak, Korean Editor-in-Chief of the magazine, explained that USIS had increased the number of copies gradually by three thousand copies per issue, and it reached forty thousand copies in November 1949.<sup>610</sup> Kim YK assumes that it published sixty thousand copies for July 1950 issue.<sup>611</sup> It was a significant figure. Not only was it the magazine which had the largest circulation but also it far excelled

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<sup>606</sup> Ibid, p. 27.

<sup>607</sup> Ibid, p. 27.

<sup>608</sup> Ibid, p. 28.

<sup>609</sup> Ibid, p. 28.

<sup>610</sup> Lee, Chonghak, “Editorial”, *Wolgan Amerika*, March 1950, p. 4.

<sup>611</sup> Kim YK, “*Wolgan Amerika*,” p. 99.

those of the other Korean magazines. Among the top five magazines in terms of circulation, *I Pook Tongshin*, *Min Chok Kong Non*, *Sin Se Ki* had a circulation of around twenty thousand each and *Shinchunji* had fifteen to thirty thousand at the time.<sup>612</sup>

The first main target readers of *Wolgan Amerika* seemed to be secondary and university students and intellectuals including teachers, governmental officials, professionals and educated women,<sup>613</sup> and it was extended to semi-illiterate farmers afterwards. Based on Caldwell's remarks that "ninety percent of its readers were college students" and "for the educated minority it was a good magazine"<sup>614</sup> and Boyce's that it failed to reach intellectuals, it can be assumed that real readership were young people and students who USIS thought to be engaging actively in the nation-building process.

The price of the magazine was one of the factors that contributed to the big circulation. Its price was one hundred Korean won in mid-1949 and one hundred fifty won in March 1950 for around eighty-five pages. Compared to other Korean magazines at the time, the price of *Hakpung* in March 1950 was two hundred fifty won with 120 pages and *Moonye* was four hundred won in April 1950 with 170 pages. This meant the magazine had incomparable quality and was quite attractive for Koreans. Readers and dealers also supported this notion. In Readers' Opinion in December 1949 issue, a reader named Lee Hangun expressed the view that one of the merits of this magazine was that it was cheap.<sup>615</sup> Boyce commented that the dealers of the magazine said the readers used to buy the magazine because of the affordable price.<sup>616</sup>

The incomparable quality of the magazine contributed to the circulation. With the support of the Department, *Wolgan Amerika* did not need to suffer from chronic problems such as "poor quality of paper and printing and a shortage of ink and metal for plates"<sup>617</sup> unlike other magazines. As for the paper shortage, with the help of the

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<sup>612</sup> Boyce Report Memorandum A, p. 1. The romanisation of the magazine titles follow those in the report.

<sup>613</sup> Country Paper for Korea, RG 50 General Records of the Department of State, 250/50/18-22/3-4/E.1559/Box 41, p. 4.

<sup>614</sup> Caldwell, *Korean Story*, p. 104.

<sup>615</sup> "Reader's Opinion", *Wolgan Amerika*, December 1949, p 84

<sup>616</sup> Boyce Report, p. 18.

<sup>617</sup> *ibid*, p. 13.

State Department, Stewart could secure paper enough for two years even if the circulation would rise to 20,000, and the poor quality of ink and plates were solved by the purchase of zinc, copper and inks with better quality from Japan.<sup>618</sup> When compared to the general quality of *Shinchunji*, government-backed magazine, the incomparable quality of the magazine became more conspicuous. While in *Shinchunji*, there were many pages that were unintelligible, *Wolgan* had very limited unintelligible pages. The printing quality of the latter was very clear and sharp. Not only that, the former magazine had a limited number of photos, while *Wolgan* provided diverse photos of good quality in almost all articles. The relatively cheap price and the quality showed the genuine concern of the US to attract Koreans.

*Wolgan Amerika* was considered as an effective and important weapon of cultural cold war. Several examples support the importance of the magazine. In the first instance, it continued to be published on monthly basis in spite of a recommendation to publish it on bi-monthly basis. In the 1950 fiscal year budget report which was drafted in March 1949, publication of “Korean version of *Amerika*” on a bi-monthly basis at the earliest day possible was recommended due to the harsh condition of local production and editing.<sup>619</sup> It is not clear why they did not follow the recommendation. It may be because it was unexpectedly sold well or because there were no alternatives. One obvious fact was that it continued to be published and the State Department supported it.

### 7.3 Narratives of the US Foreign Policy with regard to South Korea

As can be seen in the analysis of the foreign policy narratives in the previous section, we can easily assume that American ideology was embedded in the policy for Korea too. To study what narratives were developed and how the narratives were related to the US ideology in Korean context, I analysed four documents. The first two documents are NSC documents on Korea. The other one is policy document for USIE programme and the last one is policy for Far East USIE programme.

#### 7.3.1 Narratives in NSC 48 (December 1949)<sup>620</sup>

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<sup>618</sup> Ibid, p. 14.

<sup>619</sup> RG 59, Records Relating to International Information Activities 1938-53, 250/50/21/4/E.1559/Box 152, p. 19.

<sup>620</sup> Etzold and Gaddis, *Containment*, pp. 252-276.

Table 7.1 Narratives in NSC 48

	Text	Target of evaluation	Attitudinal terms/ Diaglossic position
1	Asians share 1) <b><u>poverty</u></b> , nationalism and 1) <b><u>revolution</u></b> . The United States position with respect to Asia is therefore that of a 2) <b><u>rich and powerful</u></b> country.	1) Asia 2) the US	mono 1) –security –capacity –happiness 2) + capacity
2	The domination of Asia by a nation or coalition of nations capable of 1) <b><u>exploiting</u></b> the region for purposes of 2) <b><u>self-aggrandizement</u></b> would 3) <b><u>threaten the security</u></b> of Asia and of the United States.	1), 2), 3) (implied) the USSR	hetero 1), 2), 3) –propriety –security
3	Our overall objective with respect to Asia must be to 1) <b><u>assist in the development of truly independent, friendly stable and self-sustaining</u></b> states...	1) the US	hetero 1) inscribed: + capacity
4	The United States had taken the lead in 1) <b><u>assisting</u></b> the effort of the Korean people to regain that 2) <b><u>independence</u></b> promised them at Cairo.	1) the US 2) Korea	mono 1) + capacity +valuation
5	north Korea of an 1) <b><u>aggressive</u></b> Soviet-dominated regime	1) Russia	1) –propriety –reaction
6	United States 1) <b><u>ability to exert counter influence against</u></b> the Kremlin in Asia rests on US1) <b><u>ability</u></b> to provide 2) <b><u>economic assistance and cooperation</u></b> to Asiatic countries; on preservation and development of the US 3) <b><u>traditional reputation as a non-imperialistic champion of freedom and independence for all nations;</u></b>	1) the US 2) the US 3) the US	1) + capacity 2) inscribed: + capacity +valuation 3) inscribed: + force + propriety +reaction +valuation
7	it is the USSR which 1) <b><u>threatens</u></b> to 1) <b><u>dominate</u></b> Asia through the complementary instruments of communist 2) <b><u>conspiracy</u></b> and diplomatic 1) <b><u>pressure</u></b> supported by military strength.	1) the USSR 2) the USSR	mono 1) –security –propriety 2) – veracity

7.3.2 Narratives in NSC 8/2 (07/April/1950)<sup>621</sup>

Table 7.2 Narratives in NSC 8/2

	Text	Target of evaluation	Attitudinal terms/ Diaglossic positions
1	a 1) <b>puppet</b> “Democratic People’s Republic”	1) DPRK	1) –tenacity
2	the US must continue to give 1) <b>political support and economic, technical, military and other assistance</b> to the Government of the Republic of Korea.	1) the US	hetero 1) inscribed: + force + capacity
3	US should seek to 1) <b>promote sympathetic interest and participation in the Korean problem and support</b> of the Government of the Republic of Korea	1) the US	hetero 1) inscribed: +propriety + capacity
4	The 1) <b>persistent refusal</b> of the USSR to cooperate in good faith with the US in formulating a just and mutually acceptable solution to the Korean problem  Soviet fashioned their north Korean creature in typical Communist 2) <b>monolithic disciplined mould</b> and in the circumstances there is virtually 2) <b>no scope for deviations</b> from Soviet desiderata  3) <b>flagrant disregard</b> of the will of the UN	1) the USSR 2), 3)  Communism	1) inscribed: –propriety 2) inscribed: –reaction mono 3) inscribed: +force –reaction
5	A derivative objective of Soviet policy has been to establish in the Soviet zone of occupation a politically 1) <b>“dependable” puppet government</b> which can be used as a vehicle for the 2) <b>eventual extension of Soviet control</b> throughout the Korean peninsula.	1) North Korea 2) the Soviet Union	mono 1) inscribed: –tenacity 2) inscribed: –propriety

7.3.3 Narratives in United States Information and Education Program for Korea <sup>622</sup>  
(March 1949)

Table 7.3 Narratives in USIE Program for Korea

<sup>621</sup> FRUS, 1949, The Far East and Australasia, Volume VII, pp. 969-978.

<sup>622</sup> United States Information and Education Program for Korea, RG 59, Records Relating to International Information Activities 1938-53, 250/50/21/4/E.1559.Box 152

	Text	Target of evaluation	Attitudinal terms/ Diaglossic positions
1	the United States 1) <b><u>pledged</u></b> itself to a 2) <b><u>free and independent Korea.</u></b>	1) the US 2) S. Korea	mono 1) + reaction 2) + tenacity +reaction
2	the 1) <b><u>permanent refusal</u></b> of the USSR to cooperate with the UN and the United States in reaching a solution of the Korean problem and the 2) <b><u>Soviet establishment of a puppet government</u></b> in the northern part of Korea lead to the inescapable conclusion that the predominant aim of Soviet policy in Korea is to achieve 3) <b><u>eventual domination of the entire country.</u></b>	1) the USSR 2) the Soviet Union/ North Korea 3) the Soviet Union	mono 1) inscribed: -propriety 2) inscribed: -propriety 3) inscribed: -propriety
3	it is the policy of the United States to 1) <b><u>assist</u></b> the Korean people in 2) <b><u>establishing a sound economy and education system</u></b> as 3) <b><u>essential bases of a stable, independent and democratic state.</u></b>	1) the US 2) S. Korea 3) economy and education system	mono 1)+ capacity 2) + reaction 3) +security + reaction

#### 7.3.4 Narratives in US Policy for Far East<sup>623</sup>

Table 7.4 Narratives in US Policy for Far East

	Text	Target of evaluation	Attitudinal terms /Diaglossic positions
1	In its dealing with Far Eastern states the United States has sought 1) <b><u>neither</u></b> exclusive privileges 1) <b><u>nor</u></b> special concessions, and it has 1) <b><u>no territorial ambitions</u></b> in that area.	1), 2) the US	1) + force + propriety
2	It is the policy of our Government to use the full measure of its influence to 1) <b><u>support</u></b> the attainment of 2) <b><u>freedom</u></b> by all peoples who, by their acts, show themselves worthy of it and ready for it.	1) the US government 2) (implied) South Korea	1) + capacity 2) inscribed: +valuation

<sup>623</sup> United States Policy on the Far East: A Summary for Informational Purposes, RG 59, Records of Historical Studies Division: Research Project 1946-1954, 250/50/2/2/E.1471/Box 10.

3	the United States is 1) <b>assisting</b> the Korea people and their 2) <b>lawful</b> Government to consolidate their hard-won gains and to work toward the peaceful unification of the entire country on a democratic basis.	1) the US 2) Korean government 3) Korea	mono 1) + capacity 2) +reaction
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The policies of the US Department of State with regard to South Korea and the narratives embedded in the policies are in accordance with the general foreign policies and the narratives analysed previously. To be more specific, the US and the USSR were starkly contrasted in that the US was represented as a supporter of a united Korea while the Soviet Union was described as an uncooperative key holder as can be seen in example 5 of NSC 48/2 and example 2 of USIE. The Soviet “persistent refusal” and “flagrant disregard of the will of the UN” led to the division of Korea (NSC 8/2: example 4). In contrast, the US was narrated as “a non-imperialistic champion of freedom and independence for all nations” and the US “pledged itself to a free and independent Korea.” These narratives emphasised the ethical and capable US and unethical and unattractive nature of Russia.

The two powers were contrasted to each other in the aspect of capacity, security and veracity, too. The Soviet Union was usually illustrated as a “threat” (NSC 48: examples 2 and 7) since it was to “dominate” Asia through the untrustworthy “communist conspiracy” while US was portrayed as an able “assistant” (NSC 48: example 6; Far East: example 1) who could provide economic aid with “no territorial ambition” or “non-imperialistic intention” (USIE: example 3; Far East: example 3; NSC 48: example 3; NSC 8/2: example 2).

A comparison between North, South Korea, and the US in terms of tenacity is also notable. North Korea was described as a dependent “puppet nation” (NSC 8/2: example 1) that was “controlled” by the totalitarian Soviet Union (NSC 48: example 5) and South Korea as a self-sustainable “free”, “lawful” and “democratic” nation (Far East: example 3; NSC 8/2: example 5). The narrative of the superior America as mentioned in the previous section, can also be found in the documents. The narratives implied that, without the help of the generous, capable, democratic and freedom-loving US, the South Korean government would not survive.

These narratives are in accordance with those analysed previously in that they underlined the economic and ideological superiority of the US and the relevant inferiority of the Soviet Union and countries in need. To prevent Soviet communism

from expanding to South Korea, Japan and other nations in Asia, US officials in Korea tried to propagate these narratives through diverse programmes which the US information agency carried out in Korea.

## Conclusion

In this chapter, I revealed that the ideology embedded in US foreign policies was also reflected in the US foreign policies with regard to South Korea. The US promoted the same narratives, American supremacy and Korea's backwardness, in the policies in Korea. Also with the same objectives, economic revival of Korea, propagation of US supremacy and consequent prevention of communism, the US government had run a range of cultural and educational programmes in Korea in the time of USAMGIK (1945-1948). In this period, OCI was involved not only in the cultural and educational programmes such as film screening, publication and English education but was also engaged in the promotion of the 10 May General Election.

From 1949, its descendant USIS Korea inherited the cultural programmes of OCI targeting different audiences and readers. It provided cultural programmes such as radio, film and visuals as usual, and also published a new magazine, *Wolgan Amerika*. This magazine which was ranked the first in terms of circulation served to promote American values to Koreans.

In the next chapter, I will discuss whether the articles of *Wolgan Amerika*, which consisted mainly of translations, delivered the narratives of the US government and, if so, how they delivered them.

## Chapter 8 Translation and *Wolgan Amerika*

In chapter 3, I discussed whether translations in the nationalised magazine were used to promote governmental anti-communist narratives, and whether this was made possible by the interconnection between the publishing company, editors and translators who were aligned with anti-communism. The translations in *Wolgan Amerika* were also the products of the close cooperation of the US Department of State, pro-American editor(s), contributors and translators. As discussed in the previous chapter, from its birth, the magazine aimed to propagate American values.

In this chapter, I will discuss how the translating agents, USIS Korea and the US Department of State Magazine Branch, the Korean editor(s) and Korean translators collaborated to reflect and even more to stress American values in the translations and how the collaboration contrast to the generally accepted notion in the area of post-colonial translation studies. I would also like to show how deeply the US government engaged in the translation process to support the implantation of democracy through cultural means. To do this, I will analyse fifty texts for which the original texts could be identified from a variety of their genres. My analysis will focus on the character of translating agents, the text selection criteria and shifts or manipulations at the level of paratexts, macro- and micro-texts.

### 8.1 Translating Institution, Editor(s)<sup>624</sup> and Translators

*Wolgan Amerika* was produced by the Department of State Magazine Branch in New York in co-ordination with USIS Korea. International Press and Publication Division (INP) in New York selected magazine articles, newspaper articles and relevant photographs, and then airmailed them to the USIS office in Seoul. The first priority of selection was given to *Wolgan Amerika* in this office.<sup>625</sup> However, the publication process did not entirely depend on the decisions of the top-level staff. The publication of the magazine could also be designed by the Korean editor(s), contributors and translators to some extent. Among the eighty-seven USIS offices

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<sup>624</sup> It is clear that there was an Editor-in-Chief who was working for *Wolgan Amerika*, but there is not enough information on how many editors were assigned for the magazine.

<sup>625</sup> Boyce Report, p. 9.

worldwide, USIS Korea was the only overseas post that had a right to edit its magazine.<sup>626</sup> The editor(s) of USIS Korea not only selected articles that seemed to be proper for publication among those sent from New York, but they also selected articles for *Wolgan Amerika* written by Koreans or articles closely related to the Korean situation though written by Americans.<sup>627</sup>

A question then arises. Who were the editor(s) and translators? Though there is only limited information on the editor(s) and translators, the information could give valuable insights into the general editing and translating policy. Generally, the Korean personnel who took the director or vice-director positions in USAMGIK<sup>628</sup> were usually selected based on their English language ability, their religion (whether they were devout Christians)<sup>629</sup> and their attitude towards America.<sup>630</sup> As a result, many of the personnel were people who had experience of studying in the US and/or who were from middle or upper-class landowners.<sup>631</sup> They were also people who had a rightist and pro-American attitude during and after the USAMGIK period.<sup>632</sup>

With regard to the Editor-in-Chief, Lee Chonghak, he was an advisor of USAMGIK and, from the opening of USIS Korea, took the editorial position. A letter written by the Editor-in-Chief showed the editor's stance toward the US. In his letter for the first anniversary of the publication of the magazine, he explained that Americans were united, and finally achieved miraculous success that transformed the barren land into a "paradise" through "superhuman endeavour" even though Americans had been faced with a diversity of ethnicities, religions, nationalities as well as traditions and sterile environment. He claimed this accomplishment could be a model for Koreans whose duty it would be to imitate their achievement to make Korea a better nation.<sup>633</sup> He also made it clear that the aim of this magazine was to stimulate Koreans to build not only a democratic but also a culturally and

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<sup>626</sup> Unknown, "USIS branches across the World", *Wolgan Amerika*, April 1950, pp. 16-7.

<sup>627</sup> Kim YK, "Wolgan Amerika", p. 101.

<sup>628</sup> It became possible when the USAMGIK decided to Koreanise the government to improve the Koreans' attitude towards the government.

<sup>629</sup> Christianity cannot be separated from American civilisation. Religious passion (Christianity), elitism and pragmatism were regarded as spiritual pillars that supported American society (Chang KS 2005: 140).

<sup>630</sup> The translators needed to be loyal to the Government. The USAMGIK maintained tight security on personnel who could speak or understand English (RG59 CDF 124.952 p. 124).

<sup>631</sup> Lauterback, *Han'guk Mikunjöngsa*, p. 45.

<sup>632</sup> Chin TK, "Migunjöngüi" p. 46; Cho EA, "The Interpreted", p. 16.

<sup>633</sup> Lee, Chonghak, "Ch'anggan Ilchunyönül Majihayö," *Wolgan Amerika*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 4-5.

economically strong nation by attracting Koreans to the “superior” American culture and lifestyle.<sup>634</sup>

In this sense, the editor was likely to accept US world hegemony and represented America as a model of modernisation.<sup>635</sup> This fact implies that the editor had also internalised Koreans’ inferiority and backwardness in social development and so felt the need to learn about advanced Western civilisation.<sup>636</sup> This asymmetry of relationship between the two countries was reflected in the publication policy.

The magazine identified only one translator and the others were all unidentified. The only identified translator was Park Sulŭm, who graduated from Yŏnhŭi College and taught English as a professor at Yŏnhŭi University from 1947. He translated just one article on American new writers. The other unidentified translators seemed to be in-house translators because USAMGIK maintained a bureau of translation from at least 1946, whose duty it was to receive documents, periodicals and other materials and to sort and translate them.<sup>637</sup> Boyce also mentioned that USIS had translating staff in sections of USIS, and it had a plan to integrate the translators in a section under the direction of a head of Editing and Translating.<sup>638</sup> Needless to say, considering the policy of recruiting interpreters and translators, the in-house translators must have had favourable attitude towards the US military government.

## 8.2 Narratives

The narratives embedded in the articles written by American as well as Korean writers can give valuable insights into the criteria by which staff in the Department selected the source texts. To study the nature of the narratives, I looked at some randomly selected articles by American writers and all articles by Korean writers.

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<sup>634</sup> Ibid, p. 5.

<sup>635</sup> Lee PP, “Pŏnyŏk Changŭi Hyŏngsŏng”, p. 432.

<sup>636</sup> Park, CY, “1950nyŏndae”, p. 354. From the Enlightenment Period translations were regarded as a critical means of self-strengthening (see Park 2008 and Hyun 1992). This continued after the Liberation. After Independence and the US Occupation, knowledge on the new world politics was needed to construct the new Korea. The USAMGIK deeply engaged in diversion of Koreans from the old world order led by Japanese to the new world order championed by the US. In this process, Korean translators who were usually pro-American intellectuals who had studied in Japan or America, played important roles in the USAMGIK and USIS Korea.

<sup>637</sup> “Translation Section”, History of Department of Public Information, USAFIK, RG554, XXIV Corps, G-2 Historical Section 290/51/19-23/3-5/E.1256 (A1)/Box 41, p. 1.

<sup>638</sup> Boyce, p. 6.

The narratives introduced here are the most representative narratives that dominate the whole content of the magazine in this period.

Table 8.1 Narratives of articles written by American authors

	Text	Target of Evaluation	Attitudinal Terms/ Diaglossic Position
1	It is of the first importance that 1) <b><u>each party represents a fair cross-section of the nation, with rich and poor, farmers and city clerks, Catholics, Jews and Protestants, old stock and immigrant stock.</u></b> <sup>639</sup>	1) two major parties of the US	1) mono inscribed + propriety +valuation +reaction
2	The broad objective of the Foundation is 1) “to <b><u>promote the wellbeing of mankind</u></b> throughout the world.” That is a large order, largely stated. ... <sup>640</sup>	1) Rockefeller Foundation	1) mono/ hetero inscribed +valuation +capacity
3	The United Nations 1) <b><u>provides an analogous service for international disputes.</u></b> (...) 2) <b><u>the United Nations has helped to conciliate these disputes</u></b> <sup>641</sup> .	1), 2) the UN	1)mono inscribed/ +capacity 2) inscribed +capacity +valuation
4	The assumption by 1) <b><u>the United States of global duties was an unwelcome burden</u></b> thrust on her by 2) <b><u>Russia’s menacing course</u></b> and the 3) <b><u>inability of enfeebled Britain to resume her historic role.</u></b> ... The 4) <b><u>free people see in them the best hope of lasting peace.</u></b> <sup>642</sup>	1) US 2) Russia 3) Britain 4) US policies	1) mono inscribed/ +capacity +valuation 2)inscribed –security –reaction 3)inscribed –capacity 4)inscribed +reaction/
5	1) <b><u>“The old imperialism--exploitation for</u></b>	1) Point Four Plan	1) +propriety

<sup>639</sup> Nevis, Allan, “The Strength of Our Political System”, *The New York Times*, 19, July 1948.

<sup>640</sup> Winterich, John T., “How Science Aids the Golden Rule”, *Nation’s Business*, November 1948.

<sup>641</sup> Jessup, Philip C., “The UN Begins to Show Power against Power”, *The New York Times*, 23, October 1949.

<sup>642</sup> Schlesinger, Arthur M., “The 10 World-Shaking Events of the Half Century”, *The Washington Post*, 1, January 1950.

	<b>profit--has no place in our plan.</b> <sup>643</sup>		
6	1) <b><u>This is the first time that a factor able to combat pernicious anemia in human beings</u></b> has been isolated from a source other than animal liver.	1) US scientists	1) mono +capacity
7	The 1) <b><u>recent strides that have been made toward 2) bringing television into the home of the average American.</u></b> <sup>644</sup>	1) American technology	1) mono +capacity
8	This year about 72,000,000 acres are expected to be harvested. The answer would be 360,000,000 bushels--1) <b><u>without which the world couldn't have been fed for the past four years</u></b> <sup>645</sup> .	1) US crop produce/the world	1) hetero +capacity/ -capacity
9	Hence "this new man" had an 1) <b><u>instinctive sympathy for the underdog</u></b> , and even persons of moderate substance 2) <b><u>freely shared it with the less fortunate, helping to endow charities, schools, hospitals and art galleries</u></b> ... <sup>646</sup>	1) Americans 2) Americans	1) mono inscribed +propriety 2) +valuation +capacity
10	You pass into the city over a concrete floating bridge, 1) <b><u>the world's largest</u></b> floating structure. <sup>647</sup>	1) the US	1) mono inscribed +capacity
11	1) <b><u>A ruthless Communist dictatorship, she command untold natural resources and vast manpower</u></b> , combined with advantages of geographical position in Europe and Asia and a passion to 2) <b><u>propagate communism throughout the earth.</u></b> <sup>648</sup>	1) communist /totalitarian regime	1) -propriety 2) tokens -propriety

Table 8.1 shows that the narratives mainly focused on the global duty "given to the US", the scientific and cultural achievement of the country, and the superiority of the US political system. The US, as a world leader, was portrayed as politically ethical because it promoted equality while US foreign policies were designed to alleviate other countries' economic and political burden as depicted in examples 1 and 4. The UN, created by the US, was described as capable of solving world conflicts.

<sup>643</sup> Reston, James, "Point Four: Purposes and Prospects of the 'Bold New Program'", *The New York Times*, 26, June 1949.

<sup>644</sup> Laurence, William, "New Vitamin Aids Battle on Anemia", *The New York Times*, 26, August 1948.

<sup>645</sup> Ball, John W., "Grain Hunters of the West", *Nations's Business*, September 1948.

<sup>646</sup> Schlesinger, Arthur M., *Paths to the Present*, (New York: MacMillan, 1949).

<sup>647</sup> Perry, George Session, "Seattle", *Saturday Evening Post*, 15, January 1945.

<sup>648</sup> Schlesinger, Arthur M., "The 10 World-Shaking Events of the Half Century", *The Washington Post*, 1, Jan 1950.

Economically, America was narrated positively. American foundations such as the Rockefeller Foundation were capable of “feeding” Europeans and providing economic aid (as in examples 2, 3 and 9). The aid was ethically sound because Americans felt sympathy with the poor and distributed their possessions for free without imperialistic intention (as in examples 5 and 9).

America had competent scientists in a range of areas who invented surprising products. They commercialised TV, improved wheat species to feed the people of the world, and constructed the world’s largest structures as shown in the example 7, 8, and 10.

Considering that US foreign policy was closely related to the threat of communist expansion, the positive narratives on the US policies inevitably carried a negative implication with regard to their counterpart. The prospective recipients of US policies including South Koreans were described as dependent people who were destined to live in miserable conditions if the aid of the US was not provided as in examples 4, 8, and 9. Exploitative communism and imperialism were the causes of the misery. In this respect, naturally, communism was described as unethical, imperialistic and exploitative as in example 11.

In terms of articles written by Koreans, there are thirteen articles excluding film reviews and editorials in *Wolgan Amerika*. Most of these articles explained the lives of American figures who spent most of their life time in Korea, and sacrificed their lives for the Korean independence movement or the modernisation of the higher education and medical systems. Other articles were devoted to American life and the education system, as described by Korean students who had experienced them in the US.

Table 8.2 Narratives by Korean Authors (my translation; originals in Appnedix 8)

	Text	Target of Evaluation	Attitudinal Terms/ Diaglossic Positions
1	But the Easterners_1) <b>could not advance</b> to the West Coast and 2) <b>achieved success</b> like	1) Easterners 2) British people	hetero 1) –capacity 2) inscribed +capacity

	British people. <sup>649</sup>		
2	This proves that Americans have <b>1) an adventurous spirit and sociability that is not deterred by failure</b> . However, the more fundamental reason is 2) <b>their effort not to offend others</b> . Let us reflect on our psychology. Like a Korean proverb “turning green with envy” Koreans have 3) <b>a gritty temperament that takes other’s sorrow as their joy</b> . <sup>650</sup>	1) Americans 2) Americans 3) Koreans	1)hetero inscribed +reaction +capacity 2) inscribed +propriety 3) inscribed –propriety
3	In general, American engineers have 1) <b>excellent technical capabilities</b> compared to Japanese engineers. Americans are getting 2) <b>school education that is solid in content</b> . <sup>651</sup>	1) American technicians 2) American school education	1) mono/ inscribed +capacity 2) inscribed +reaction
4	The language barrier caused misunderstanding, resulting in 1) <b>an ignorant riot</b> that eventually killed crews and set fire on the ship. <sup>652</sup>	1) Korean	1) mono/ inscribed –capacity
5	1) <b>American civilisation is fighting for the fifth freedom</b> , which can be said to be “freedom from toil”. What is the way to be free from toil? That is to 2) <b>let machines replace people’s toil</b> . Machines in America are not for the selected few <b>but for the common men and women</b> . <sup>653</sup>	1) American civilisation 2) machinery	1) hetero +valuation 2) inscribed +valuation
6	When American indigenous people lived, the land was a vast wilderness that was hard to feed a million or so population, but the wilderness has become the 1) <b>paradise on earth</b> that 2) <b>can now afford to feed the population of 150 million people today</b> . <sup>654</sup>	1) America 2) America	1) hetero/ inscribed +reaction +normality 2) inscribed +capacity
7	They 1) <b>never intended to invade</b> Chosŏn. It was their 1) favour to establish diplomatic relations using the accident as an opportunity. <sup>655</sup>	1) the US	1) hetero/ inscribed +propriety
8	The United States is a country that was established as a driving force toward 1)	1), 2), 3) America	1)mono/ inscribed:

<sup>649</sup> Kang, Yonghül, “Kangyonghüli pon Mikukmunhak”, *Wolgan Amerika*, April 1949.

<sup>650</sup> Chŏng, Namkyu, “Migugüi Sahoesaenghwal”, *Wolgan Amerika*, Feb 1950.

<sup>651</sup> Chŏng, Kyuman, “Migugüi P’yŏnmo”, *Wolgan Amerika*, Mar 1950.

<sup>652</sup> Yun, Paeknam, “Hanmigwan'gyesa”, *Wolgan Amerika*, Jan 1950.

<sup>653</sup> O, Ch'önsök, “Saramüi Chon'gwisöngül Wihan T'ujaeng”, *Wolgan Amerika*, Dec 1949

<sup>654</sup> Chŏng, Namkyu, “Migugüi Sahoesaenghwal”, *Wolgan Amerika*, Feb 1950.

<sup>655</sup> Yun, Paeknam, “Hanmigwan'gyesa”, *Wolgan Amerika*, Jan 1950

	<b><u>moral justice</u></b> , and is now 2) <b><u>the world's wealthiest</u></b> country and is trying to 3) <b><u>rescue hungry people on earth</u></b> . <sup>656</sup>		+veracity +propriety 2) mono/ inscribed +capacity 3)inscribed +capacity +propriety
9	The United States 1) <b><u>has saved Korea from its pitiful and humiliating state</u></b> with 2) <b><u>its mighty power and its courage</u></b> . <sup>657</sup>	1), 2) America	1) mono/ inscribed +propriety +capacity 2) inscribed +capacity

Table 8.2 shows that the narratives the Korean writers developed focused on the stark contrast between the East (Japan and Korea) and the West (the US). The US was portrayed as a nation that achieved the pinnacle of civilisation. The US had a superior education system (example 3) and technological development was used to liberate people from toil (example 5). The land was a fertile paradise that could feed 150 million people.

Americans were also depicted as ethical or altruistic people because Americans were not reluctant at all to provide aid to Koreans and people who the US thought to be in need without any imperialistic intention as shown in examples 8 and 9.

In contrast, Chosŏn/Korea was narrated as impotent and unwise as in examples 7 and 9. Especially in the case of the General Sherman incident<sup>658</sup> and the United States expedition to Chosŏn of 1871,<sup>659</sup> Chosŏn was so ignorant that it could not fully understand the “pure intentions” of the US as is shown in example 8. Although the US just wanted to “trade” with them, the people of Chosŏn set fire to the General Sherman in the end as can be seen example 4.

<sup>656</sup> Kang, Yonghŭl, “Kangyonghŭli pon Mikukmunhak”, *Wolgan Amerika*, April 1949

<sup>657</sup> Jaisohn, Philip, “Han’guktongnibe isŏsŏŭi Migugŭi Yŏkhal”, *Wolgan Amerika*, Aug 1949.

<sup>658</sup> General Sherman Accident: In 1866, an American merchant ship, the General Sherman, approached P’yŏngyang requesting trade which was strictly prohibited in Chosŏn. The armed ship anchored in a river in P’yŏngyang, but after several days it became difficult for the ship to move due to reduced water level in the river. The anxiety of the crews increased, and they abducted a guard of Chosŏn. In retaliation, the guards of Chosŏn initiated an attack. The ship was set on fire and all the crew on board died (Encyclopedia of Korean Culture: <http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr>).

<sup>659</sup> United States expedition to Chosŏn (辛未洋擾): Five years after the General Sherman Accident, the US invaded in order to establish trade with Chosŏn. Chosŏn and the US fought battles, and Chosŏn was defeated with heavy casualties (Encyclopedia of Korean Culture: <http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr>).

The people of the East were not as brave as the British settlers who expanded to the West coast of America as example 1 shows. In addition, South Koreans were depicted as unethical people who did not usually appreciate others' happiness and considered others' misfortune as their happiness as in example 2, while Americans were not deterred by their failures and did not hurt others' emotions as in example 2.

These narratives, the supremacy of the US and the inferiority of the East, suggest two important facts. First, the narratives developed by the Americans mirrored exactly those developed by the Department of State discussed in the previous chapter. They strengthened their ideology of Manifest Destiny by positioning America at the top of the hierarchy of nations, emphasising their "altruistic" and "benevolent" contribution to world peace, and by describing the nation as the culmination of civilisation.

Second, Korean intellectuals who engaged in the publication also developed the same narratives. This fact gives us a clue about their world views. To many Korean intellectuals, "America" vs "East/Asia" was a frame through which they perceived their position in world politics. Before Independence, Korean intellectuals represented Asia as a community consisting of countries "suppressed" by the imperialistic West.<sup>660</sup> That is why the Korean intellectuals either eagerly supported the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere led by Japan<sup>661</sup> or asserted the need for the creation of a new great Asian order, as a step in promoting the equality of nations.

This perception dramatically changed after the end of the World War II. As discussed in Chapter 2, after the establishment of the South Korean government, South Korean intellectuals, in the midst of an ideological competition with North Korea, othered communist North Korea and voluntarily incorporated themselves under the umbrella of the "democratic bloc" of which the US was the leader.<sup>662</sup> This process was inevitably accompanied by the romanticising of US images.<sup>663</sup> The narratives Koreans developed through these articles faithfully reflected those trends prevalent among the intellectuals.

### 8.3 Text Selection

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<sup>660</sup> Im, CM, "Talsikmin Chogi", pp. 151-2.

<sup>661</sup> Chang SC, *Sangsang*, p. 65,

<sup>662</sup> Im, CM, "Haebang Ihu" p. 77; Chang SC, *Sangsang*, p. 169.

<sup>663</sup> Im, CM, "Haebang Ihu", pp. 60-79.

### 8.3.1 Topics

In the previous chapter, I discussed the idea that the selection of source texts is not done in a vacuum. This could be the same for both the officers in the Magazine Branch and the editor(s) at USIS Korea. Fifteen issues of *Wolgan Amerika*<sup>664</sup> had almost three hundred and ninety articles that dealt with a range of topics on America. About one-fifth were articles on politics, and articles on education, literature/art, technology/science and culture/life followed with around thirty or forty articles each. The other group of topics which had around twenty articles each, were sport/entertainment and nature/geography. Articles on history, agriculture, medicine/hygiene and American songs had around ten articles each, and economics and women's rights had eight and five articles respectively.

Politics must have been perceived by American officers as well as USIS officers as the most important topic. In addition to the internal and external threats from leftists and North Korea and its supporter the Soviet Union, the withdrawal of the US army was in progress, which made ROK more vulnerable than before. It was important for the State Department and USIS to reorient Koreans as democratic citizens and to educate Koreans about the essence and strength of the American political system.

This notion is supported by the editorial of the special issue produced for American Independence Day. In this editorial, the editor made it clear that America would have to be the model on which the formation of the fledgling country would be based. According to the editor, America was “a model country which achieved independence by the united efforts of the thirteen states”,<sup>665</sup> which was “so great in every aspect as to lead the world”.<sup>666</sup>

Articles on education and American universities occupied a significant portion of the magazine. This reflected the fact that US education programmes in Korea had provided diverse programmes from adult literacy to English language programmes<sup>667</sup>

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<sup>664</sup> *Wolgan Amerika* was published from March 1949 to July 1950. For this thesis, I analysed all the issues except the first and last issues. The first issue of the magazine had been kept in the library of Korea University but it seemed to be lost recently. Kim YK mentioned some articles published in the July 1950 issue, but this issue could not be found in any libraries in Korea.

<sup>665</sup> Unknown editor, “Editorial”, *Wolgan Amerika*, July 1949, p. 99

<sup>666</sup> Ibid, p. 99.

<sup>667</sup> USIS Korea targeted adults because the generation would be vital players in setting up the Korean

since the time of USAMGIK and the efforts of USAMGIK to reform the Korean educational system.<sup>668</sup> The “Educational Exchange Program”, a part of the Fullbright programme, also had been targeting professors, scholars, teachers, specialists and students to create “qualified Koreans” who would be leading political, educational, social, and economic spheres in Korea”. This fact meant that the educational programmes in Korea were closely connected to the endeavour of the US to create pro-American intellectuals, the new leaders of the new government. In this respect, it is understandable that this magazine which targeted young students and professionals included many articles on the American education system and American universities.

The high proportion of technology, culture and sport/entertainment articles must have been an inevitable choice since these were the most efficient medium through which the advanced, sophisticated and world-leading features of American technologies could be introduced.

Table 8.3 Topics of articles in *Wolgan Amerika*

Category	No. of articles
Politics (including foreign policy)	77
Education	48
Literature/Art	45
Technology/Atomic Power/Science	39
Culture/Life	32
Sports/Entertainment	28
Nature/Geography	20

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government. In addition to literacy programmes for Hangŭl and English, they taught American values with materials translated from American articles. About 750,000 Korean male and female regularly and continuously attended the adult education classes (Activities of OCI 11/1947:12, RG59 250/36/23/6/E.CDF 1945-9/Box3820).

<sup>668</sup> In 1949, USIE emphasised the reformation of the Korean education system was “one of the most important tasks” confronting the USAMGIK since the existing educational facilities were “entirely inadequate to meet both general and specialized needs of education” (USIE for Korea: 7-11). They advocated that the education system had to be reformed in democratic way and “highly formalized methods of Japanese learning” needed to be replaced by modernised teaching through teacher training programmes. They believed this would ultimately lead to the stabilization of democratic Korea (ibid, p. 11).

Editorials	20
History/Biography	19
Agriculture	15
Songs	15
Medicine/Hygiene	14
Economy	8
Women's rights	5
Etc	5
Total	390

### 8.2.2. Source Texts

Among 390 articles, 169 articles identified the source texts, and the source texts were taken from US newspapers, weekly/monthly magazines or were literary works. In terms of magazines and newspaper articles, *Wolgan Amerika* seemed to favour those magazines and newspapers that were under the influence of the US government. In the Cold War period, some American publishers collaborated with the US government, whether voluntarily or involuntarily. Though the freedom of the press was guaranteed, the press could not be totally free from government influence. During WWII, the press needed to serve as a “cheerleader” for the country fighting to expel fascism from Europe and the South Pacific.<sup>669</sup> Even after the war, a journalist had to take the risk of being called “unprofessional, unpatriotic, and un-American”<sup>670</sup> if they criticised or questioned the reliability of governmental organisations in matters of national interest. In this sense, studying where the articles came from and what relationship the magazine/newspapers had with the government can provide an answer to the question, “why did the translating agents select certain resources?”

Sixty-six magazines and newspapers were used to provide 133 articles. The top five magazines and newspapers that most frequently used were as follows: the *New York Times* (17 times), the *Christian Science Monitor* (12 times), *America Illustrated* (6 times), *Collier's* (5 times) and the *Country Gentleman* (5 times). Articles from

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<sup>669</sup> Straut, Lawrence N., *The Christian Science Monitor*, p. 37.

<sup>670</sup> *Ibid*, p. 37.

these top five magazines made up about 30 percent of the articles identified.

The *New York Times* is an example of how the press collaborated with the government in promoting its foreign policies. Though it was renowned for its balanced stance, the balance of the news was “weighted in favour of United States policy and the other side rarely received a full hearing”.<sup>671</sup> The *New York Times* was in line with the government on the notion of propaganda. It explained American propaganda as “disseminating truth about the US” and Soviet propaganda as “propagating lies”.<sup>672</sup> The newspaper also claimed that the US “inevitably” engaged in “word war” or war of words for world peace, and acted as “a domestic arm of the US propaganda programme, either willingly and/or unwittingly”.<sup>673</sup> Furthermore, the newspaper characterised the US and its government officials as “patient, long-suffering, sometimes mistaken, and sometimes bewildered”, but explained that this bewilderment was due to “the other side’s *inability* to understand the underlying *nobility* of United States motives”.<sup>674</sup>

The *Christian Science Monitor* was a prestigious newspaper published by a religious group but did not aim to propagate their religious faith. Though its circulation did not match to that of the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times*, it was also much trusted by Americans.<sup>675</sup> There is not enough information on the ideological stance of this newspaper to reach any conclusion. The only meaningful fact is that the chief editor was the head of the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) which had maintained the stance that the government could use the press to promote its policy.<sup>676</sup>

*America Illustrated* was published by the US Department of State. It is needless to say that the magazine was on the side of the Department.

*Collier’s*, one of the most popular weekly magazines, showed how the government tried to exert its influence on the press to frame anti-communist

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<sup>671</sup> Aronson, *The Press*, p. xii.

<sup>672</sup> Parry-Giles, Shawn J., *The Rhetorical Presidency*, pp. 33-34.

<sup>673</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 33-34.

<sup>674</sup> My italics, Aronson, *The Press*, p. xii.

<sup>675</sup> In a poll done in 1952, editors and civic leaders ranked this newspaper as third in terms of the best newspaper in US following *The New York Times* and *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (Strout 1997: 12).

<sup>676</sup> When the US put the Smith-Mundt Act into effect, the governmental officials lobbied to gain the support from ASNE, and ASNE concluded that it was justifiable for the government to try to make their foreign policies and programmes clear through press because of the uncertainties of international relations (Parry-Giles 2002: 8).

narratives. A memorandum showed OII recommended that government officers contact the editors of *Collier's* and the *Saturday Evening Post*, and ask them to summarise data on communist activities in an article or series of articles so that people would know the “ramifications and salient ways of Comintern tactics” in an objective and unbiased way. In addition, from the end of the war, *Collier's* and the *Saturday Evening Post* had urged their government to intervene in global conflicts. In articles and cartoons, the magazines personified and portrayed the US as Uncle Sam who supported the entire world with his strong arms.<sup>677</sup>

The *Country Gentleman* was known to have the second biggest circulation among magazines on agriculture. Other facts about this magazine are not well known except that it was published by the Curtis Publishing Company which was also the publisher of *the Saturday Evening Post*. There is a possibility that the connection influenced the selection of this magazine.

As for the translations of literary works, it is interesting that works of Mark Twain and Edgar Allan Poe were translated twice each. The names of Willa Cather, John Steinbeck, and William Faulkner are also notable. Translations of the works of Mark Twain and Edgar Allan Poe are examples of a plan that introduced the essence of American literature and culture through literature to reach more readers.<sup>678</sup>

However, the translation project could also have ideological meaning. Mark Twain's works such as *Huckleberry Finn* and *Tom Sawyer* were translated frequently in the period of the Cold War because they were considered as presenting “model democratic heroes symbolizing individual freedom”.<sup>679</sup> For *Wolgan Amerika*, *Tom Sawyer* was translated. Willa Cather's works have been translated “for almost every one of USIA's<sup>680</sup> target markets” because her works described American life and culture.<sup>681</sup> John Steinbeck was a member of the Advisory Council of the Writer's War Board which was a propaganda organisation in the US during World War II.<sup>682</sup>

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<sup>677</sup> Fousek, *To Lead*, p. 75. It is not easy to define *Collier's* as an anti-communist magazine. In 1945, Mark Gayn who was suspected of being a communist wrote articles for the magazine, though the political charges on Gayn was lifted (Wikipedia). In the McCarthy period, it published articles that criticised the indiscriminate Red hunting such as “After the Brawl” published in August 1954. This means that even though the magazine dealt with a range of articles, the governmental effort to infiltrate the cultural sphere and to influence the people was intense.

<sup>678</sup> Boyce Report, p. 29.

<sup>679</sup> Barnhisel and Turner, *Pressing the Fight*, p. 106.

<sup>680</sup> USIA: United States Information Agency which was established as the descendant of USIS.

<sup>681</sup> *Ibid*, p. 12.

<sup>682</sup> [https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Writers%27\\_War\\_Board](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Writers%27_War_Board)

William Faulkner is very famous for his novels that described destitute American life such as *The Sound and the Fury* and *As I Lay Dying*. However, for the magazine, his short novel, titled *Two Soldiers*, which described the patriotism of young boys who fought for their nation, was translated.

#### 8.4 Analysis of translations in *Wolgan Amerika*

The Chief Editor declared that the policy of translation was to make translations readable and faithful to their source texts.<sup>683</sup> It might be because the STs are already ideologically-laden and the editors thought the ideas needed to be delivered as exactly as possible. It is important, therefore, to look at whether or not the translations are “readable and faithful to the ST,” and if not, to study what the shift consisted of.

##### 8.4.1 Paratexts Translation 1: Titles and Leads<sup>684</sup>

In this section, I analysed the titles and leads of fifty translations for which source texts could be found. The translators seemed to employ strategies of literal translation, explicitation, and deliberate political translation. Table 8.4 below shows the original titles and leads and translated titles and leads.

Table 8.4 Titles and Leads (Originals in Appendix 9)

	ST title and lead	TT title and lead
1	The strength of our political system (Strength) <sup>685</sup>  Lead: Our parties are more alike than they are different; this makes for national stability.	The strength of our political system <sup>686</sup> (强韧性)  Lead: omitted
2	Grandma Moses had a birthday <sup>687</sup> (Moses)	Painter, Granma Moses <sup>688</sup> (모세스)

<sup>683</sup> Editorial, *Wolgan Amerika*, December 1949.

<sup>684</sup> A lead paragraph (or shortened to lead) is an opening paragraph of an article that summarises its main ideas.

<sup>685</sup> Nevins, Allan, *The New York Times*, 18, July 1948.

<sup>686</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, April 1949.

<sup>687</sup> *Life*, 15, November 1948.

<sup>688</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, April 1949.

	Lead: N/A	Lead: N/A
3	The Supreme Court <sup>689</sup> (The Supreme Court)  Lead: N/A	The US Supreme Court <sup>690</sup> (美國大法院)  Lead: N/A
4	How science Aids the Golden Rule <sup>691</sup> (Golden Rule)  Lead: One of man's big debts today is to the Rockefeller Foundation. Its funds have fought misery the world over	Research Aid Programme of Rockefeller Foundation <sup>692</sup> (럭펠러)  Lead: omitted
5	New Vitamin Aids Battle on Anemia <sup>693</sup> (Vitamin)  Lead: Extracted from Microbe, Latest Discovery Gives Results Similar to Liver (check)	New Vitamin that cures Anemia <sup>694</sup> (비타민)  Lead: omitted
6	Cow Town USA <sup>695</sup> (Cown Town)  Lead: Kansas City, now staging the 50 <sup>th</sup> American Royal...	Kansas City, the City of Cows <sup>696</sup> (캔사스)  Lead: omitted
7	Your pencil could tell a sharp story <sup>697</sup> (Pencil)  Lead: The lead pencil has been called the most used and least appreciated piece of merchandise	Pencil Industry in America <sup>698</sup> (鉛筆공업)  Lead: Omitted
8	Does your job make you sick? <sup>699</sup> (Sick)  Lead: Staff psychiatrists of big corporations, experimenting in mass mental health, may change our whole concept of round pegs and square holes and of why some people fail or are unhappy in their jobs. It's most apt to be due to emotional troubles seldom	Psychology that is being adopted in American Industry <sup>700</sup> (精神療法)  Lead: Omitted

<sup>689</sup> Zink, Harold, *Government and Politics in the United States*, (New York: Macmillan, 1942).

<sup>690</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, May 1949.

<sup>691</sup> Winterich, John, *Nation's Business*,

<sup>692</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, May 1949.

<sup>693</sup> Laurence, William L, *The New York Times*, 26, August 1948.

<sup>694</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, May 1949.

<sup>695</sup> Collins, John M., *Country Gentleman*, October 1948.

<sup>696</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, June 1949.

<sup>697</sup> Walker, Lester, *Nation's Business*, March 1948.

<sup>698</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, June 1949.

<sup>699</sup> Velie, Lester, *Collier's*, 24, July 1948.

<sup>700</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, June, 1949.

	connected with their work.	
9	What then is the American, this new man? <sup>701</sup> (American)  Lead: N/A	On Americans <sup>702</sup> (美國人論)  Lead: N/A
10	Women needed in public service <sup>703</sup> (Women)  Lead: Dorothy McCullough Lee is Chalking Up New ‘Firsts’ in Her Distinguished Career	The first female mayor, Dorothy Lee <sup>704</sup> (女市長)  Lead: omitted
11	Young explorers in Museum Halls <sup>705</sup> (Young Explorers)  Lead: N/A	Art Education for Children <sup>706</sup> (兒童美術教育)  Lead: N/A
12	Explorers of 1948 peeked into many unusual corners of globe <sup>707</sup> (Explorers)  Lead: Top secrets of Research Scrutinized	Explorers of 1948 <sup>708</sup> (探險界)  Lead: omitted
13	Waiting for Caruso <sup>709</sup> (Caruso) Lead: N/A	A Night Waiting for Caruso <sup>710</sup> (카루소) Lead: N/A
14	Museums don’t have to be stuffy <sup>711</sup> (Museums)  Lead: Chicago’s Museum of Science and Industry, the biggest thing of its kind on earth, pampers its 1,000,000 annual visitors with such startling innovations as comfortable lounges, ash trays, eight theatres, a cafeteria and a picnic room.	Science Museum <sup>712</sup> (科學博物館)  Lead: Omitted
15	Seattle <sup>713</sup> (Seattle)	Seattle City <sup>714</sup> (씨애틀市)

<sup>701</sup> Schlesinger, Arthur M., *Paths to the Present*, (New York: Macmillan, 1949).

<sup>702</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, July, 1949.

<sup>703</sup> Hoyt, Isabell Murray, *Christian Science Monitor*, 9, June 1948.

<sup>704</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, July 1949.

<sup>705</sup> Taylor, Millicent, *Christian Science Monitor*, 8, January 1949.

<sup>706</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, July 1949.

<sup>707</sup> Nicholas, Herbert B., *Christian Science Monitor*, 7, January 1949.

<sup>708</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, July 1949.

<sup>709</sup> Broch, Nathan, *Christian Science Monitor*, 9, December 1948.

<sup>710</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, July 1949.

<sup>711</sup> Manchester, Harland, *Saturday Evening Post*, 15 January 1949.

<sup>712</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, August 1949.

<sup>713</sup> Perry, George Sessions, *Saturday Evening Post*, 13, October 1945.

<sup>714</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, August 1949.

	Lead: Land of hills and waterways, surrounded by snowy mountain peaks, next-door neighbour to Alaska, Seattle is a lusty young city that believes the future is its friend.	Lead: omitted
16	Grain hunters of the West <sup>715</sup> (Grain Hunter)  Lead: America has become the breadbasket of the world but it is no accident that we are able to produce in such record-breaking quantity.	Improvement of Wheat <sup>716</sup> (品種改良)  Lead: Omitted
17	Sculpture Survey <sup>717</sup> (Sculpture)  Lead: The third international in Philadelphia	The Third Exhibition of International Sculptures <sup>718</sup> (展示會) Lead: combined with the title
18	Farm help from abroad <sup>719</sup> (Farm Help)  Lead: Displaced farm families from Europe, seeking work and new homes on our land, are proving themselves useful citizens.	Farm Family immigrated from Europe <sup>720</sup> (農家)  Lead: omitted
19	Motion Pictures Changing from of Medical Education <sup>721</sup> (Motion Pictures)  Lead: Widespread Use of Films During and Since the War Speeds Training	Film used for Medical Education <sup>722</sup> (映畫)  Lead: Omitted
20	Princess Margaret of Hollywood <sup>723</sup> (Margaret)  Lead: Margaret O'Brien is just as simple and unspoiled today as she was six years ago when she floored everyone with Journey for Margaret. She is now twelve, and she lives in the hope that someday she can get to be a real dog trainer.	Princess Margaret of Hollywood <sup>724</sup> (마가렛)  Lead: omitted
21	Point Four: Purposes and prospects of	Purposes and Prospects of

<sup>715</sup> Ball, John W., *Nation's Business*, September 1948.

<sup>716</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, August 1949.

<sup>717</sup> Devree, Howard, *The New York Times*, 15, May 1949.

<sup>718</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, September 1949.

<sup>719</sup> Morrell, Sydney, *Country Gentleman*, June 1949.

<sup>720</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, September 1949.

<sup>721</sup> Rusk, Howard A., *The New York Times*, 7, November 1949.

<sup>722</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, September 1949.

<sup>723</sup> Frazier, George, *Collier's*, 29, January 1949.

<sup>724</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, September 1949.

	the ‘bold new program’ <sup>725</sup> (Point Four) Lead: Improvement of Under-Developed Areas Likely to Be Big Factor in Our Role of Advancing World Peace and Trade and Checking Communism	President Truman’s Aid Plan for Uncivilised Areas <sup>726</sup> (未開地援助案) Note: Pioneering of the uncivilised areas is a factor that plays a great role of accelerating world peace and trade and checking communism.
22	Ponce de Leon? No! Poscanini! <sup>727</sup> (Poscanini) Lead: If the conductor has not drunk from the Fountain of Youth, his friends can’t imagine where he gets such vigor at 82	An American conductor <sup>728</sup> (音樂指揮者) Lead: omitted
23	UN and League-Contrast and Lesson <sup>729</sup> (UN and League) Lead: One who watched the sessions at Geneva now reports on the meetings held in New York.	UN and League <sup>730</sup> (國際聯合과 國際聯盟) Lead: Comparison of the United Nations and the League of Nations and Lesson from it
24	The UN begins to show power against power <sup>731</sup> (The UN) Lead: It has proved that nations can be made responsive to ideas of general welfare.	Achievement of the United Nations <sup>732</sup> (國際聯合) Lead: replaced with introduction of the author.
25	Neighbor Rosicky <sup>733</sup> (Rosicky) Lead: N/A	Neighbor Rosicky <sup>734</sup> (로식키) Lead: N/A
26	The Morrisons of Yakima Valley <sup>735</sup> (Morrison) Lead: Quality fruit and quality living are combined goals of an active	The Morrison Farm <sup>736</sup> (모뤼선農場) Lead: omitted

<sup>725</sup> Reston, James, *The New York Times*, 26, June 1949.

<sup>726</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, October 1949.

<sup>727</sup> Taubman, Howard, *The New York Times*, 17, April 1949.

<sup>728</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, October 1949.

<sup>729</sup> Moore, Bernard, *The New York Times*, 24, April 1949.

<sup>730</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, November 1949.

<sup>731</sup> Jessup, Philip C., *The New York Times*, 23, October 1949.

<sup>732</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, December 1949.

<sup>733</sup> Cather, Willa, *Obscure Destinies*, (New York and London: Cassell, 1932).

<sup>734</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, December 1949.

<sup>735</sup> Schnug, Margaret, *Country Gentleman*, December 1947.

<sup>736</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, January 1950.

	Washington family.	
27	Rat-borne disease <sup>737</sup> (Rat)  Lead: Nurses are in strategic position to take an active part in the local programs for control now under away in many communities.	Rat-borne disease 病 <sup>738</sup> (쥐)  Lead: omitted
28	The Pastures of Heaven <sup>739</sup> (Pastures)  Lead: N/A	Home <sup>740</sup> (집)  Lead: N/A
29	Randolph Field- ‘West Point of the Air’ <sup>741</sup> (Randolph)  Lead: It is a school for pilots of the jet age and a training center for future Air Force generals.	Randolph Preliminary Air Force Academy <sup>742</sup> (랜돌프)  Lead: Omitted
30	How to live at 35 below <sup>743</sup> (35 below)  Lead: In Artic tests, the Army is learning tricks that a lot of civilians can use	A study the life at the pole <sup>744</sup> (極地生活研究) Lead: The results of Artic tests are very useful references for everyone who resides in or travel to Artic.
31	Confucius, the Man and the Myth <sup>745</sup> (Confucius)  Lead: N/A	On Confucius <sup>746</sup> (孔子論)  Lead: N/A
32	They Built Prosperity on “Worthless” Soil <sup>747</sup> (Worthless Soil)  Lead: Threatened by rural slums on cut-over land, this country remade its farming to a profitable pattern	From worthless to profitable soil <sup>748</sup> (荒蕪地)  Lead: Development programme of St. Luis.
33	Radioisotope: “Laboratory Spy” <sup>749</sup> (Radioisotope)  Lead: N/A	Radioisotope and its use <sup>750</sup> (同位元素)

<sup>737</sup> Carroll, L. Dorothy, *American Journal of Nursing*, April 1949.

<sup>738</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, January 1950.

<sup>739</sup> Steinbeck, John, *The Pastures of Heaven*, (London: Corgi, 1951).

<sup>740</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, January 1950.

<sup>741</sup> Boal, Sam, *The New York Times*, 24, July 1949.

<sup>742</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, January 1950

<sup>743</sup> Pearse, Ben, *The New York Times*, 13, March 1949.

<sup>744</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, January 1950.

<sup>745</sup> Creel, H. G., *Confucius, the Man and the Myth*, (New York: John Day, 1949).

<sup>746</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, February 1950.

<sup>747</sup> Peterson, George, *Country Gentleman*, May 1949.

<sup>748</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, February 1950.

<sup>749</sup> Wharton, Don, *American Mercury*, August 1949.

<sup>750</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, February 1950.

		Lead: The strong research results give guidance to American farmers, customers, manufacturers on the ways of increasing production and improving qualities of products.
34	China: Still the Good Earth <sup>751</sup> (China)  Lead: N/A	Chinese are still the same <sup>752</sup> (中國人民)  Lead: N/A
35	Storm <sup>753</sup> (Storm)  Lead: N/A	Storm <sup>754</sup> (폭풍)  Lead: N/A
36	How a movie gets made <sup>755</sup> (movie)  Lead: To bring you a hundred minutes of entertainment on a mile and a half of celluloid film, five hundred highly skilled Hollywood technicians worked for two years.	How a movie gets made <sup>756</sup> (映畫)  Lead: omitted
37	The 10 world-shaking events of the half century <sup>757</sup> (10 Events)  Lead: N/A	The 10 world-shaking events of the half century <sup>758</sup> (十大事件)  Lead: N/A
38	20,000,000 keglers <sup>759</sup> (Keglers)  Lead: N/A	Bowling <sup>760</sup> (보울링)  Lead: N/A
39	Hits in the tall corn <sup>761</sup> (Tall Corn)  Lead: Long ago Broadway and Hollywood posted the death notice for the repertory theater, but out in the great midlands tent shows are still playing to standing room only	Repertoire Theatre <sup>762</sup> (레퍼토리劇場)  Lead: omitted

<sup>751</sup> Buck, Pearl S., *The Saturday Evening Post*, 8, October 1949.

<sup>752</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, February 1950.

<sup>753</sup> Stewart, George R., *Storm*, (New York: Random House, 1941).

<sup>754</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, February 1950.

<sup>755</sup> Palmer, Cap, *Collier's*, 17, September 1949.

<sup>756</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, February 1950.

<sup>757</sup> Schlesinger, Arthur M., *The Washington Post*, 1, January 1950.

<sup>758</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, March 1950.

<sup>759</sup> Bailey, Gilbert, *The New York Times*, 3, April 1949.

<sup>760</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, March 1950.

<sup>761</sup> Johnson, Vance, *Collier's*, 20, August 1949.

<sup>762</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, April 1950.

40	Erosion by raindrop <sup>763</sup> (Erosion)  Lead: The impact of an individual drop on the soil does surprising damage. Multiplied by the billions, it is one of the major problems of soil conservation	Raindrop and Erosion <sup>764</sup> (浸蝕作用)  Lead: Omitted
41	Strange, versatile plastic <sup>765</sup> (Plastic)  Lead: N/A	Plastic Industry <sup>766</sup> (플라스틱 工業)  Lead: N/A
42	The First Four Years <sup>767</sup> (Four Years)  Lead: The UN hasn't fulfilled the rosy visions of 1945, but it has accomplished more than meets the eye	The Achievement of the UN for the Past Four Years <sup>768</sup> (四年間 業績) Lead: This world organisation hasn't fulfilled the rosy visions of 1945, but it has accomplished much more than meets the eye.
43	My Life <sup>769</sup> (My Life)  Lead: N/A	My autobiography <sup>770</sup> (自敘傳)  Lead: N/A
44	Two Soldiers <sup>771</sup> (Two Soldiers)  Lead: N/A	Two Soldiers <sup>772</sup> (두 병사)  Lead: N/A
45	Microwave in communication <sup>773</sup> (Microwave)  Lead: Highest Frequencies of the Radio Spectrum, Applied in Radar, May Ease the Congestion of US Telephone and Telegraph Lines. An Account of How Microwaves Are Already in Use for Transmission Between Cities.	Microwave communication <sup>774</sup> (超短波通信) Lead: omitted
46	Annabel Lee <sup>775</sup>	Annabel Lee <sup>776</sup>
47	Tom Sawyer <sup>777</sup>	Tom Sawyer <sup>778</sup>

<sup>763</sup> Ellison, W.D., *Scientific American*, November 1948.

<sup>764</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, May 1950.

<sup>765</sup> Morrow, Martha G., *Science News Letter*, 16, July 1949.

<sup>766</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, March 1950.

<sup>767</sup> Reston, James B., *The Reporter*, 22 November 1949.

<sup>768</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, June 1950.

<sup>769</sup> Keller, Hellen, *The Story of My Life*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1911).

<sup>770</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, June 1950.

<sup>771</sup> Faulkner, William, <https://literaturesave2.files.wordpress.com/2009/12/william-faulkner-two-soldiers.pdf>

<sup>772</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, June 1950.

<sup>773</sup> Uptegraove Jr., Deane H., *Scientific American*, March 1948.

<sup>774</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, May 1950.

<sup>775</sup> Poe, Edgar Allan, <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/44885/annabel-lee>

<sup>776</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, March 1950.

<sup>777</sup> Twain, Mark, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, (Huddersfield: Schofield & Sims, 1956).

<sup>778</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, June 1949.

48	The Haunted Palace <sup>779</sup>	The Haunted Palace <sup>780</sup>
49	The White Heron <sup>781</sup>	The White Heron <sup>782</sup>
50	The Last Leaf <sup>783</sup>	The Last Leaf <sup>784</sup>

The translators kept eighteen titles almost intact (1, 3, 15, 19, 20, 23, 25, 27, 35, 36, 37, 40, 44, and 45-50). The titles of the literary works were usually translated literally except in three cases.<sup>785</sup> This reflected the general tendency that literary works were to be translated literally.

The other thirty-two headlines were selectively appropriated. One of strategies that induced the noticeable shift was derived from the translator's political intention to emphasise the positive aspects of America. Titles 4, 18, 21, 24, 34, and 42 are representative examples. The title, "How Science Aids the Golden Rule" focused on the role of "science" in improving the general quality of life. Taking contents from the lead, the focus of the translated title moved to the Rockefeller Foundation and its research funding programmes. Considering that the Rockefeller Foundation was represented as an American institution of overseas humanitarian activities in the Cold War era,<sup>786</sup> this translation strategy can be said to promote the narrative of American benevolence.

"Farm Help from Abroad" is another example of political manipulation. While the original title and lead implied that the US "needed" agricultural labourers who were "displaced" and who consequently needed shelter and work, the translated title implied that farmers "voluntarily" immigrated to America from "Europe". America was narrated not as a nation in need of labourers but as a capable nation that could accept and give work and shelter to the people from "Europe" which was devastated after the War.

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<sup>779</sup> Poe, Edgar Allan, The Haunted Palace, <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/52370/the-haunted-palace>

<sup>780</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, January 1950.

<sup>781</sup> Jewett, Sarah Orne, The White Heron, <http://public-library.uk/ebooks/105/91.pdf>

<sup>782</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, October 1949.

<sup>783</sup> Homes, Oliver Wendell, The Last Leaf, <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/44383/the-last-leaf>

<sup>784</sup> *Wolgan Amerika*, October 1949.

<sup>785</sup> The three cases are: *The Pastures of Heaven*, *My Life* and *Waiting for Caruso*.

<sup>786</sup> Not only the foundation was "the unparalleled 20<sup>th</sup> century health philanthropy heavyweight" (Birn 2013: 129) that aimed to contribute to the improvement of health conditions of the world people, it also tried to support researches in the areas of humanities and science (including medical science) to achieve its goal, "cultural understanding" and "well-being" of humankind (Mueller 2013: 111-112).

The translated title of the “Point Four” article shows how a title was used to explain about a government policy. In the translation, “President Truman’s aid programme for uncivilised countries” was added as an explanation for the Point Four programme. This strategy elevated America’s political status by attributing the aid programme to the American government, symbolised by Truman, and also by degrading recipient countries to “uncivilised”<sup>787</sup> countries.

The other two titles about the United Nations show a similar strategy. In case of title 24, “*begins to show power against power (my italics)*” was replaced by “the achievement of the UN”. In 42, “The First Four Years” was translated into “the achievement of the UN during the last four years”. In these two examples, the capacity of the UN to settle world problems was stressed. The UN was supported fully by the US from its birth and, as an officer of USIS once said, “as far as the Koreans and most of the oriental world were concerned the United Nations was and is the United States”.<sup>788</sup> Emphasis on its “achievement” generated the effect of romanticising the image of the UN and the US.

Title 34 is related to China. Pearl Buck’s article “China: Still the Good Earth” reminds us of her Pulitzer Award winning novel, *The Good Earth*. The book is about the positive images of “good earth” and diligent Chinese people. In the translated title, however, its focus moved to “Chinese” and “의연하다 (are still the same)”. The word “의연하다” suggested that something negative happened but the Chinese were not affected at all by that. This article was translated in early 1950 when China had already been taken over by the communists. This historical change might be behind this translation strategy.

The second strategy is explicitation. Translators made the content more explicit either by adding or omitting parts of the content. In some titles, part of the title is omitted or some information is added because they were too culture-specific or because more technical knowledge was needed. Titles such as 2, 6, 15, 17, 26 and 33 fall into this category. In example 2, by inserting “painter” before the name Moses, it became clear that the article was about a grandma who was an artist. In title 6, the

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<sup>787</sup> In the translation, “under-developed” was translated into “未開地.” According to a Korean dictionary published by Chŏngmun'gwan in 1946, this word was defined as “not opened yet (아직 열리지 아니하다)” and explained “open (開)” in terms of “enlightenment (인지가 열리다).”

<sup>788</sup> Caldwell, *The Korea Story*, p. 29.

name of the city was inserted. In example 15, the translator explicated that Seattle is the name of a city, and title 17, combined with the lead, was translated to explain that the article is about an international exhibition. In 26, by omitting the unknown name of a region - “Yakima Valley”- and inserting “farm” instead, the translation clarified what the article would talk about. When it comes to title 33, “Laboratory Spy” was replaced by “its use”. From this change, the readers could more easily assume what would follow in the article.

Titles 11, 14, 29 and 32 are examples of explicitation achieved through partial change of titles. As discussed in the previous chapter, the information the source readers have on the contents including the title is likely to be different from what target readers have. Explicitation strategy can be used to provide more information to increase readers’ understanding and hence, attract more readers. The translation of title 11 made it clear for the readers who were not familiar with “museum” that the article is about art education for children. Title 14 was also explicated to indicate that the subject of the article is a “science museum”. Title 29 was translated into “Randolph preliminary pilot training academy” and this translation supplemented information needed to understand what “West Point of the Air” meant. In the case of title 32, “prosperity” was explained as “fertile land”, and it also clarified that this was a development programme in St. Louis.

Another example of explicitation is the addition of “美國 (America/American)” in titles. To six titles (1, 3, 7, 8, 10 and 22), the word was added. It must have been obvious for the Korean readers that the articles dealt with aspects of “America” because the article provided the name of the original author and because it was evident that the magazine was published by USIS Korea. The reason that translators still added the word “America(n)” might be to lead Korean readers to distance themselves from American achievement and to emphasise the distance between the two nations. The distance could make Koreans to realise that the contents was not about “our nation” but “their nation”, and could make Koreans objectify America as a nation from whom they needed to learn.

Titles 8, 16, 22, 28 and 39 are examples that underwent drastic changes to the extent that not even a small portion of the original texts cannot be found in the translated titles. Title 8 changed into “psychotherapy applied into American industry”, title 16 into “improvement of species of wheat”, title 22 into “an American

conductor” rather than his unfamiliar name and finally title 39 into “repertoire theatre”. If the titles were translated literally, the Korean readers at the time were unlikely to understand what the original authors were trying to say in each article. These strategies helped readers who were not familiar with American culture and life anticipate and focus more on the content of the articles.

The third strategy is simplification. As can be seen in examples 9, 12, 19, 30, 31, 38 and 41, some titles are simplified to enhance the understanding of readers. Title 9 was simplified to “on Americans” and title 12 was shortened to mean “Explorers of 1948”. The translated title of 19 omitted the fact that films were a new “form” of medical education. Title 30 was translated into just “A study on life at the Pole” and title 31 into “on Confucius”. Lastly, title 38 was shortened to “bowling”.

The lead translations are also interesting. Out of 50 articles, 34 have leads. Twenty-eight leads were omitted in the TTs, six leads were translated and one lead was added to a TT of which the ST did not have a lead. When the leads were translated, some of the translated leads took the typical form of a lead (examples 23 and 32) and some took the form of a preface (examples 21, 30, and 42). In addition, even in the cases of titles that were translated, the titles were usually combined with words that were either selectively picked from the leads of the STs (examples 17 and 23) or have a totally different content from the lead (example 32) of the STs. Among fourteen articles with no leads, a lead was added to one article (example 33).

One notable fact concerning lead translation is that the translators added an explanation or translated in a political way in order to promote pro-American narratives. In the lead of “Point Four” (example 21), “improvement” was translated as “開拓 (pioneer)” which implies stronger engagement with the US. This also degraded Korea to an infertile land and a nation that depended on the US. Also “is likely to” was transferred to “is” and “big factor” became a “factor that plays a *great* role”. This implied that the translators tried to increase the US competence of improving the living standard of the world and looked down on the other independent but weak nations. Likewise, in the lead of “the First Four Years” (example 42), “accomplished more than” was translated into “accomplished much more than”.

In the lead of article 30, the translator emphasised the importance of Arctic tests by adding “very useful” in the lead. In the newly added lead of the example 33, the efficiency of radioisotope in improving agricultural products was presented. The

translator also added that the research results were “strong” enough to improve production. Not only did this lead strengthen the narrative of “atomic power for peace”, which was one of the themes that appeared repeatedly in the magazine, it also portrayed the advanced nature of US scientific technology as did the lead of example 30.

To summarise, titles and leads were either translated with political aims in mind or they became explicit or simplified during the translation process. In the case of political appropriation, translations served to improve the image of America by gradation and to increase its capability to contribute to the welfare of the world. In terms of explicitation, as Munday and Károly argued, terms that are specific to a certain culture may need to be explicated or standardised to “correspond to the receiver’s inferencing needs”<sup>789</sup> and the contents of target texts should be harmonised with the background knowledge of the target readers.<sup>790</sup> Explicitation and simplification strategies in the titles fall into this category. The translators deliberately changed the titles with the ultimate aim of “guiding” readers to understand (ideologically-laden) texts more easily.

#### 8.4.2. Paratext Translation 2: Visual materials

One of the most distinctive features that differentiated *Wolgan Amerika* from the other Korean magazines was its abundance of visual materials and illustrations. The magazine included illustrations or photos in almost every article. The translated texts in these magazines were usually shorter than the source texts, unless STs were very short or they were literary STs. This might be due to the limited paper they could use at the time of publication. It is easy to assume, then, that visual materials were also, partly or entirely, omitted.

Contrary to expectations, out of 30 articles which have visual materials either in the STs or in the TTs, fourteen TTs have fewer visual materials than their STs, twelve TTs have more visual materials, and four have the same number of visual materials compared to STs. Having more visual materials than the source texts means the editors or translators borrowed illustrations/photos from other sources. It is interesting that even in the cases where the number of illustrations/photos in the

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<sup>789</sup> Munday, *Evaluation*, p. 90.

<sup>790</sup> Károly, “News Discourse”, p. 889.

STs is more or same as that of the TTs, there are cases where the materials were borrowed from other sources. It seems clear that the editors had certain aims in mind.

Table 8.5 Visual Paratexts of Articles in *Wolgan Amerika*

	Title	S/T <sup>791</sup>	What is added/omitted
1	The strength	2/1	S: photos of the Capitol and Symbol of stability T: illustration of the Capitol
3	The Supreme Court	0/2	T: photo of the Supreme Court/justices
4	Golden Rule	2/0	S: photo of Harrison E. Wing (head of the foundation)
5	Vitamin	0/1	T: illustration of a bottle of vitamin
6	Cow Town	2/4	S: photo of American Royal delegation, photo of a director of Royal board T: illustrations of a cow head, tall buildings of Kansas, landscape of Kansas (with tall buildings), cattle market of Kansas (all from other source)
7	Pencil	4/1	S: photos of people making pencils T: illustration of a pencil
8	Job	1/0	S: photo of Dr. Walter D Woodward
9	Mayor	1/4	S: photo of the mayor T: photos of the mayor who works and who is with her family
10	Explorers	3/1	S: photos of national geographic society T: illustration of a miniature globe (from other source)
11	Caruso	0/1	T: illustration of a woman waiting for Caruso
12	Grain hunters	6/1	S: photos of field, wheat, related persons omitted T: species of wheat (from other source)
13	Sculpture	4/12	S: photos of sculptures T: photos of sculptures (all from other source except one)
14	Farm help	3/2	S: happy farmers from Ukraine, American who found much-needed help from Ukraine, happy Ukraine family in US T: (all from ST) farmers from Ukraine, happy Ukraine family in US
15	Margaret	1/1	S: photo of Margaret T: photo of Margaret but from different source (cute and smiling)
16	Point Four	1/1	O: world atlas seen in terms of point four

<sup>791</sup> The number of visuals contained in STs and TTs.

			T: photo of President Truman (other source)
17	Poscanini!	1/2	S: conducting conductor T: illustration of harp/the conductor playing piano (different source)
18	UN and League	2/3	S: 2 photos of League and UN T: a photo of flag staffs/UN official documents written in five official languages/a scene of the venue of 34 <sup>th</sup> meeting viewed from the Eiffel Tower (different source)
19	The UN	2/1	S: a photo of a train/photo of Philip Jessup T: illustration of a dove with bay leaves on beak (different source)
20	Morrison	10/5	S: a photo of a family/Morrison and their car and house/Charles Jr. in front of students/boys by a pool/a man on horse/technique for budding/peach crop/hunting/irrigation T: scene of the farm/Morrison family/Morrison in canned food plant (different source)/technique for budding/peach crop
21	Rat	2/1	S: photo of a mouse/reported endemic typhus fever of America T: illustration of a mouse (different source)
22	Randolph	3/1	S: photos of a pilot and instructor/a pilot in a jet/class mates T: Randolph Air Force base camp with US flag and a tall building (different source)
23	35 below	1/3	S: US Air Force volunteers who camped in Alaska T: photo of US Air Force volunteers (same source)/photos of US Air Force doctors/experiment tent (different sources)
24	Confucius	0/1	ST: photo of writer
25	“Worthless” Soil	4/4	S: Marshall Elson in bed, monument for H-4, H-4’s activity to fertilise farms, planting best suited crops T: all same
26	China	5/2	S: photo of writer/illustrations of Chinese people, farm scene, Great Wall T: photo of writer (bigger)/ illustration of Chinese people → all from different sources
27	The 10 events	6/1	S: big four of World War I, the big three of World War II, wireless telephony, sender and receiver of radar, first attempt to fly, supersonic plan. T: the big three of World War II
28	Keglers	2/3	S: bowlers in congress, T: bowling pins, how to play bowling, bowling alley
29	Tall corn	4/2	S: photo of tent show/Dorie Field of Kinsey

			players/Madge Kinsey Graf/Otto Imig T: photo Dorie Field (different explanation)/tent show (all from source)
30	Erosion	11/5	S: photos of raindrops/effect of raindrops T:
31	Four Years	2/3	ST: symbol of the UN/photos showing fatigue of the participants TT: UN symbol/flag staffs/photo of President Truman giving a speech (other source)

Visual materials can be used ideologically. Such elements are a construction based on the *interest* of the makers, which leads the makers “to select particular features of the object to be represented as criteria, at that moment, and in that context”.<sup>792</sup> Sign-makers “choose forms for the expression of what they have in mind, from which they see as most apt and plausible in the given context.”<sup>793</sup> As for press photographs, Roland Barthes asserts that the press photograph, as a message, is “an object that has been worked on, chose, composed, constructed, treated according to professional, aesthetic or ideological norms”.<sup>794</sup>

When these visuals are used as “paratexts” of certain texts, the ideology embedded in the materials is not always that of the person who created the original visual materials. As an intersemiotic translation,<sup>795</sup> illustrations/visuals are a representation of at least some parts of the source texts, and the commissioner of the illustration directly intervenes in the process of deciding which part of the source texts should be represented in the forms of illustration and which parts should be neglected.<sup>796</sup> Drawing on the concept of “patronage”, Pereira suggests that the production of illustrations depends on the “power relation” between the patron and illustrator. The illustrations are “commissioned” by editors usually, and the editors are likely to have strict and concrete guidelines such as the number of illustrations. Therefore, it is inevitable that the choices of the illustrators are confined within the

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<sup>792</sup> italics in original; Kress and Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, p. 9.

<sup>793</sup> Ibid, p. 11.

<sup>794</sup> Barthes, Roland, *Image*, p. 15-19.

<sup>795</sup> Roman Jakobson classified translation into three categories. First is intralingual translation which means the transfer of verbal signs with other signs of the same language. Second is the interlingual translation or translation proper that is the transfer of verbal signs into other language. Third is the intersemiotic translation or transmutation that is means the transfer of verbal signs into nonverbal signs (Jakobson 2000: 114).

<sup>796</sup> Pereira, Nilce M., “Book Illustration”, p. 108.

guidelines.<sup>797</sup>

These notions can be applied to the visual materials in *Wolgan Amerika*. In the case of the magazine, photos were not created by a target writer or editor(s) but were taken from the STs or the State Department, and then the editor(s) selected from them. In an institutional setting like USIS, that means the selection of an illustration could be a deliberate choice based on the editor's interpretation of the STs and the ideology they wanted to deliver. In this sense, changes in the visual materials used can reveal the ideology behind the visual selection.<sup>798</sup>

Table 8.5 shows that paratext translation strategies can be divided into two categories: 1) omission of part of or all of the source visuals and 2) combination of source visuals with those from other sources. Out of the 30 articles that have illustration/visuals in the STs or TTs, fourteen show that the source visuals were either entirely or partly removed in the process of translation. In general, the photos were removed due to being too culturally specific. In the translation "Rat Borne Disease", graphs and US maps which showed the distribution of endemic typhus fever were deleted (Appendices 10 and 11). In the translation of "Sick", a photo of a psychiatrist of an American company was removed (Appendix 12). In "Tall Corn (劇場)", photos of an actress who played a specific role in a play that might have been unintelligible to Koreans were removed along with a caption (Appendices 13, 14, and 15).

Some photos showed the possibility of ideological selection. In the case of "the 10 World-shaking events (十大事件)", the ST had six photos describing notable events such as the World Wars I and II and the invention of radar, the aero plane and supersonic jets (Appendix 16). In the TT, the other five photos were removed and only one photo of the three World War II leaders who attended the Yalta Conference remained, between the paragraphs on the Great Depression and World War II (Appendix 17). The caption for the photo, describing "The Big Three after the Yalta Conference (알타회담을 마친 三巨頭)," was a shortened version of the caption in the ST. Occupying about one-third of the page, the photo in which Wilson sat in the middle strengthened the narrative of "the US, as supporter of world peace" combined

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<sup>797</sup> Ibid, p. 108.

<sup>798</sup> Neather, Robert, "Visual Paratexts," pp. 508-9.

with the following paragraph that mentioned the Allies had “defeated” the totalitarian regimes.

The article “Farm Help”, contained three photos, but only two survived in the TT (Appendix 18). Two photos showing two men who were milking cows with a “milking machine” and a smiling family remained, while another photo of the two men was excluded (Appendix 19). It seems that the editor decided to visually expose the advanced agricultural skills represented by the milking machine. Therefore, the caption changed from “help from other country” to “a man from other country is milking a cow”. Though a photo of a smiling family survived, the caption changed from “all living at the Goldsborough farm, now attend elementary school at Stevensville” to “a farm family who immigrated from Europe”. This can be interpreted to indicate that they were happy not just because they were attending a school but because they moved to America. These photos are larger than those in the ST and positioned in the middle and lower middle of each page. With the changed captions and the changed titles mentioned above, the photos seem to be used to emphasise more firmly the advanced technology of the US and the benevolence of the US that accepted farmers who had suffered in political situations.

The next category concerns the cases where some visual materials from other sources were used to replace the ST visuals. In “Keglers”, two photos of the ST that showed people who enjoyed playing at bowling alleys were omitted (Appendices 20 and 21). Instead, the photos of a bowling ball hitting pins and people playing bowling at alleys were added (Appendix 22). In addition, an illustration on how to grip the ball and how to roll the ball was added. Contrasted to the two small photos, this big illustration occupying about a half of a page clearly shows the aim of the illustration: introducing how to play this new sport.

There are also examples which imply the ideological engagement of the magazine makers. In “Point Four (未開地援助案)”, a world map which divided the world into three areas, developed, in transition and under-developed, was replaced by a photo of President Truman placed at the centre of the second page (Appendices 24 and 25). This means editors thought that the photo of Truman was more necessary in the article. Similarly, due to the way that the title was transformed to stress the initiative of Truman to aid the underdeveloped countries, we can assume that they tried to build up the same narratives by placing Truman’s photo at the centre of the

page.

In “Four Years (四年間業績)”, the photos that show the UN delegates who were fighting against fatigue (Appendix 26) was substituted with photos of flags in front of the main building of the UN, and of Truman who was giving a speech at the cornerstone ceremony of the UN (Appendix 27). The caption of the second photo said that Truman explained that the cornerstone ceremony reflected their belief that the UN could accomplish its aims. Combined with the word “accomplishment” expressed in the changed title and the contents, these photos implied that the UN was representing several countries and that Truman and the US were trying to contribute to world peace as leader of the UN and its participant nations.

In the article “The First Female Mayor (女市長)”, rather than using the photo of the mayor used in the ST (Appendix 28), the publisher decided to add four more photos from other sources (Appendices 29 and 30). Three photos show the mayor working at her work place and one depicts her family life. Reflecting the contents of the article, these photos exposed Korean readers to the concept of women’s political participation as having democratic value and the importance of democratic education at home. In particular, the photo of her life at home emphasised the role expected from women, as a supporter of a family and also the fact that democratic ideas could be promoted at home by women.

Similarly, in the case of “Sculpture (國際彫刻展示會)”, out of four photos of sculptures (Appendix 31), only one survived and eleven photos of the art works from other sources were added with the names of artists and the titles (Appendices 32-34). In the ST, three of the four sculptures were from Europe and only one was the work of an American artist. But the TT had only one photo of sculpture by an Italian artist from the ST, and the other eleven were Americans’ works.

The visual materials of the two articles, “Kensas City (켄사스)” and “Randolph (랜돌프)”, are interesting. The visuals representing the Kansas event and training courses in Randolph Field were omitted (Appendices 35, 36, 38-40). Instead, illustrations of tall and magnificent buildings were chosen from other sources (Appendices 37 and 41). In the first article, photos which showed a part of the event and the director were replaced by illustrations of tall buildings in Kansas. Similarly, instead of photos that focused on a trainee in a cockpit and on trainees playing sport,

a photo which showed a tall building and the national flag of America flying in the wind in front of the building was selected. The “bigness” of the US was stressed here.

#### 8.4.3 Macro-level Analysis

In this section, I will study the shift from STs to TTs in terms of omission of sections of STs. The strategy of omission as a way of selective appropriation can be divided into two categories: first is omission for political reasons such as the improvement of the national image or the promotion of democracy, and second is for the improvement of understanding among the target readers by removing unnecessary content which was too culturally specific.

In terms of political omission, one of the most interesting examples is the translation of *Confucius, the Man and the Myth*. Out of sixteen chapters and a postscript, the translator translated only two chapters, the first and the postscript. The first chapter introduced the life of Confucius and explained how Confucianism was misunderstood as supporting authoritarianism. The last chapter illustrated the relationship between Confucius, his teaching, and political systems such as authoritarianism and democracy. That means the two chapters were chosen just to show that even Confucius’ teaching supported the adoption of a democratic system.

The example of *The Pasture of Heaven* is also interesting. This novel consists of twelve stories, and the translating agents selected chapters that described the brilliant decoration of American houses. The choice seems to be very deliberate with the intention of disseminating the narrative of the affluent US

In several articles, paragraphs which described negative history or social aspects were deleted. The article, “The Strength (強韌性)”, did not include paragraphs on the anti-democratic nature of the early US Constitution, parties and government. Even though the following paragraphs explained Americans had overcome the deficiencies of their political system, the omission of the paragraph suggests that they tried to erase any trace of its weakness.

The translator of “Improvement of Wheat (品種改良)” did not translate any paragraphs on the Russian and Canadian contribution to the improvement of wheat species. In the omitted paragraph, the writer made it clear that the tremendous success of wheat production at the time was mainly due to winter wheat stems which were developed with the “friendly” help of Russian agronomists. Descriptions of

another predecessor in terms of species improvement, a Scottish Canadian, were also deleted. In addition, all references to “a minor outbreak of Indians” and brutal subjugation by the government disappeared from the TT. Due to this strategy, all contributions to the improvement of wheat species were attributed to the Americans, while the brutality they had shown during their early settlement period was erased. The selective appropriation ultimately led to the intensification of the narrative of US benevolence.

In “Point Four (未開地 援助案)”, the first seven paragraphs on the failure of Point I, II and III were not translated. The ancestors of the Point Four were not successful due to the objection of the Capitol, due to the prejudice of the world and due to the weakness of the UN. In a paragraph which explained the anti-colonial tradition of America, the sentence “sometimes rather hastily, that everybody who wants to be free has the ability to be free” was deleted. As discussed in chapter 2, it was America that concluded that Koreans would need trusteeship for longer than ten years and occupied South Korea for three years. If they had included this passage in the translated text, Koreans might have noticed American duplicity and this could have caused an adverse reaction.

A paragraph mentioning racial inequality also became the target of omission. In “Bowling (보울링)”, a paragraph which described an organisation that turned down a proposal to abolish a ban against black people was deleted. As discussed in the previous chapter, Koreans had a negative perception about racial inequality in America.

In “Chinese (中國人民)” a paragraph that preferred traditional manual labour over industrial mechanisation was not included. Mechanisation, mass production and the consequent improvement of quality of life were topics which were pervasive in the magazine. If this paragraph had been translated, it would have contradicted some of the central narratives of the magazine. Hence, the omission of this part aimed to maintain the sanitised and uniformly positive image of the US

Other examples of omissions tried to improve the understanding and concentration of readers by removing examples that were too culturally specific. In “Psychology (精神療法)” only about half of the ST was translated. The other half which was not translated was about anecdotes of psychiatrists who were employed by US companies. Not only was the corporate environment of US companies starkly

different from that of Korea at the time but also the corporations themselves were not known to Koreans. That may be the reason these paragraphs are deleted. This strategy removed expert knowledge or culturally specific items that the general readership did not need to know, and so would focus only on the achievement of America.

“Research Aid (렉펠리)” is another example where culturally specific items were removed from the TT. This article is about scientific research into preventing disease common to specific areas of the world. Inevitably, it contains diverse accounts of the prevention programmes of diseases which were not commonly found in Korea. In the case of this article, paragraphs on two diseases were deleted. The first was malaria. About three paragraphs on how the disease was carried by specific kinds of mosquitoes and how this disease was prevented were deleted. A description of yellow fever was also deleted. In contrast, paragraphs on the efforts of the Foundation to prevent parasites which were prevalent among Koreans, survived. The strategy could lead to the illusion that the agency was working closely with the “Koreans,” by highlighting the fact that the Foundation was working for the improvement of the readers’ living standards.

The other interesting translation is “Rat Borne Disease (쥐),” the article on rats. This translation also removed region-specific items. The efforts of the US Public Health Service to investigate the reason for the plague was not mentioned in the TT. It is an interesting fact that the translator also removed the author’s instruction for nurses. The source text of this article was written originally for professional nurses since it was published in an issue of *The American Journal of Nursing*. However, the target readership of the TT was the general public. Instructions for nurses in caring for patients infected by the rat-borne disease were, therefore, deleted. By using this strategy, the scope of readers of this article was expanded to common readers who did not have professional knowledge of the disease. The type of the TT also changed from a professional journal article to an article providing general information on the cause and prevention of the disease and the care of patients.

The strategies used for selection and omission corresponded to those of title translation. Through ideological translation the translating agent tried to strengthen the narratives of a benevolent and competent America. The agents also omitted culturally specific items or overly professional terminologies or technologies. The

contents that required culture-specific or professional knowledge hamper the reading experience or, even worse, hamper the readers' access to the articles. In this sense, this strategy could be used to “attract” readers to the new world American opened for them.

#### 8.4.4 Micro-level Analysis

##### 8.4.4.1 Culture-specific items and loan translation

As discussed, this magazine consisted usually of translations from American sources. It was inevitable the translated articles contained diverse culture-specific items (CSIs). In this section, I will study the CSI translation strategies used in *Wolgan Amerika*. The source texts are randomly chosen from each genre/topic category. Table 8.6 shows that there are three points to pay attention to. First, conservation strategies are used much more frequently than substitution strategies. Second, translators transliterated not only CSI but also common words that did not need to be transliterated. Third, the translators accepted a new orthographic system invented by USIS Korea.

Table 8.6 Translation of SCI and Loan Translation

ST	TT	Strategy
보울링		
Bowling	보울링	transliteration
Moose picnic	Omitted	deletion
ordinary lug	아마추어	Synonymy
White House	워싱턴市 美國大統領 官邸인 白堊館	Intra-textual
American Bowling Congress	미국 보울링 협회	Linguistic translation
Junior Bowling Congress	주니어 보울링 협회	Linguistic translation
Saks-Fifth Avenue	쌍스-ㅎ뽀 <sup>799</sup> 흐 아웬뉴	transliteration
North Central states	中北部諸州	Linguistic translation
West Coast	太平洋沿岸地方	Intra-textual gloss

<sup>799</sup> This ㅎ뽀 is a consonant cluster which can be combined with a vowel. However, there is no way to type those consonants together as a consonant cluster. Even if a consonant is followed by a word, it is not a typo but a word which consists of a consonant cluster.

Times Square	<u>뉴-욕市 娛樂의 中心區에 있는</u> <u>타임스 스퀘어</u>	Intra-textual gloss
New York	<u>뉴-욕</u>	transliteration
Manhattan	<u>맨해튼 區</u>	Intra-textual gloss
fifty-six-alley Health Center	Capitol 뉴-욕市 劇場街에 通하는 街路인 부로-드웨이에 있는 五十六番街球戲場	Intra-textual gloss
Roxy Bowling Center on Fiftieth Street	부로-드웨이 附近에 있는 (가장 훌륭한) 球戲場	Intra-textual gloss
J. P. Morgan	<u>J. P. 모-간 會社(美國의 金融會社)</u>	Intra-textual gloss
Chase National Bank	<u>체이스 네이셔널 銀行(뉴-욕의</u> 有名한 銀行)	Intra-textual gloss
Game	<u>게임</u>	transliteration
League	<u>리그</u>	transliteration
Team	<u>팀</u>	transliteration
Inch	<u>인치</u>	transliteration
Sports	<u>스포츠</u>	transliteration
dance hall	<u>댄스 홀</u>	transliteration
Cabaret	<u>캐바레</u>	transliteration
Bartender	<u>바-텐</u>	transliteration
Model	<u>모델</u>	transliteration
Bar	<u>바</u>	transliteration
Strike	<u>스트라이크</u>	transliteration
Spare	<u>스페어</u> 卽두번 打球로써 모든 木柱를 打倒했다는	Intra-textual gloss
<b>Radioisotope: "Laboratory Spy" (from tech/science)</b>		
Oak Ridge	美國 原子研究中心地 <u>텐넷시-州</u> <u>오-크 립지의</u>	Intra-textual gloss
tagged atoms	Omitted	Deletion
Isotopes Division of the Atomic Energy Commission	美國原子力委員會 同位元素部	Linguistic translation
Radioisotopes	同位元素	Linguistic translation
Bakery	<u>빵</u> 製造所	Linguistic translation
Oven	화덕	Naturalisation
Sample	<u>샘플</u>	Transliteration
Geiger counter	가이어 測定器	Linguistic translation

Truck	트럭	transliteration
North Carolina	노-흐트 캐롤라이나	transliteration
Roller	롤러	transliteration
Mirror	미러	transliteration
Ounce	아운스	transliteration
Trunk	트렁크	transliteration
Dollar	弗	
Apron	에이프론	Transliteration
<b>헐리웃 공주 마가렛</b>		
Coaching	코-취	Transliteration
Gingerbread	Omitted	Deletion
tab show	곡예단	naturalisation
Metro Goldwyn-Mayer	메트로 골드윈 메이여 촬영소	Linguistic translation
National Velvet	내셔널 벨벳	Transliteration
Pounds	파운드	Transliteration
Fan	팬	Transliteration
Size	사이즈	Transliteration
dancing school	댄싱 학교	Transliteration/ Linguistic translation
Medal	메달	Transliteration
Inch	吋	Naturalisation
Dress	옷	Linguistic translation
Pope	법왕 피어스 七世	Linguistic translation
Busher	부쉬--(말이름)	Transliteration
Dramatic	드라마틱	Transliteration
Gaelic	게일족 (애일랜드 스코틀--사는 게일 人)	Intra-textual gloss
<b>황무지를 옥토로</b>		
real-estate promoter	土地 부워커	Limited naturalisation
County	카운티/郡	Intra-textual gloss
Timothy	티모흐티 (禾木科에 屬하는 牧草의 一種- 譯者註)	Intra-textual gloss
Silage	Omitted	Deletion
Leader	르리-더	Transliteration
Loam	르로-모(부서지기 쉬운 粘土, 砂, ?植物  등이 混合한 土壤의	Intra-textual gloss



magazine was to introduce American culture.

It is interesting that even common nouns/words were transliterated in many cases. Words that did not necessarily need to be transliterated such as “sensational”, “mirror”, “trick” and “size” were transliterated even though these words do not seem to be exactly “culture-specific” and it would be possible to find equivalents in Korea. However, the translators chose to transliterate the words without knowing that Korean readers could understand the exact meaning of the words.

In contrast, there were few examples that replaced CSIs with culturally closer items. Oven was transferred to “화덕” which is close to “brazier”. In the case of weights and measures, sometimes they were transliterated and sometimes they were replaced by Korean measures. While ounce and pound were transliterated, inch (2.54cm) and mile (1.6km) were replaced with “촌(3.03cm)” and “천(1km)” respectively.

According to Yilmaz-Gümüş, conservation and substitution procedures correspond to the polarised translating approaches like as Venuti’s foreignisation and domestication.<sup>800</sup> If translators favour conservation procedures we might be able to say that they usually favoured source-text oriented foreignisation approaches. The deliberate choice of foreignisation strategy could reflect an asymmetry in the power relationship.

The other source in which foreignness can be detected is the use of new Hangül orthography designed by USIS Korea. In an editorial, the editor clearly showed how the new orthography worked. The reason they created a new orthographic system which could only be seen in *Wolgan Amerika* was to imitate as exactly as possible the American pronunciation of the words that were being translated. As can be seen in Table 8.7, the system focused on how to copy the sound of consonants which do not exist in the Korean Hangül system such as “r”, “f”, and “v” sounds.

In addition to the use of this new system of orthography, the editors or translators inserted specific codes for proper nouns, names and loan words so that readers who were unfamiliar with American culture and figures could easily understand the meaning of the words. An editor clarified in an editorial that overhead dots were added to indicate loan words, underlines to show they were proper nouns

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<sup>800</sup> Yilmaz-Gümüş “Translation of Culture Specific Items”, p. 120.

(names of places) and curved lines to suggest that the words were names. It is evident that those emphasised words were meant to act as indicators of new knowledge that would lead readers into learning about the cultures, people and developments of other nations, most importantly the US.

Of course, it is questionable how many Koreans could understand the pronunciation system and know how to pronounce them. It is also questionable how Koreans perceived the use of the codes. What is obvious is that the words written in accordance with the new system were likely to be words closely related to the source culture, and translators and/or editors accepted the “foreignising” system even though they perhaps knew that the system could hamper “readability,” which was one of their translation policies.

For the US, which saw educating and civilising Koreans as its duty, as was shown in the previous chapter, it was natural to impose a new orthography system and emphasise their language. Ashcroft et al. assert the power of language in subordinating people. According to them,

The control over language by the imperial centre... remains the most potent instrument of cultural control. Language provides the terms by which reality may be constituted; it provides the names by which the world may be “known.” Its system of values--its suppositions, its geography, its concept of history, of difference, its myriad gradations of distinction--becomes the system upon which social, economic and political discourses are grounded.<sup>801</sup>

Imposing language is imposing culture. Behind the imperialists’ attempt to control the language of minorities, there was their perception of the hierarchy of languages. Imperialists thought that some languages were not proper vehicles through which their own sophisticated philosophy, thinking and civilisation were to be expressed. Vicente Rafael shows that the Spanish occupiers of the Philippines thought that Tagalog was not a proper tool for expressing theological ideas.<sup>802</sup> Eric Cheyfitz explains that Americans’ perception of their racial superiority positioned English as

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<sup>801</sup> Ashcroft et al., *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, p. 261.

<sup>802</sup> Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*.

“the letter of law” among the native Indians and it redefined the ownership of land and hence consolidated Americans dominion over Indian territories. Not only that, he explains that Tarzan, a man who learned to read and write English, cannot communicate with apes because “English cannot translate into their impoverished tongue”,<sup>803</sup> and that fact endowed him with the right to dominate the apes. Of course, the “impoverished tongue” can be metaphorically interpreted as the language of inferior races.

The Korean language was regarded as “inferior” to English by the Americans. They thought that Korean Hangŭl was not a proper tool to describe American achievements<sup>804</sup> because the US government thought it had no “established grammar or spelling and lacked clarity of meaning”, had not developed along with “the industrial changes of the world,” and the Korean language was in “a primitive stage of development”.<sup>805</sup> The government also claimed that “by modern standards” the Korean language was not a proper medium for the transference of “democratic social concepts and technological development” due to its “different phraseology for different levels of social intercourses”.<sup>806</sup>

In this sense, the officers recommended the reformation of Korean including the standardisation of Korean orthography and the introduction of Western-style left-to-right writing instead of the traditional right-to-left and top-to-bottom style. They also argued that access to advanced “Western” knowledge depended on the acquisition of English. Hence, English language programmes needed to be provided so that Korean students could acquaint themselves with Western ideas and literature through English.<sup>807</sup>

Koreans including the chief editor of USIS accepted the new system. The reason might be that the editor internalised the linguistic hierarchy claimed by the US Yu argues that both Koreans and Americans thought imported lifestyles and imported cultural products could not be translated into Korean. Hence, they were usually transliterated. As symbols of modernisation, the strangeness, foreignness and

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<sup>803</sup> Cheyfitz, “Tarzan of the Apes”, p. 352.

<sup>804</sup> Memorandum: United States Information Service in Korea (15, June 1949), RG59, Central Decimal File, 250/49/24/3-4/E. 1360/Box 6; Kim K, “Migugŭi Taeoe Munhwajŏngch'aek,” p. 60.

<sup>805</sup> *South Korean Interim Government Activities*, July to August 1948, pp. 257-8.

<sup>806</sup> *Ibid*, p. 258.

<sup>807</sup> *Ibid*, p. 259.

newness that could be felt from these loan words differentiated “American modernity” from “Korean tradition”, and encouraged Koreans to disconnect themselves from the past. In this sense, the frequent use of the loan words reflected Koreans’ desire for what they had not accomplished and for what they thought they would not be able to accomplish.<sup>808</sup> It also mirrored Koreans’ desire to overcome their comparative backwardness<sup>809</sup> and to be more like them by mimicking the imperialists.<sup>810</sup>

#### 8.4.4.2 Selective appropriation

Considering the nature of the magazine, I can easily assume that if the TTs were manipulated, it was the direct descriptions of America and Americans were most likely to be affected by the manipulations. There are diverse articles which showed American acceptance of their world leadership, American sacrifice, and Americans’ endeavours to improve the overall living conditions of the world. Among them, descriptions of American benevolence, superiority and leadership are the topics that underwent the most significant manipulation.

### **Bigness of America and Hierarchy between Nations**

First of all, in “On Americans (美國人論)” and “the Strength (強韌性)”, the “bigness” of the America was emphasised.

1) ST: “**For the breadth** of the land” (American, p. 13)

TT: “이 나라가 **너무나** 廣大함으로” (美國人論, p. 30)

2) ST: “in a **populous** democracy” (Strength p. 5)

TT: “美國과 같이 **큰 나라**에서는.” (強韌性p. 7)

	ST	Appraisal	TT	Appraisal
1	For the breadth	America N/A	너무나 廣大	America +gradation +normality
2	Populous	+normality	큰	+gradation

<sup>808</sup> Yu SY, “Hwangaek Shingminji” pp. 113-115.

<sup>809</sup> Yu SY, “Taehanjeguk”, p. 83.

<sup>810</sup> Yu SY, “Hwangaek Shingminji,” p. 115.

				+normality
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In the first case, the breadth of the US was stressed by translating “breadth” into “so much” or “too” broad. In the second example, “populous” became “big.” In Korea at the time, the “largeness” of America was a symbol of American superiority and affluence. In many travelogues, the selected few Koreans who could travel to the US witnessed the largeness of the country that could be seen from large farms, bigger fruits and large buildings, and they were overwhelmed.<sup>811</sup> The largeness emphasised in the translated text led to the perception of the “sublimity” of every aspect of US society.<sup>812</sup>

With regard to the hierarchy between nations, the following translations are worth to note.

3) ST: ... the President’s National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems divided fifty-three nations, representing 85 per cent of the world population, into three groups—**developed, transitional, and underdeveloped**. (“Point Four” p. E5)

TT: ...트루만大統領의 國際金融 財政問題에 關한 諮問機關은 世界人口의 八十五%를 占한 五十三個國家를 **開명한 地域 過渡期에 있는 地域 未開地の 三地域으로 나누었다**. (未開地 pp. 14-15)

4) ST: “more than half the people of the world,” said Mr. Truman last January, “are living in conditions **approaching misery**. ... Their economic life is **primitive** and stagnant. Their poverty is a **handicap** and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas.” (Point Four p. E5)

TT: 트루만氏는 一月에 “世界人口의 半以上이 **悲慘한 狀態에서** 살고 있다. 그들의 經濟生活은 **原始的이며** 沈滯되고 있다 그들의 貧困은 그들 自身이나 더 富裕한 나라에 對한 **拘束**이며 威脅인 것이다. (未開地 p. 14)

<sup>811</sup> Chang SC, *Sangsang*, pp. 257-259.

<sup>812</sup> Ibid, p. 259.

5) ST: "...amidst **primitive** surrounding into..." (American p. 14)

TT: "이 **素朴한** 대륙의 환경에서는" (美國人論 p. 30.)

	ST	Appraisal	TT	Appraisal
3	developed underdeveloped	America +capacity -capacity	開명한 地域 未開地	The Third World +capacity -capacity
4	approaching misery	The Third World inscribed/ -happiness	悲慘한 狀態	The Third World inscribed/ -happiness, +gradation
4	Primitive	The Third world: -reaction	原始的	Third world -reaction
5	Primitive	The US: -capacity -reaction	素朴한	The US: +complexity

In example 3, the three groups which implied "economic" capacity were translated into "civilised", "transitional" and "uncivilised." These translations suggest the translators also internalised the hierarchy between the nations. Example 4 shows that "conditions approaching misery" was translated into the much worse, "miserable condition." In examples 4 and 5, the same word, "primitive", was translated. The only difference was that in example 4, the word was used to describe the underdeveloped countries while the one in 5 was to depict America. This word "primitive" which has a negative implication in terms of reaction (quality) was literally transferred in the first case, and so carried the same meaning. However, in example 5, the word was translated into "cosy". Though the excerpt of 5 described the sterile conditions of the early American settlement era and the readers could fully understand it and hence would not link the content to the contemporary developed America, the translator did not want to allow even the slightest possibility that America could be interpreted as a "weak country."

Americans' sacrifice and their contribution in diverse areas to improve the overall conditions of the world were also the focus of evaluation by the translators.

6) ST: "it has also **served** as into" (American p. 16)

TT: **큰 役割을** 하였던 것이다. (美國人論 II p. 21)

7) ST: combination of bookkeeping and ditch-digging. (Golden Rule p. 50)

TT: 1) 苦心慘憺한 研究와 實驗의 結晶으로 이루어진 것이다. (럭펠러, p. 63)

8) ST: So has the Foundation – people scattered throughout the world. (Golden Rule p. 60)

TT: 有益한 企劃을 選擇하기 위하여 財團은 全世界에 調査員을 派遣해 두었다. (럭펠러, p. 64)

9) ST: (The Rockefeller Sanitary Commission, organized to combat hookworm, found that of 548,992 children examined in this country, 39 per cent was infected. In some other countries, the incidence ran as high as 90 percent). **Thanks to the Sanitary Commission and its hardy offspring, the Rockefeller Foundation, this is history.** (Golden Rule p. 60)

TT: 衛生使節과 럭펠러 財團에 대하여 全世界는 감사하고 있다. (럭펠러, p. 64)

	ST	Appraisal	TT	Appraisal
6	served	America inscribed +propriety	큰 役割	America +gradation +capacity
7	bookkeeping and ditch-digging	America +tenacity	苦心慘憺한	America +tenacity, +propriety /+gradation
8	--	N/A	有益한 企劃을 選擇하기 위하여	Rockefeller Foundation: +propriety +valuation
9	Thanks to the Sanitary Commission and its hardy offspring, the Rockefeller Foundation, this is history	Sanitary Commission and Rockefeller Foundation: +capacity	衛生 使節과 럭펠러 財團에 對하여 全世界는 감사하고 있다	Sanitary Commission and Rockefeller Foundation: token/inscribed +capacity, +propriety +valuation

In example 6, the verb “served” was translated into “played a big role,” so that America’s ability to improve the world’s living conditions was intensified. Example

7 shows the tenacity of the US, “bookkeeping and ditch-digging,” was intensified with the addition of “苦心慘擔” which means “painstaking and caring”. The addition of this phrase suggests that Americans gave all of their heart and strength to improve the quality of the lives of the world’s people. Example 8 shows how the phrase, “to select helpful plan”, was added to suggest that their chosen projects had “positive value” and that the US was working to improve people’s living conditions. Example 9 was a radically different translation of the ST. With the addition of “the world gives thanks to the US” the good deeds of the US were intensified.

The following excerpts are from “Improvement of Wheat (品種改良)” which is about researchers who endeavoured to improve wheat species, and consequently succeeded in feeding the world.

10) ST: Mark Alfred Carleton’s curiosity led to 1) **discoveries** that 2) **have changed** history. (Grain Hunters, p. 54)

TT: 마-크 앨프렐 카-르튼(Mark Alfred Carleton)이라는 이 사람의 好奇心은 2) **드디어** **歷史를 변화시키고**만 1) **一大發見**을 가능케 하였다. (品種改良, p. 57)

11) ST: By itself, Carleton’s discovery of Kubanka, which gave birth to a new cereal industry, **should have been enough for any man.** (Grain Hunters, p. 57)

TT: 카-르튼의 쿠반카소맥의 發見은 누가 보드라도 **훌륭한 것**이다. (品種改良, p. 58)

12) ST: **A congressional cut in appropriations for agriculture experiments sent him back to his prairie farm.** (Grain Hunters, p. 57)

TT: (omitted)

	ST	Appraisal	TT	Appraisal
10	discoveries that have changed history	Carleton’s discovery: +capacity	드디어 歷史를 變化시키고만 一大發見	Carleton’s discovery: +capacity +gradation
11	should have been enough for any man	Carleton’s discovery: +capacity	누가 보드라도 훌륭한 것	Carleton’s discovery: +appreciation

				(reaction)/ +gradation
12	A congressional cut in appropriations for agriculture experiments sent him back to his prairie farm.	cut: -propriety	Omitted	N/A

In example 10), the word “discoveries” was translated into “the significant/big discovery” which “finally has changed history”. In example 11), the phrase, “enough for any man,” which described an American, Carleton’s ability was transformed to “brilliant to anyone’s eyes” and this emphasised his contribution resulting from his discovery. Example 12 shows that a government budget cut was deleted.

The following examples show how translators tried to frame positive narratives regarding American leadership and responsibility.

13) ST: they were **liberated by the Allies** (Farm help, p.19)

TT: 聯合軍의 德澤으로 釋放되어 (農家, p. 38)

14) ST: Probably **no other event in this list** of 10 is equal importance. (10 events p. B1)

TT: 美國이 世界的 指導 役割을 맡게 되었다는 이 事件이야말로 우에 열거한 諸事件 중 最大の 重要 事件이라 할 것이다. (十大事件, p. 46)

15) ST: The free peoples **see** in them the best hope of lasting peace. (10 events p. B1)

TT: 世界の 自由人民들은 永久한 平和에 대한 最大希望을 美國에 걸고 있다. (十大事件, P. 46)

16) (addition) 이 機構는 大韓政府와 密接한 連結을 가지고 活動하고 있다. (Point Four p. 16)

17) ST: Since the United Nations began, eight states have come into being as independent nations-**Burma, Ceylon, India, Israel, Jordan, Korea, Pakistan and**

**the Philippines.** (The U.N p. 50)

TT: UN이 한국, 버마, 세일론, 인디아, 이스라엘, 조-딘, 파키스탄, ㅎ필리핀 등 8개국을

독립국가로서 가입시키는데... (國際聯合, p. 5)

	ST	Appraisal	TT	Appraisal
13	liberated by Allies	Allies: +capacity Europe: -capacity	聯合軍의 德澤으로	Allies: +capacity +reaction +gradation
14	N/A	N/A	<u>美國이 世界的 指導 役割을 맡게 되었다는 이 事件</u> <u>이야말로</u> 우에 열거한 諸 事件 중 <u>最大의 重要 事件</u> 이라 할 것이다.	America Addition +capacity +graduation
15	See	N/A	最大 希望을 美國에 <u>걸고 있다</u>	People of the world: -tenacity US: +capacity
16	N/A	N/A	이 機構는 大韓政府와 密接한 連結을 가지고 活動하고 있다	addition US agency: +capacity +propriety
17	Burma, Ceylon, India, Israel, Jordan, Korea, Pakistan and the Philippines		한국, 버마, 세일론, 인디아, 이스라엘, 조-딘, 파키스탄, ㅎ필리핀 등 8개국	Change of order: US' attitude toward Korea: +propriety

In example 13, “liberated by” was translated into “liberated thanks to” and the translator placed more emphasis on the help of the Allies. In example 14, by repeating the fact that “America took a leading role in the world” and by linking the fact with the “ten events,” the translators aimed to stress the competency of America to lead in world politics. Example 15 shows how changing a verb could change the level of tenacity and capacity. “See” was translated into “depend,” and it created an image that world countries depended on America. In 16, a sentence that “America worked in close connection with Korea” was added and in 17, the order of the names of nations was changed. These last two examples show how the translators were in accordance with USIS policy that sought to “introduce Korean references in as many

articles as possible.”<sup>813</sup>

### Equality, the US value

Equality was a very important matter for USIS Korea. After liberation, the improper deeds of GIs in Korea created suspicions among Koreans about the American ideal of equality. USIS Korea felt it had to dispel these suspicions by not revealing serious racial conflicts in the US, and by promoting narratives of racial equality instead. The following are examples that show how translators aided USIS in framing the narratives.

18) ST: In an **atmosphere as hail-fellow-well-met as a Moose picnic**, the boss meets the help **on common ground**, father teams up with son and the expert meets the ordinary lug **on terms more nearly even** than in any other sport. (Bowling p. SM48)

TT: 極히 親熟한 雰圍氣 속에서 雇傭主는 그의 從業員들과 아무 差別없이 試合을 하고 아버지는 아이들과 같이 팀을 짜고 다른 어떤 競技보다도 公平한 條件으로 一般 아마추어들과 試合을 한다. (보울링, p. 73)

19) ST: for I was brought face to face with the **need for women capable of serving in that field**. Today, that need is **even greater**.” (Dorothy p. 10)

TT: 왜냐하면 여성도 政治에 關與할 必要가 있다는 것을 切實히 느꼈기 때문이다. 至今에 와서는 이러한 必要性은 나날히 增大되어 가고 있다. (女市長, p. 32)

20) ST: I feel **it is good for them to work** together in government (Dorothy p. 10)

TT: 男女가 다 같이 政府 機關에서 일해야 된다고 생각한다. (女市長 p. 33)

21) ST: **So rewarding are the results when emotional snarls are untangled** that large companies have added psychiatrists to their medical staffs, to **keep** normal

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<sup>813</sup> Boyce Report, p. 30.

people normal and on the job. (Sick, p. 11)

TT: 美國大産業會社에서는 精神病專門家を 그들의 醫療社員에 添加시켜 常態에 있는 사람들을 그대로 常態에 있도록 하며 職務를 繼續하도록 잘 지켜주게 했다. (精神療法, p. 64)

22) ST: “Of course he’s got to go,” I said. “Them Japanese” (Two Soldiers)

TT: “그럼 언닌 가야 해요. 그 일본 놈들이.....” (두 병사, p. 80)

	ST	Appraisal	TT	Appraisal
18	on common ground on terms more nearly even	Allies: +capacity Europe: -capacity	極히 親熟的한 雰圍氣 속에서 아무 差別 없이	Allies: +propriety +gradation
19	need for women capable of serving in that field. Today, that need is even greater.”	American society +valuation	<u>여성도 政治에 關與할 必要가 있다는 것을 切實히</u> 느꼈기 때문이다. 지금에 와서는 이러한 必要性은 <u>나날히 增大되어 가고 있다</u>	American society: +gradation +valuation +reaction
20	<u>it is good for them to work</u> together in government	American +reaction (quality)	男女가 다 같이 政府機關에서 <u>일해야 된다고</u> 생각한다.	American +gradation +reaction
21	to <u>keep</u> normal people normal and on the job	American society +propriety	職務를 繼續하도록 <u>잘 지켜주게 했다</u>	American society +gradation +propriety

Example 18 is a clear example of gradation. Words meaning “extreme” and “no” were added to “friendly atmosphere” and “discrimination” respectively. This strategy of gradation intensified the equality between the diverse classes in the US. Example 19 has several points to note. First, as a condition that women can work in public sphere, the word “capable”, was deleted in the TT. “Is even greater” was translated into “is getting greater.” This broadened the opportunity for women to get involved in public sphere. In example 20, “is good for” was translated into “must”,

which showed the change in terms of gradation. It implied that workplace equality had to be maintained even if worker(s) have some mental difficulties. In example 21, “keep” was graded up to “keeps well”.

Example 22 is an instance of pronoun translation. In this text, the pronoun “he” which meant the older “brother” of the narrator was translated into older “sister.” In the ST, the sibling of the narrator who prepared to go to battlefield was obviously a “male,” because his name was “Pete” and he was indicated with the pronoun “he”. It is very unlikely that the translator confused “he” with “she” because the general quality of the translation is good, because his father’s farewell “Good-bye, son” was translated into “Good-bye”, and because “my brother’s there” was translated into “my sister’s there”. This means the translator deliberately changed the gender of the narrator’s sibling. It is not easy to guess the rationale behind the choice, but I assume that his choice could be used to strengthen their narrative of the involvement of women in social roles.

### US Superiority

American high-end technology was another aspect of America where conscious or unconscious manipulations were generated.

23) ST: It gave mankind the most **destructive** weapon **in its arsenal of mass-slaying missiles** and **unchained a natural force which promises to transform civilian life as well.** (10 events p. B1)

TT: 그는 人類에게 가장 強力한 武器를 提供하는 同時에 人間生活에 利用할 수 있는 힘을 節約하는 것이다. (十大事件 p. 45-6)

24) ST: the need for **this type of facility**, however, is urgent. (Microwave p. 106)

TT: 이러한 文明의 利器에 대한 必要性은 莫大한 것이며 (超短波 p. 69)

25) ST: the **advances in microwave** technique in the last few years have made. (Microwave p. 108)

TT: 그러나 최근 數年間 超短波에 關한 技術은 크게 進歩되었기 때문에 (超短波 p. 69)

	ST	Appraisal	TT	Appraisal
23	a) most destructive b) in its arsenal of mass-slaying missiles c) unchained a natural force which promises to transform civilian life as well	a) atomic bomb: -security b) inscribed/ -security c)inscribed/	a) 가장 強力한 b) omitted c) 人間生活에 利用할 수 있는 힘을 節約하는 것이다	a) atomic bomb: +capacity b) omitted c) atomic power: inscribed/ +valuation
24	this type of facility	Facility N/A	文明의 利器	facility +reaction (impact)
25	advances in microwave	US technology inscribed/ +capacity	크게 進歩되었기 때문에	US techonology +gradation +capacity

Example 23 is one of the clearest examples of how USIS tried to alleviate the terror Koreans experienced from the fallout of nuclear bombs in Japan, which killed many Koreans as well as Japanese. In this example, the phrase that described insecurity, “the most destructive weapon in its arsenal of mass-slaying missiles” turned into a phrase which implied the more positive military “capacity” of the US, “the strongest.” Example 24 shows that a neutral phrase in terms of evaluation, “this type of facility” was changed into a more positive phrase “modern conveniences.” In example 25, the addition of “greatly” further emphasises the capacity of the new technique.

### Democracy vs Communism

A comparison between US style democracy and communism was frequently seen in the magazine. In example 26, a word of positive capacity, “powerful”, was omitted, and “uncompromising” turned into the more negative “untrustworthy”. In example 27) and 28), the phrases changed into phrases which ascribe negative propriety.

26) ST: But all this is offset by one difficulty which the League never had to face- the existence of an **uncompromising bloc led by a powerful Soviet Russia** (UN and League p. 37)

TT: 그러나 이들 모든 것이 不信할 쏘聯陣營 때문에 (國際聯合과 國際聯盟, p. 33)

27) ST: In authoritarian states power is **ultimately vested in one or more individuals**, while a large proportion of the people have no effective share of power. (Confucius)

TT: 獨裁主義國家에서는 權力을 窮極에 있어서 一人 또는 小數의 個人의 手中에 **集中되어 있는데** 반하여 人民의 大部分은 實際的 權力이라고는 **하나도 없는 것이다.** (孔子論 p. 6)

28) ST: Under authoritarian government the end is commonly conceived to be "the good of the state," **which may sacrifice to itself the welfare of a great many of its citizens.** (Confucius)

TT: 獨裁主義 政府에 있어서는 그 目標은 一般的으로 '國家의 利益'에 있다고 생각하며 大多數의 國民의 福祉는 **國家를 爲해서는 犧牲되여도 좋다고** 생각하는 것이다. (孔子論 P. 6)

	ST	Appraisal	TT	Appraisal
26	<b><u>uncompromising</u></b> bloc led by a <b><u>powerful</u></b> Soviet Russia	a) bloc: tenacity b) +capacity	<b><u>不信할</u></b> 쏘聯陣營 때문에	a) -veracity b) omitted
27	ultimately <b><u>vested</u></b> in one or more individuals		<b><u>集中되어</u></b> 있는데	token power of country: -propriety
28	which <b><u>may</u></b> sacrifice to itself the welfare of a great many of its citizens	individual freedom: -propriety/ heterogloss	國家를      爲해서는 犧牲되여도 <b><u>좋다고</u></b>	individual freedom: -propriety/ Monogloss

## Conclusion

In this chapter, I studied the manipulations of translation which occurred at every level of the TTs in *Wolgan Amerika*, even though, in many cases, the STs were already full of ideological narratives. The two main strategies used by the translators were explicitation and political and deliberate appropriation. Explicitation through

addition or omission can be seen in the translations of titles and culture-specific items. This seems to be a deliberate choice to “attract” readers to the articles and encourage them to become immersed in the content of articles more easily.

Translators made the storylines of articles clearer by omitting certain chapters or paragraphs. Since each issue of the magazine usually had seventy to eighty pages and they must have tried to include as many aspects about America as possible, streamlining the storylines of the text was a sensible choice for the editors. With this choice, they could publish the parts of STs which had the narratives they wanted to disseminate.

Secondly, political manipulations can be seen in the titles, visuals materials and micro-level translations. Those manipulations were designed to disseminate pro-American narratives such as “American bigness”, “American benevolence/America as a world leader”, “superiority of US technology and political system” and anti-communism. As discussed in the previous chapter, these narratives not only mirrored those embedded in the articles of *Wolgan Amerika*, but also mirrored narratives promoted by the US.

An interesting fact in the ideological translation strategy is that translators preferred conservation strategy over substitution strategy when translating Culture-Specific Items (CSIs). They also transliterated common words for which equivalents could easily be found in the Korean language. In addition, the USIS translators used their own Korean orthography system which could not be seen in any other magazines published in Korea at the time.

These kinds of translational decisions were to be expected since the translating institution itself and the objective of the institution were ideological. It is important to note that the translators collaborated closely with USIS Korea. Of course, economic elements, one of three constraints of “patronage” could be the reason for their collaboration since many intellectuals or writers confessed they had to translate to make their living.<sup>814</sup> However, the fact that the translators working for USIS were mostly pro-American suggests that the ideology of the editor(s) and translators is likely to have been one of the main driving forces for the collaboration. For Koreans who internalised their backwardness, the US which was assumed to have reached the

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<sup>814</sup> Anonymous, “Munin Saenghwal Byŏlgyŏn'gi”, *Minsŏng*, June 1949.

pinnacle of civilisation and modernity was a model they had to “desire” and “mimic”. Therefore, the translations of *Wolgan Amerika* could not be done only by one-way directives from USIS. Rather, the commissioner of the translations (editor) and the translators who were loyal to the patron collaborated to make an ideologically loaded magazine, and their collaboration was closely related to their desire to modernise and develop their new country following their idealised role model, the US.

For the US itself, translations were useful means of improving their image. The direct intervention of the officers of the Department of State aimed to “win the hearts and minds” of the Korean people. That is why they focused on American greatness in terms of culture, politics and technology. “Gaining hearts and minds” through soft power meant gaining hegemony, through which they aimed to disseminate and consolidate “democracy” in South Korea and to make South Korea a “communism-free” nation.

## Conclusion

This thesis has shown how the South Korean and US governments attempted to infiltrate the South Korean cultural sphere to gain ideological hegemony in the early Cold War period, using translation as a tool. In the history chapters, I have explained how this ideological project was initiated both by the ROK government to consolidate its regime in the midst of political turmoil, and by the US government in order to implant democracy as a means of preventing communist expansion in the midst of emerging Cold War tensions with the Soviet Union.

In the translation analysis chapters, I have used appraisal theory to examine whether the original writer's evaluation embedded in the source texts was transferred exactly to the target texts or not. If source texts were differently evaluated in the translations made by Korean translators, I examined, based on socio-narrative theory, how the changes contributed to the framing of ideological narratives in the target texts. I have found that the translating institutions, the government-controlled press and USIS Korea, framed the narratives in the translations differently from those in the source texts, and the newly framed narratives echoed the narratives developed by the two governments.

In the historical chapters - 2, 3, 6 and 7 - I tried to address two of the research questions outlined in the Introduction: the nature of the narratives promoted by the ROK and the US governments and the reasons they developed those narratives. I suggested in Chapter 2 that the Rhee government tried to promote anti-communist narratives. Through speeches and newspaper and magazine articles, the government labelled both the rebels who joined the Yōsu and Sunchōn Revolts and the political rivals of president Rhee as “destructive and subversive Reds” who supported the “unlawful and puppet” DPRK and its sponsor, the “imperialistic and unethical” Soviet Union to subvert the “lawful” South Korean regime. These narratives were further strengthened when the government was faced with a series of political challenges in 1949.

In the case of the United States, the government promoted pro-American narratives all over the world, not just in South Korea. Through government policy documents and speeches made by key decision makers, the government positioned the US as a world leader who assumed the responsibility of saving the people of the

world from “unethical and imperialistic” communism and from poverty. The government also tried to explain that Americans were superior to the other peoples in terms of political and economic systems.

The motivation behind the narrative framing developed by the ROK government was the instability of the Rhee regime, which was faced with a series of revolts as well as political challenges from progressive members of the national assembly. The Yösun Revolt were deemed a great menace to the survival of the Rhee regime which had been on shaky foundations due to its lack of legitimacy. Progressive assembly members’ activities such as the organisation of the Special Investigative Committee on Anti-National Activities also posed a great threat to the regime since it was itself supported by pro-Japanese collaborators.

The Yösun Revolt led to the appearance of anti-communist policies and the labelling of many Koreans as “Reds”. The narratives developed at this time aimed to dehumanise communists and leftists, to instigate fear among Koreans about the existence of “subversive” communists in Korean society and then to bring them together to fight against communism. This also became a good excuse to use draconian anti-communist measures against many who were not actually communists, including progressive politicians and political opponents of Rhee Syngman. The political events following the Yösun Revolts, such as the legislation of the National Security Law and the attack on the Special Committee, showed how successful the government had been in labelling Rhee’s political opponents as “communists” and how anti-communist narratives were used to persecute people purported to be “communists” or “Reds”.

The policies and the labeling strategy were applied not only to the revolts and the consequent political events, but also to the press and cultural spheres in South Korea. Anti-communists and Rhee supporters purged and then took over some newspaper companies, including the Seoul Shinmun. They then attempted to use the publications of the Seoul Shinmun company to disseminate anti-communist narratives and control Koreans’ opinions. In this sense, when the South Korean government used draconian measures against its own citizens, it was not just to protect Koreans from subversive communist ideas but also, by eliminating both leftists and Rhee’s political opponents, to consolidate the “democratic” nation and

the Rhee regime. However, as shown in the section on Rhee's Ilminjuŭi political ideology, this regime was actually far from democratic.

The US government promoted pro-American narratives to stop Soviet communist expansion. After the Second World War, the new world hegemon put in place policies of "containment" and "rollback". As discussed in Chapter 6, it was important for the US to secure European markets against communist influence in order to maintain its political, military and economic hegemony. In East Asia, as shown in Chapter 7, the US hoped to maintain its influence and prevent communist expansion in order not to lose face in world politics, and to prevent nearby countries from becoming communist. The US hoped to maintain its influence on the Korean peninsula to prevent communist expansion into Japan and Pacific Areas. This policy ultimately aimed to protect the US itself and to maintain its overseas markets and natural resources.

In the translation chapters -4, 5, and 8- I examined whether the dominant political narratives were reflected in the target texts and how this was achieved. I showed that the two magazines, *Shinchunji* and *Wolgan Amerika*, which were under the direct influence of the South Korean and the US governments respectively, reflected the government policies in their translations and manipulated the texts to frame the dominant narratives faithfully in the translations. The translators employed by these magazines used two main strategies: explicitation and selective political appropriation.

The translators of *Shinchunji* usually employed an explicitation strategy, especially process explicitation, aimed at inducing their readers' acceptance of articles that contained ideological narratives.

Through selective and political appropriation, the translators of the magazine promoted anti-communist/anti-Soviet narratives, pro-America/UN narratives, and pro-democracy narratives. The translator's evaluation of the Soviet Union and communists became much more negative than the ST authors', while conversely, their evaluation of democracy, the US and the UN was much more positive. This led to the formation of more negative narratives on the Soviet Union and communism and more positive narratives on the US and democracy.

The *Shinchunji* translators depicted the Soviet Union as a ruthless, subversive and imperialistic nation that was good at suppressing people and as a nation that

caused poverty and miserable living conditions. These anti-communist narratives echoed the narratives of the South Korean government that targeted political opponents and rivals as 'Reds'.

The reinforced pro-American narratives also mirrored the attitude of the Rhee government. After Korea's division, the ROK was in the democratic bloc led by the US. Therefore, the image of the US was directly related to the legitimacy of the ROK's own political system. South Koreans were still suspicious that it was the US who had caused the division of the peninsula. In 1948, the UN, backed by the US, recognised the ROK government as the only lawful government in the Korean peninsula. To some extent then, the legitimacy of the ROK government depended on the image of the US.

The pro-democracy narratives can be explained in this respect too. What differentiated the Rhee regime from the Soviet-backed North Korea was that the government was aimed at liberal democracy. The denunciation of communism and romanticisation of democracy were therefore necessary both to remove political opponents who purported to oppose the "democratic" government from the political sphere and to legitimate the Rhee regime that was born in the face of harsh opposition from Koreans who feared the permanent division of the nation.

Narratives that described the UN positively were also important. After the establishment of his government, President Rhee attempted to organise an Asian equivalent of the North Atlantic Treaty, the Pacific Pact, as a means of preventing communist expansion. The UN was also the symbol of world government and the translators of *Shinchunji* can be shown to have supported this internationalism through their narratives.

In short, the narratives promoted by these deliberate manipulations, served to promote anti-communist and pro-democracy narratives. As discussed, the promotion of these narratives arose not just from a fear of the threat posed by North Korea and its supporter, the Soviet Union. The more fundamental reason was to intensify the polarisation between the leftists and rightists in South Korea. This polarisation empowered the Rhee regime to purge its leftist or progressive political rivals and justified a series of draconian measures specifically designed to suppress those who objected to the policies of the regime. In addition, the narratives framed in the

translations contributed to intensifying the dehumanisation of Rhee's political opponents.

Translations in the USIS-published magazine *Wolgan Amerika* served to spread “American supremacy” narratives, “pro-democracy” narratives, and narratives promoting the US as a “nation of equality” alongside anti-communist narratives. These narratives were framed through manipulations detected at all levels of translation from the selection of ideologically-biased source texts, the purposeful selection and insertion of visuals/illustrations, to selective appropriation at the micro-level.

To frame American supremacy narratives, the translators evaluated American civilisation more positively. They described America as a “civilised” nation while the Third World nations were depicted as “uncivilised”. Their evaluation of the development of American science and technology was more positive than that in the STs, and the development was described as being used for the “peace of the world”. These narratives reflected the American belief in Manifest Destiny and the belief that they were given a responsibility to “help” others in need. This narrative could be used to justify the US intervention in other nations in the name of “humanitarian aid” and to motivate and attract the people of the world to imitate the US if they wanted to develop their own nations.

The pro-democracy narrative aimed to solidify the South Korean democratic system and hence to prevent the expansion of Soviet communism. This narrative exactly reflected general US foreign policies as well as the US policy toward the ROK, which ultimately led to the consolidation of American hegemony.

The nation of equality narrative could be used to reduce Koreans' disappointment about Americans' internalised superiority and their tendency to discriminate between races. In fact, the problem of equality could raise questions about how genuine US democracy actually was. It could also raise doubts about the real reason that the US provided help to other nations. As discussed in Chapter 7, the US military officers made it clear that the Military Government needed to dispel Koreans' suspicions concerning inequality in the US. This meant that an improvement of America's image was integral to efforts to maintain US hegemony in the South Korea.

This thesis has shown that even the governments engaged in the translation

process to different extents. As discussed in the Institutional Translation section, the translators could not deviate from the policies of the institutions they belonged to, and the two governments showed that they, directly or indirectly, set the policies of the translating institutions.

The ROK government indirectly engaged in the process of narrative dissemination through translations, as discussed in Chapter 5. The government actively purged the press organisations, especially the Seoul Shinmun company, and the government then appointed key staff as well as executives to the newspaper. The reorganisation of the press had a decisive effect not only on the composition of its personnel but also on the ideological orientation of the press and its magazine *Shinchunji*. Naturally, the newly appointed editorial personnel selected translators who were aligned with anti-communism and it was not easy for them to ignore the policies of the government. In short, the anti-communist government policies influenced the nature of the translations in the magazine.

The US government got involved in the dissemination of its narratives more directly. They opened USIS Korea, one of the overseas posts of the State Department, and the translations were produced within this institution. As discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, USIS was a tool of US foreign policy that operated cultural programmes in many countries to “educate” the “uncivilised” about the development the US had achieved and about democracy. The institutional translators therefore needed to tailor their translations to the needs of the US government and the institution. Furthermore, the State Department set the direction for the magazine by selecting articles and photos and by setting translation guidelines and even new orthography systems. Even if the editor(s) had the right to edit the magazine, the freedom of the editor(s) was limited to what was allowed by the State Department. In this sense, the intervention of the US was much more direct than that of the Korean government.

To what extent, then, did the translators collaborate with governments to frame the narratives and for what reason? It is not easy to guess the reason for the translators’ collaboration because not much is known about them. However, as discussed above, in the case of *Shinchunji*, they were very likely people who were in line with the anti-communist editors who had devoted themselves to purging communists. In short, their engagement in the promotion of the government narratives was derived from their desire to eliminate leftists, and this desire led to the comprehensive

manipulation of translations. The fact that translations in the magazine in the pre-1949 period promoted totally different narratives proves the directness and intentionality of the translators' intervention.

The collaboration of the Korean staff of *Wolgan Amerika* can be explained as their perception of their comparative inferiority. Interestingly, the August 1949 issue of the magazine celebrated the "first" anniversary of Korean independence. Of course, Korea was liberated in 1945, and officially the government as well as other magazines celebrated the day that year as the "fourth" anniversary. That means the editor(s) considered USAMGIK as the occupier or coloniser. As Frantz Fanon said in his work *Black Skin, White Masks*, the intelligent Korean staff might have desired to be more like the coloniser by mimicking rather than resisting the powers, which could be the reason they collaborated with the government in promoting its narratives.

Although the two magazines developed sometimes different or sometimes overlapping narratives for the sake of their own interests, the common aim of the narratives they promoted was to make South Korea as a nation free from communism. However, it is not easy to measure how much the two magazines and their dominant narratives contributed to the formation of a South Korean national ideology. The two magazines were ranked the first and the second or third respectively in terms of circulation. Koreans circulated the magazines among their friends, neighbours and colleagues and this meant that more people than the actual subscribers read the magazines.

The main target readers were intellectuals or students who could read both Hangŭl and classical Chinese, and they were also the main actors in the building of the new nation. As the socio-narrative approach explains, if we assume that educated people construct their world view based on the narratives they are exposed to, the world view of these Korean intellectuals would have influenced, even if to a limited extent, the formation of a national ideology.

The influence of the anti-communist and pro-American ideology that had been formed in this period is still ongoing even today. Before the democratisation of Korea, the military regimes used anti-communist ideology to suppress the voices of political opponents of the presidents or the democratisation movement activists. People's

Revolutionary Party Incident<sup>815</sup> that happened in the period of the Pak Chŏnghŭi regime and the “Reds” charges on the participants of Kwangju Democratisation Movement are representative examples that show how the activist politicians and intellectuals who opposed the government had to be repressed, tortured and even suffered to death under the false charge of collaborating with North Korea. Even after the democratisation of the society, conservative parties and politicians as well as the supporters of them labelled progressive ones as “Reds” or “pro-North” Koreans whose aims are to subvert South Korean regime.

Pro-American narratives are also used in a similar way. Combined with anti-communist narratives, the pro-American narratives used to label people who seek a way to make South Korea a nation free from all the influence of the other nations including the US as “Reds”. As the narratives imply, the US was and is considered to be a “saviour” who helped the Koreans during the Korean War and who is keeping peace in the Korean peninsula with its military forces. Therefore, people who support self-reliant national defence capability are usually labelled as the collaborators of North Korea.

Like this, national ideologies framed in the early phase of the Rhee regime still exerts their powerful influence on the Koreans and the politics. In addition, the ideologies are used also to deteriorate the ideological division between South Koreans for the sake of the interests of political leaders.

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<sup>815</sup> A Party that was claimed by the government to be a subversive underground group which planned to establish a new government dominated by labourers and farmers.

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*The Chosun Ilbo*

*The Dong-a Ilbo*

*The Kyunghyang Shinmoon*

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[https://ko.wikisource.org/wiki/%EB%8C%80%ED%95%9C%EB%AF%BC%EA%B5%AD\\_%EA%B5%AD%EA%B0%80%EB%B3%B4%EC%95%88%EB%B2%95\\_\(1948%EB%85%84\)](https://ko.wikisource.org/wiki/%EB%8C%80%ED%95%9C%EB%AF%BC%EA%B5%AD_%EA%B5%AD%EA%B0%80%EB%B3%B4%EC%95%88%EB%B2%95_(1948%EB%85%84))

accessed 13 September 2017.

NSC 4-A Coordination of Foreign Information Measures,

<http://fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsc-hst/nsc-t.htm> accessed 13 September 2017.

Oral History Interview with Richard D. Weigle:

<http://trumanlibrary.org/oralhist/weigle.htm> accessed 13 September 2017.

Postdam Declaration

[www.atomicarchive.com/Docs/Hiroshima/Potsdam.shtml](http://www.atomicarchive.com/Docs/Hiroshima/Potsdam.shtml). Accessed 13 September 2017.

United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948,

<http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/177574.pdf> accessed 13 September 2017.

## Appendix 1

### Stories Told II: Narratives Reflected in National Policies and the Press

	Text
	일민주의와 민족 운동
1	러시아혁명이 성공된 후에는 공산당이 정권을 잡고있어서 농민에게 땅을 주고 인민에게 밥을 준다는 것은 다 잊어버리고 공산당 세력만을 확대시키기로 작정하고 병력을 강화하여 세계를 정복할 주의를 가지고...모든 나라의 민심을 선동하여 계급투쟁을 불이게 한 것입니다.
2	그러나 그 내용을 보면 러시아의 민중같이 빈곤하고 압박받는 인민은 더 없을 것이니
3	거짓선전에 빠져서 남의 부속품인 노예가 되거나 공산당과 싸워서 민주국의 자유복락을 누리게 되거나 이 두 가지 중 한 가지를 택해야만 될 것이니
	대통령 정부수립 1주년 기념사
4	작년 10월에는 여수, 순천 등지에서 반란분자들이 폭동을 일으킨 것을 즉시 토벌했으며, 지리산으로 달아난 자들도 다 소탕시켜서 민중을 선동하고 난리를 일으켜 정부에 항거하려던 계획이 다실패하였고, 38선을 넘어서 계속적으로 이남을 침범하려던 반동분자들이 소련과 중국 공산분자들의 많은 도움과 격려를 받아서 민국을 침범하려는 시험도 다 격퇴하였던 것입니다.
5	세계 어디를 물론하고 이와 같이 장애 없는 선거권과 이와 같이 대표권을 공개적으로 누리게한 나라는 몇이 아니되는 터입니다.
6	우리가 건설하는 이 사회는 안에서 자유요 밖으로도 자유만 될 것입니다.
7	공산당의 음성은 남을 속이는 음성입니다.
8	이것을 곧이 듣고 속는 사람은 노예를 감수하는 것입니다. ...공산당 되는 값으로는 사실상 노예의 지위 뿐입니다. ...몇 사람의 독재로 내려오는 명령에 속박을 받을 것입니다. ...
9	저희들이 무정부주의와 혼돈 상태를 양성해서 모든 인류 사회를 파괴한 후에 ...
10	우리 민국정부가 유엔총회의 대다수 표결로 한국의 1) 유일한 법리적 정부로 인정을 받게 된 것입니다.
	국무총리, 여순사건 1주년과 관련해 담화를 발표
11	건국된 지 오래지 않은 불과 24개월여에 공산당의 악랄한 음모와 실의 정객들의 집권욕이 배합되어 확립되어가는 국초를 파괴하고자 우리 민족사상 공전절 후의 참변이며 또 영원히 씻지 못할4) 잔인악독한 여순사변을 야기시킨 것이니...
	공산 괴계와 세계반공 대책
12	UN 총회에 소련 대표로 참석하여 강철판보다도 더 두터운 철면피의 파렴치한 심사로 모-든평화해결에 대한 거부권 사용과 민주 제국에 대한 배전적인 모략과 중상으로 질서를 혼란케 하든 "비신스키—" 소련외상은...

13	공산염병을 세계에 퍼트려 세계 인류로 하여금 혼란과 살상과 부자유와 파멸에 직면케 하려고 고집하였던 것이다.
	한국의 국제상 처지와 그 임무
14	연합국은 미국으로부터 많은 물질과 국기를 공제받아서 일구사오년에 드디어 전체주의 국가군을 굴복시키고야 말았다.
15	우리 대한민국은 이 새 침략자에 의해서 반해방 밖에 못하고 국토의 북반을 침략당하고 있어

## Appendix 2

### Narratives from Articles Written by Korean Writers

	Text
	나는 이러한 정부를 원한다
1	... 外國干涉이 ... “美國도 蘇聯도 包含한 外國”으로 믿는 者이다. 그러므로 將次 우리는 世界 어느 나라에게서도 干涉을 아니 받는 나라이어야 하며
2	우리는 搾取 없는 나라를 세워야 한다. 이 搾取 없는 나라는 佃人民이 다같이 勤勞하는 나라를 意味하는 것이며 남의 膏血에 依하여 살찌는 特殊階級の 一掃를 말하는 것이다.
	새 自由主義의 理念
3	모든 個人的 “人間解放”이라는 것도 實際에 있어서 勤勞人民을 그대로 奴隸의 地位에 放置한 것이다. 함에도 不拘하고 이 自由를 獨占한 特權階級은 自己들의 自由가 곧 國家와 人民의 自由라고 主張하고 있다.
4	그 結果 資本主義가 經濟獨裁인 同時에 共產主義가 政治獨裁라는 것을 把握하였다. 雙方이 다 民主的인 一面이 있는 同時에 非民主的獨裁가 있는 것을 본다.
	미소대표에 보내는 말, 채의식
5	具體的으로 指摘하면 우리는 黑巖 같은 一意獨裁의 蘇聯的 民主方式도 願치 않거니와 各色 좋은 資本獨裁의 美國的 民主方式도 願치 않는 것입니다.
	UN과 조선독립
6	事實 이들에게는 이렇게 서로 어긋나는 各自의 國利國策이 있었고 이것은 오늘 우리의 不幸과 悲劇의 씨가 된 것으로서 (...) “兩大國이 이 나라 獨立을 完成시킨다는 名目으로 드러가서 各各 自己利益關係로 因하여 對立하고 있어 (...) 獨立을 如前히 멀게 만들었다.
7	美國은 朝鮮을 美擴張政策의 對象으로 變形하려 하고 있다. 그러나 朝鮮人들은 美國의 奴隸되기를 原치 않으며 自由獨立을 原하고 있다.
	UN조선위원단에 여함
8	北朝鮮의 共產主義者들은 三八線의 說定을 千載一遇의 好機會로 하여 北朝鮮에 共產政權을 確保하고 이로써 南朝鮮赤化의 기지를 삼는 同時에 中央軍의 滿洲進出에 對한 기지를 삼으라 하는 것입니다.
	아메리카 특집: 아메리카의 文化
9	現在의 아메리카는 낡은 時節의 양그로. 색손이나 現在의 英國文化와는 確然히 區別되며 同時에 獨逸이나 伊太利나 佛蘭西와도 區別되는 所위 “아메리카 文化”를 가지고 있는 것이다. ... 高道로 發達한 資本主義 文化가 아메리카 文化인 것이다.
10	그럼에도 불구하고 阿弗利가는 지금 우리가 보는 바와 같이 아직도 그 모양이며 濠洲라해도 美國과는 判異하게 高度로 發達된 工業文化가 아니라 牧畜이나 農事에 依存하고 있는  뒤떠러진 狀態에 노여 있지를 않은가? ... 阿弗利加에는 金과 그리고는

	動力이라고는 肉體를 가진 原始的인 機械 卽 黑人 박게는 없었다.
11	일즉이 人類가 볼 수 없든 偉大한 開花를 보게되었을 따름이다.
	소련특집: 卍聯民族政策의 基調
12	...저 原始的 生活에 ??하는 未開民族부터 世界先進民族인 大로시아人에 이르기까지 廣範히 포함하고 있으니...
13	露西亞共産黨이 이 民族問題에 있어서 또한 가장 맑스主義의  옳은 發展을 거두은 것은 크나큰 人類의 幸福이라 아니할 수 없다.
14	이 點에 對해서 卍聯은 過重한만치 纖細한 주의와 施策을 게을리하고 있지 않다는 것은 여러 角度로 實證되고 있다

### Appendix 3

Comparison of Titles Translations in *Shinchunji* in the pre-1949 period

ST Titles	TT titles
<p><i>Song of Ariran</i> The life story of a Korean rebel</p> <p>&lt;Chapter title&gt; Terrorist Supreme Kim Yak-san and Wu Seng-nun</p>	<p>아리랑 (조선인반항자의일대기) 외국어로 발표된 조선인의 저서!</p> <p>金若山과 吳生nun(?)</p>
<p><i>The Big Four</i></p>	<p>探偵小説 國際殺人團 세계를 顛覆하려는 四巨頭의 陰謀</p>
<p>Book Title <i>The Pattern of Soviet Power</i> &lt;Chapter Titles&gt; Peace but not Communism The Pole Apart Improbable Appearance</p>	<p>東歐羅巴 紀行</p> <p>평화를</p> <p>波蘭亡命政府의 沒落 밋지 못할 事實</p>
<p>One World</p>	<p>하나의 세계</p>
<p>America</p>	<p>아메리카 기행</p>
<p>Why We Don't Understand Russia</p>	<p>蘇聯을 理解하지 못하는 理由</p>
<p>The Message of Gandhi</p>	<p>간디의 유훈</p>
<p>No Rest for the Weary Russians</p>	<p>피로한 노서아인에게 휴식은 없다</p>
<p>Has Britain Won Back India?</p>	<p>인도는 아직도 영국 지배 하에 있는가</p>

## Appendix 4

### Prefaces of Serialised Translations in *Shinchunji* in the pre-1949 period

<i>Song of Ariran</i>
그러나 이 책이 주는 감격과 정열은 애국가를 부를 때의 그것보다 더한 현실감과 ... 나의 피를 끓게 하였던 것이다. 나는 나의 기교의 부족함을 무릎쓰고 이 일을 마튼 것이다.
<i>The Pattern of Soviet Power</i>
이 글은 米國의 著名한 批評家 에드가-스노-氏의 最近作 (The Pattern of Soviet Power) “蘇聯型의 威力”을 抄譯한 것이다.
No Rest for the Weary Russians
이글은 본지 작년 십일월 호에 실린 “쏘베드여행기”의 번역으로 “하퍼스 매거진” 1946년 구월호 “피로한 러시아 人에게 休息 없다”를 번역한 것이다. 惑은 讀者따라 意見이 區區할 줄 아나 譯者는 亦是 一讀의 價値가 있다고 생각하고...
America
쏘베에트의 푸로레타리아 文學에 또 하나의 새로운 異彩를 加하게 되었다. (...)最高峯을  거러가는 作家의 한 사람이다.
Why we don't Understand Russia
N/A
One world
(One World)가 어떠한 冊이라는 것은 이미 아시는 讀者도  계시겠지만(...) 當時 美國은 勿論, 全世界에 크다란 關心을 이르킨 有名한 것이다. (...) 여기에 실린 “우리의 同盟-蘇聯”은 그 中 蘇聯에 關한 極히 一部分인데 時期에 適合하지 않은가 하는 것과 比較的 一般的인 興味가 있어서 譯한 것이다.
The Big Four
N/A
Has Britain Won Back India?
이 기사는 새터디 이브닝 포스트 사월초구호에 개재된 것을 번역한 것으로 원제목은 Has Britain Won Back India?이다.

## Appendix 5

### Narratives of Korean Writers in *Shinchunji* in the post-1949

	Text
	남북통일의 전망
1	三八以北에는 蘇聯을 模倣한 勞農소베트 政權 “朝鮮人民共和國”이라는 한 개 勸力集團이 생겼다. 이 集團은... 政治形態를 푸로레타리아 獨裁로 하고 經濟를 共產化하며
2	普選의 結果가 無産階級の 量及質의 優勢로써 自然的으로 프로레타리아 獨裁가 되고 말 것을 의미하였고 그 過渡的 國家形態는 事物의 管理에 注力함으로써 生産力의 發達을 極力推進하는 同時에 自體의 死滅을 準備하다는 데에 不過한 것이나
3	...解放以來 急進共產派가 부르짖는 南北統一은 그 方法에 있어서 蘇聯을 背景으로 한 世界共產革命의 一環으로서의 南北統一을 企圖하는 것으로써 그들은 第一方法을 暴動乃至武力에 置重하여 (...) 가진 破壞行爲와 殺人, 放火를 恣行하고 있으며
4	도리히 傀儡政權인 所謂 “人共國”을 組織함에 民族陣營 一部가 協調한 듯한 그들의 宣傳材料만을 提供하였다.
	統一獨立戰線의 一年回顧와 展望
5	이리하여 蘇聯은 獨自的으로 以北傀儡政權을 強化해왔고, 美國은 國際聯合을 通하여 大韓民國을 國際的으로 合法化하고 強化해왔다.
6	以北傀儡政權은 그 自體를 維持할 수 없게 될 것이요.
	國民組織運動을 展望함
7	이제 韓國內에서는 共產暴徒들의 ...
8	(韓委) 따라서 如何히 大規模의 侵攻이 있을지라도 우리를 支持하고 援助에 依하여 이것을 防止하는데 成功할 수 있을 것이다.
9	共產主義謀略 北韓傀儡集團의 破壞工作을 防止하고 粉碎하기 爲하여 左翼分子를 肅清하는 것은 좋으나(...)
	總選舉를 앞두고
10	대단히 失禮의 말이지만 우리나라의 民度는 아직도 낮다.
	太盟結成과 日本의 處理
11	共產主義의 威脅을 받고 있는 것은 다 마찬가지이다.
12	韓國이 三八線을 두고 가장 直接的으로 蘇聯의 威脅을 받고 있는 것은 새삼스러히 말할 必要가 없다. 威脅程度가 아니라 只今 바로 被害를 받고 있는 것이다. 우리에게 太盟은 絶對로 必要하다.
13	蘇聯의 侵略의 危險은 極히 現實的이다. 自動條項은 絶對必要하다.
	민족성의 人種심리학적 高찰

14	그 때문에 黑色人種은 高等 精神作用이 低下되고 知的 活動이 좁게 된다고 한다. 다음에 黃色 인종은 그들의 慾求는 弱하고 그 意志는 激烈하다느니 보다도 頑固하므로 모든 일에 中間的이요 壯大하지 못하고 깊은 곳에 이르지 못한다고 한다.
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## Appendix 6

Title and Lead Translations in *Shinchunji* in the post-1949 period

No.	ST Title and Lead	TT Title and Lead
1	<i>The Struggle behind the Iron Curtain</i>	소련의대위성국정책
2	<i>Gandhi and Stalin</i>	인물그래픽: 스탈린의면모
3	Unwritten Rules of American Politics	미국정당의윤리
4	<i>An Introduction to A Modern Law of Nations</i>	(새국제법의원칙과국제연합) 현대국제법서론
5	Confucius, the Man and the Myth	공자와민주주의
6	Economic Planning in Poland. (Poland is following a plan for reconstruction. Can she succeed?)	파란의 전후경제계획 비판
7	Bulgaria 1. Consolidation of the Fatherland Front (Post-war Bulgaria silences opposition)	불가리아의 조국전선이 승리하기까지
8	Czechoslovakia: Moscow's Reluctant Ally(A first-hand report of "Communism in white gloves")	체코슬로바키아의내막
9	World Statesman from Quebec	세계적정치가평: 북대서양동맹의제창자싼로란
10	'Boom or Depression?'	당면한미국경제의총분석: 불경기나호경기냐
11	Poetry in Machine Age	시와기계시대
12	We must risk a New Policy in China	미국의대중국신정책수립의필요성
13	Machines with and without freedom'	원자시대의과학기술과인간정신: 미국원자력관리인의직언
14	Control of Atomic Energy	원자력관리문제총관
15	Confessions of a Universalist One Man's Re-education	세계정부론자의고백-인류의재교육
16	<i>Le Silence de la Mer</i>	바다의침묵 I, II
17	Building a People's Foreign Policy	전후미국외교의길: 국민외교수립을위하여
18	What of Our Future?	미국의장래는어데로?

		화전간두에선미국정책
19	Remembering the Poets A Reviewer's Vista	미국시단 20년
20	The Country of the Blind: The Soviet System of Mind Control.	소련의정신지배제도

## Appendix 7

### Source Texts of Prefaces in *Shinchunji* in the post-1949 period

Title	Contents
Struggle	領土의 一部인 三八以北이 겪고 있는 가지가지 苦難을 上記하며 이 一文을 譯한 것.
unwritten rule	(...) 여기 翻譯하는 “존 홉샤-”의 論文은 여러가지 方面으로부터 美國政黨을  움직이고 있는 諸原理를  양결한  것이다. 政黨에  관해서  충분한  智識도  訓練도  없는  우리에게  많은  시사를  줄  것이다.
Modern Law	이 論文은 美國國際法學界의  중진이며 國際聯合代表로  있는 “제섭”教授의  근자의  저 “現代國際法-序論” 一券에서 第一장 序論만을 譯出한  것이다. 美國學界에  커다란  파문을  던진 本書가 適當한  절차를  밟아  우리 學界에도 紹介될  때가  멀지  않기를  意望하는  것은  비단 譯者만이  아닐  것이다.
Confucius	人類가  지금까지  傳承해온  敬虔한  貴人이라는  것은  사실  가에  지나지  않는다.  말하자면 孔子  같은  이의  眞實하고 革新적인  敎理를 帝王적인  野望을  助長하는  데에  腐敗  시켜버린 全體主義者 君主의  發見인  것이다.
Poland	(...) 그러나 新興의 勇氣를  지니면서  그들은 戰後의 銃소리가  사라진  바로  그때부터  씩씩하게  일어섰다. (...) 著者는 問題 權威者로서 本 論文은 讀者에게 有益되는바  적지  않을  것이다.
National Front	現代의  불가리아에는  반 ‘팻쇼’ 戰爭時代의 遺物인 ‘祖國戰線’이  그대로  남아  있다. ‘불가리아’ 共產黨은  이 ‘祖國戰線’의  隊列을  통해서  이  나라의  政治, 經濟의  모든 面을 支配하고  있는  것이다.
Czechoslovakia	美國의 有力한  외교시보지 主筆  달맞지  씨의  論文을  여기에 紹介한다. (...)  달맞지씨의 說明에  의하면, 地理적으로  소련에  가장 接近해  있는  체코슬로바키아지마는, 經濟적으로나 文化的으로나  무엇보담도 氣分上 美國에  대해서  보다  더  많은  親和感을  지니고  있는  것이 事實이라고  한다. (...)  그런데도 不久하고  원래 賢명한  체코 國民인지라  비록 現  굿드왈드  정권이 執權하고  있지만은  옛날의 美國과의  友情을  잊지  못할  것이라고 筆者는 結論하였다.
St. Laurant	그는  캐나다  政治界의  第一人者이며 “퀘벡” 出身의 佛蘭西係 “아일랜드” 人으로써 現在  캐나다 首相이다.
Boom or Depression	N/A
Poetry in Machine Age	파울  엥겔은이오와 大學教授로서  윗트문과  샌드버억의 傳統을  이은 美國의  젊은  시인이다. 詩集으로는 美國  노래와  마음의  노노를  헤치다  등이  있다.

New Policy in China	筆者의 略歷: 韓國서 出生. 日本서 修學. (...) 戰後 “맥아더” 司令部 情報 參謀로 活動함. UN 파리 總會시 韓國 承認 問題로 晝夜를 不問하고 活躍하여(...).
Machines with and without freedom	(저자소개) 미국원자관리위원장 (...) 原子力이나 科學이니 器械니 技術이니 하는 것은 그 自體가 善이며 惡이 되는 것은 決코 아니다.
Speaking Frankly (Atomic)	쏘련은 드디어 原子彈 所有를 世界에 對해서 公表하였다. (...) 原子力의 歷史와 原子力의 今後를 展望하는데 이 글은 하나의 文獻的 價値까지를 간직하였다.
Universalist	(...) 그래서 世界政府論의 可能性이 마련되는 것이니...
People's Policy	N/A
Future	(...) 특히 對外援助에 對하여서는 皮援助國의 (...) 能力을 發達해야 한다고 筆者는  역설하고 있다.
Remembering the Poets	(...) 그리하여 오늘날과 내일의 美國 詩壇의 問題는 純粹한 것과 政治的인 것과의 ... 어떻게 解決하느냐에 달렸다.
T.S. Eliot	N/A
Current Ills	“文學士曜評”의 論者는 美國資本主義의 立場에서 社會主義만이 劫世의 原理라고 主張하면서 企業家의 “自由”를 強制로 無視할려는 “라스키” 教授의 理論이 自己矛盾이 아닌가 하고 ...
Mind Control	이 冊은 뉴욕시 콜럼비아 大學校 ... 교수이며 ... 조지 S. 카운츠는

## Appendix 8

### Narratives of Korean Authors (*Wolgan Amerika*)

Description
그러나 東洋 사람들은 英國人처럼 西海岸까지 進出해서 것처럼 迅速強烈한 成功은 하지 못했을 것이다.
이것은 미국사람들이 실패에 구애하지않는 진취인성격과 사교적인 점을 증명하기도 합니다마는 보다더 근본적인 이유는 역시 남의 심리를 상해하지 않으려는 노력에 기인되는 것인듯 싶습니다. 우리나라 사람들의 심리를 반성해 봅시다. 심지어 "사촌이 논을 사면 배가아프다"고 남의 비애를 자기의 히락(喜樂)으로 삼는 비굴한 근성이...
일반적으로 기술자의 역량이 우리나라나 일본의 기술자에 비해서 대단히 우수합니다. (...) 그들이 보다 더 충실한 학교 교육을 받았다는데 있습니다.
言語의 不通으로써 種種의 誤解를 사게되어 畢竟은 上陸船員의 慘殺과 洋船을 불질러버리는 無智한 暴動이 突發되고 말았다.
美國文明은 第五自由를 위하여 싸우고 있으니 그는 곧 苦役으로부터의 自由 즉 Freedom from toil 이라고 할 수 있다. ... 苦役으로부터 解放하는 方法은 무엇인가? 이는 곧 機械로 하여금 사람의 苦役을 代身케 함이다. (...) 美國의 機械는 小數의 特殊條件을 위한 기계가 아니라 4) 일반 평민의 보통 사나이와 아낙네의 기계이었다.
아메리칸 인디언(American Indian)이 살고있는 때에는 근근 백만내외의 인구도 살기 힘드렀든 광막(廣漠)한 황야가 오늘날 일억오천만의 인구를 가장 풍족하게 기르고도 여유가 있는 지상낙원화된 것은...
그들은 決코 朝鮮을 侵犯하려는 意思가 아니었다. 「쉬맨」號事件을 계기로 國交를 트자는 好意였지마는
美國은 이와 같이 道德的 正義로 向하는 推進力으로부터 생겨난 것인데 現在 世界에서 第一富強한 國家가 되어 地球上의 3) 굶주린 사람들을 救濟하려고 힘쓰고 있는 바이다.
美國이 그 強大한 힘과 韓國에 대한 義俠心으로서 韓國의 불상하고도 屈辱的인 狀態로부터 救援하였으니

## Appendix 9

Titles and Lead translations in *Wolgan Amerika*

	ST title and lead	TT title and lead
1	The strength of our political system	美國政治制度의 強韌性
2	Grandma Moses had a birthday	畫家 모세스 할머니
3	The Supreme Court	美國大法院
4	How science Aids the Golden Rule	러펠러財團의 研究補助事業
5	New Vitamin Aids Battle on Anemia	貧血症治療의 新비타민
6	Cow Town USA	畜牛의 都市 캔사스 시티
7	Your pencil could tell a sharp story	美國의 鉛筆공업
8	Does your job make you sick?	美國産業界에 應用된 精神療法
9	What then is the American, this new man?	美國人論
10	Women needed in public service	美國 最初 女市長 도로티 리 여사
11	Young explorers in Museum Halls	兒童美術教育 (兒童美術教育)
12	Explorers of 1948 peeked into many unusual corners of globe	一九四八年度의 探險界(探險界)
13	Waiting for Caruso	카루소를 기다리는 밤
14	Museums don't have to be stuffy	科學博物館
15	Seattle	씨애틀市
16	Grain hunters of the West	小麥의 品種改良
17	Sculpture Survey	第三會 國際彫刻展示會
18	Farm help from abroad	歐羅巴에서 移住해 온 農家
19	Motion Pictures Changing from of Medical Education	醫學教育에 利用되는 映畫
20	Princess Margaret of Hollywood	헐리웃의 公主 마가렛
21	Point Four: Purposes and prospects of the 'bold new program'  <b>Lead:Improvement</b> of Under-Developed Areas <b>Likely to Be Big Factor in Our Role</b> of <b>Advancing</b> World Peace and Trade and Checking Communism	트루만 大統領의 『未開地 援助案』의 目的과 展望 (그의 大膽한 新計劃에 對하여) Note: 未開地를 開拓한다는 것은 美國이 世界平和의 世界通商을 促進시키는데나 共產主義를

		阻止(sic. 沮止)시키는데 <b>큰 役割을 하는 要素이다.</b>
22	Ponce de Leon? No! Poscanini!	美國의 音樂指揮者
23	UN and League-Contrast and Lesson (UN and League)  Lead: One who watched the sessions at Geneva now reports on the meetings held in New York.	國際聯合과 國際聯盟  Lead: 양자의 비교와 그로 얻은 敎訓
24	The UN begins to show power against power	國際聯合의 業績
25	Neighbor Rosicky	이웃 剝식키
26	The Morrisons of Yakima Valley	모뤼선農場
27	Rat-borne disease	쥐가 가져오는 病
28	The Pastures of Heaven	집
29	Randolph Field- 'West Point of the Air'	랜돌프 航空豫備士官學校
30	How to live at 35 below (35 below)  Lead: In Artic tests the Army is learning tricks that a lot of civilians can use	極地生活研究(極地生活研究)  Note: 美國空軍所屬인 極地航空醫學研究所의 研究結果는 寒冷地帶에 居住하거나 또는 旅行하는 모든사람들에게 大端히 有益한 參考資料가 되고있다.
31	Confucius, the Man and the Myth	孔子論(孔子論)
32	They Built Prosperity on "Worthless" Soil (Worthless Soil) Threatened by rural slums on cut-over land, this country remade its farming to a profitable pattern	荒蕪地를 沃土로  Lead: 쎄인트 루이스郡의 開發事業(荒蕪地)
33	Radioisotope: "Laboratory Spy"  Lead: N/A	放射性 同位元素와 그 用處  Lead: 強力한 研究資料는 美國의 農民, 製造業者 및 消費者들에게 農作物 及 工業生産品의 增産과 改良의 길을 指示해주고 있다.
34	China: Still the Good Earth	中國人民들은  의연하다

35	Storm	폭풍
36	How a movie gets made	映畫가 完成되기까지
37	The 10 world-shaking events of the half century	지난 半世紀間의 世界 十大 事件
38	20,000,000 keglers	보울링
39	Hits in the tall corn	웨퍼토리 劇場
40	Erosion by raindrop	빗방울과 浸蝕作用
41	Strange, versatile plastic	플라스틱 工業
42	The First Four Years  Lead: The UN hasn't fulfilled the rosy visions of 1945, but it has accomplished more than meets the eye	國際聯合의 四年間 業績  Note: 이 世界的인 組織體는 一九四五年을 맞이하여 반드시 樂觀을 不許하는바있으나 눈에 보이는것 보다는 <b>훨신 더 많은</b> 成果를 견우었다고 할수 있을것이다.
43	My Life	나의 自敘傳
44	Two soldiers	두 병사
45	Microwave in communication	超短波通信
	Annabel Lee	
	Tom Sawyer	
	The Haunted Palace	유령궁
	The White Heron	백로
	The Last Leaf	

## Appendix 10.

### Rat Borne Disease (ST visual: omitted)

In 1908, plague infection was proved bacteriologically in ground squirrels of California. The disease is now widespread and apparently firmly established in wild rodents and associated mammals. Ground squirrels, certain native mice, pack rats, and prairie dogs are thought to be chiefly responsible for spreading the infection. The primary danger from sylvatic plague is reintroduction of the infection into plague-free domestic rats.

In 1931, the U.S. Public Health Service began a series of widespread investigations to determine the distribution of sylvatic plague in the United States and to investigate its natural history. These studies indicate that sylvatic plague is progressing steadily toward the Mississippi Valley. Foci of infection have been found in fifteen western states. If sylvatic plague continues its eastward course until it reaches Eastern rat infested regions, the possibility of human disease will be greatly increased.

Mobile units operated by several western states and the Public Health Service are continuing field surveys to determine the location and extent of sylvatic plague.

The plague-typhus control studies are operating in several places in western United States. Technicians are being developed, personnel are being trained, and efforts are being made to determine a method of preventing sylvatic plague

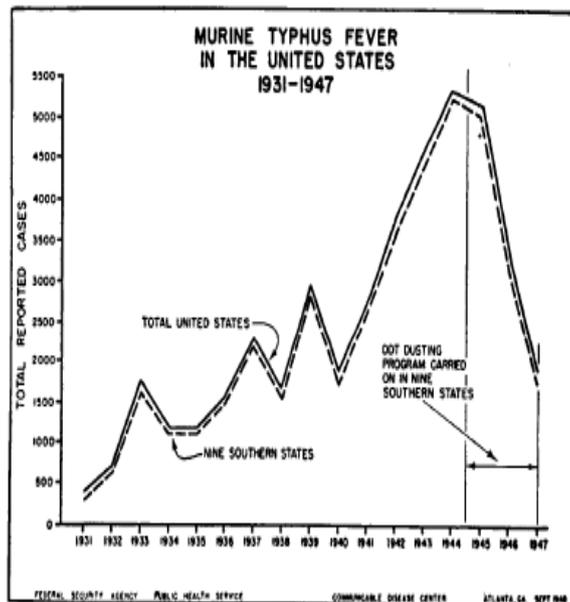
tion is far more frequent than is realized; that morbidity and mortality reports fail to indicate the real extent of the problem, and that a considerable proportion of infections which are clinically recognizable escape recognition.

The disease develops following the in-

fection were discontinued. Thorough cooking of all pork products also would eliminate human infections.

#### Salmonellosis

The salmonellosis or food infections are types of gastroenteritis caused by a

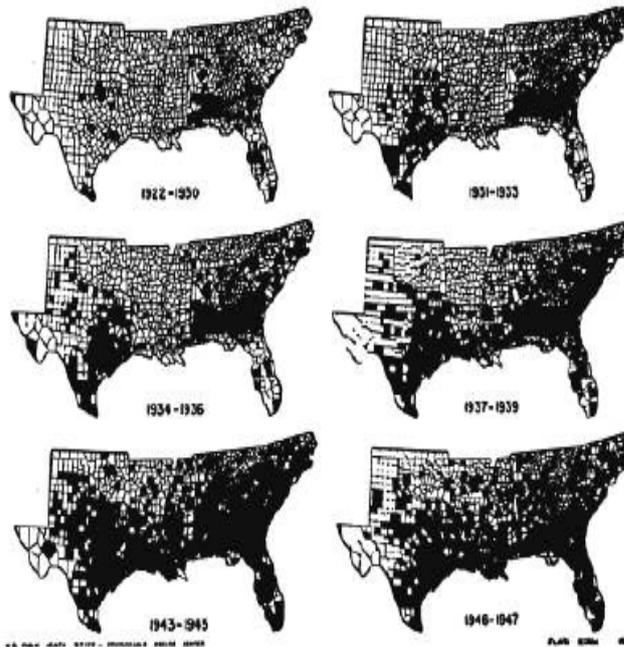


Over 94 per cent of the reported cases of murine typhus fever occur in nine southern states: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas. The effectiveness of DDT dusting in reducing the incidence of typhus fever is indicated at the right of the graph.

## Appendix 11

### Rat borne disease 2 (ST visuals: omitted )

COUNTIES IN 11 SOUTHERN STATES REPORTING CASES OF ENDEMIC TYPHUS FEVER



Increase in the incidence of reported cases of endemic typhus fever in 11 southern states between 1922 and 1947.

large and indefinite group of bacteria. conditions in kitchens, eliminating flies  
Over one hundred times have been dis and rodents, the practice of good per-

abrasion of the skin by contact with contaminated water or soil.

The earliest report of this disease was made in 1745. The first clear-cut clinical picture was given in 1886 by Dr. Weil. Thus, his name is frequently associated with this infection. In 1917, virulent strains of *Leptospira* were found in carcasses of dead rats in New York by Noguchi. Later the organism was isolated from human cases and classified by him as *Leptospira icterohemorrhagiae*.

Direct contact with excreta of rats through contaminated soil, water, or food is the chief source of human infections. Dogs are also infected and reports have been made of several cases in which they were thought to be the source of the infection. In the United States the disease occurs chiefly in adult males whose occupation brings them in contact with water or slime contaminated with infected rat urine. Butchers, fish handlers, sewer and canal workers, miners, garbage and poultry workers are included in this group.

Although prevention of the infection depends chiefly on the control of rodents, the wearing of proper clothing, i.e., boots and gloves by workers who are exposed to infection, would aid in prevention



## Appendix 13

### Hits in the Tall Corn (ST Visual 1)



# Appendix 14

## Hits in the Tall Corn (ST visual 2)





These Frocks of the Elmer Fennell and some of his puppets. With showing the photo here the light a photo was

Robert Kennedy Kennedy Kennedy in 1961. The party started a month later and the fully reports of Elmer Fennell to go through up and down the line for at least two more generations. The reports of daughters and sons-in-law. Some old back numbers and last year Pop Culture—no stop for management before the money (K&N). And just when the money opened this year they presented us with a goodhouse who unconsciously came out more similar "financially stable state."

That of the last shows passed over a relatively well "qualified business," showing 12 to 40 miles over Sunday night. With a few exceptions, some of them have been that about 1,200 miles a week.

All of the messages and many of the musical performers like to have letters on the show too, and in the middle shows, the others usually find things to provide excitement. During a week's work they get to know the "business" well and that's a few lasting friendships are made.

**A That Showman's Farewell Tour**

They met after performing for an evening in that business at John Deere's new show in Madison. When Harry Seiler, a famous Texas cow dancer, made his farewell tour a couple of years ago—ending after 30—shows and having been given to his home almost everywhere he visited.

In Litchfield, Texas, he was greeted by a group of farmers who had been there in private places from all over the state. At Litchfield, the merchants gave him a \$500 gold watch.

"Can't do business with you any more," a lady farmer announced as Seiler was off. "You're always holding down."

The rest of the year usually is a standard procedure with all our shows. Seiler's usual quiet was typical. "That show was full what you will get out of this show," he would say. "Two years ago a boy said a girl found great things to their study. The boy's called for a pair of lady's feet and the girl's called for a lady's nose. I imagined that they were, which they did—and that was how they got. They got married and the night they were in the show with their nose a laughing lady's eye. You can see all what you will get out of this show."

Locally hundreds of young married couples who had married Seiler's "and there beautiful" in their former area had brought their own children to the big show. In Litchfield I heard from William Young all his children they had not heard a single performance of his show in the 20 years he had played there here.

In most of the towns "and show here" is something like the work as an especially long community piece. The shows are a combination of corn, musical, variety ball and lightness theater. Songs for the "darker side," which houses the stage, are not something a show can. The show are only as well as the play out of which they are made, music, papers and papers are as much a part of the show as the actors.

Farmers years ago nearly all of the shows carried a band which played for a seven periods and a concert in front of the show. Most of them still have orchestras (the same degree in brass) and all still offer something besides the act. An orchestral "concert" after the main show is standard.

But with all of that the play shows has been, and still is, the main thing.

In the small towns of the country, the musicians begin to take over opera houses, the musicianship usually considered their standard reputation to a certain extent. All of these places such as in the towns in East, Texas, there's Tony's theater, mostly in the Fennell, and some clubs. Over the hill to the Fennell, and some shows. The other one capital in their stage. The shows, in all cases the actor who now manages the operation, home in Chicago, says he was given Elmer and by then in a new show stage.

In 1964, when Seiler (continued on page 72)



Madge Elmer Graf, seen below in the "Finnish Child Artist" has brought all her life, Upp, being, several times before, plays the popular "Toby" role in a Fennell show.



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## Appendix 18

### Farm help (ST visuals)



Wojciech Hrynysz and Onsym Czumał, both farmers from the Ukraine, had never used power equipment before coming to Felix Goldsborough's Maryland farm, yet became able operators in a few weeks.



Fran Dalkar, right, is one Maryland dairyman who has found much-needed help from Twan Kocemo, also from the Ukraine.

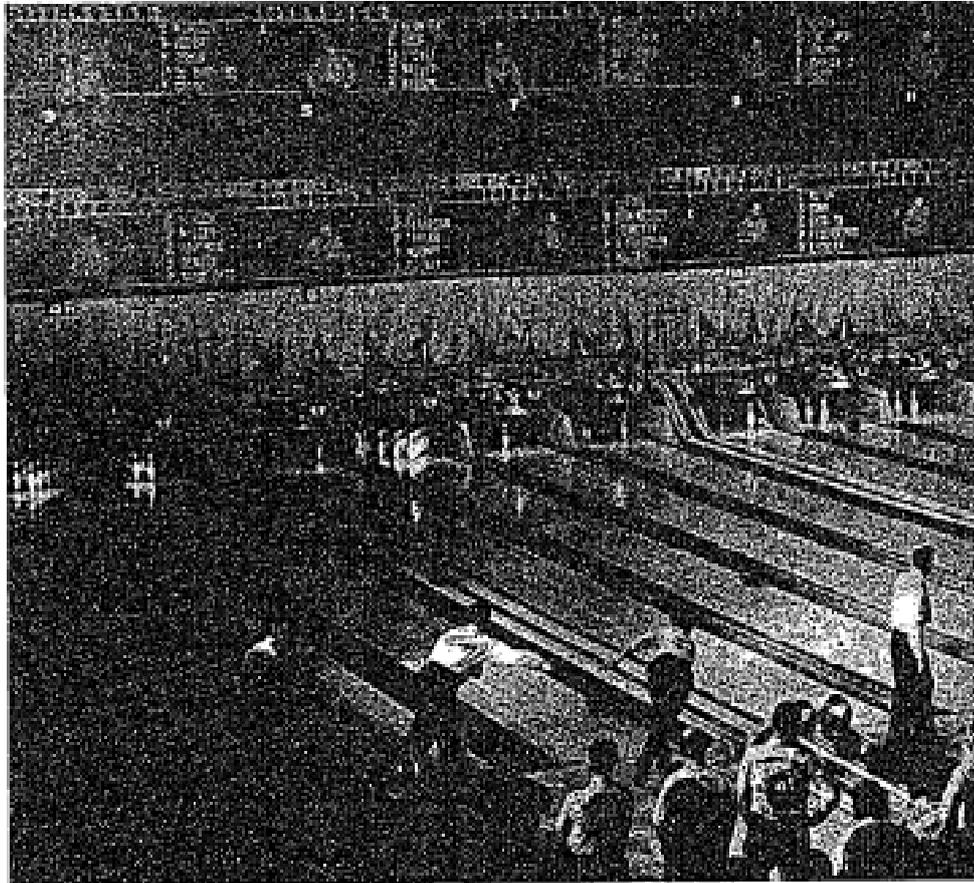


The Hrynysz and Czumał children, all living at the Goldsborough farm, now attend elementary school at Silverville.



## Appendix 20

### 20,000,000 keglers (ST visuals)



## 20,000,000 Keglers

—BY GILBERT BAILEY

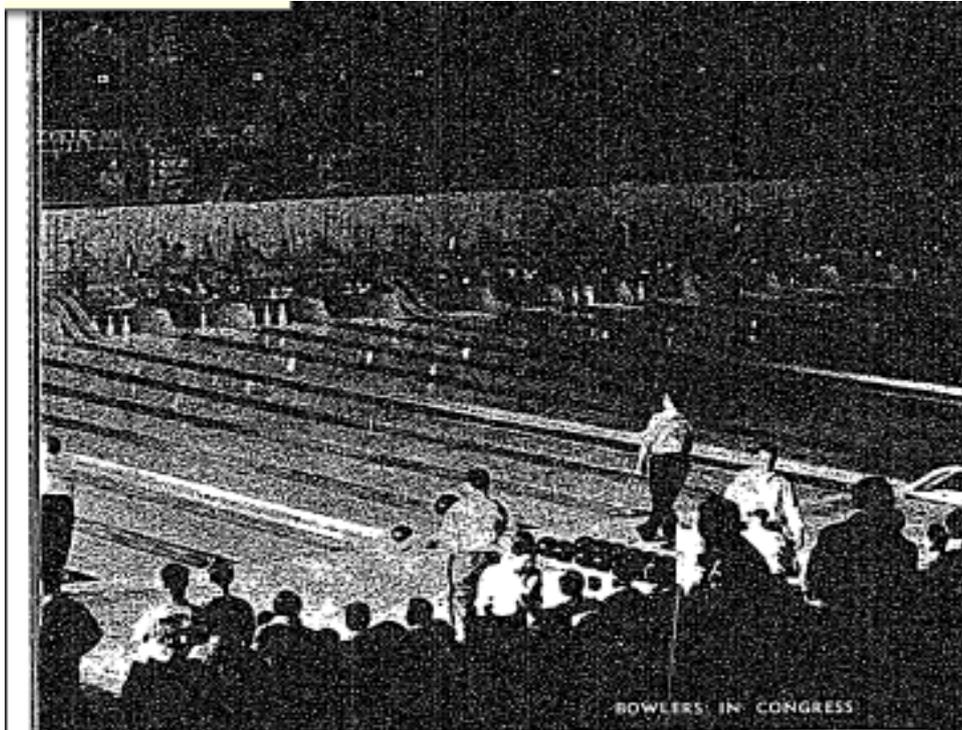
**A**T Atlantic City's Convention Hall the world's biggest sports contest is being fought out amid a crash of falling timber and a spell of good intramural fellowship. It is the annual tournament of the American Bowling Congress, a sort of revival meeting which brings

ing family ties and working off anti-social aggressions, harmlessly, by heaving a 10 to 16 pound ball down a polished maple alley.

If this seems far-fetched, then it is still true that the most accurate portrait of the undistinguished American sportsman in action would almost have to show him at his momentary best with a well-fitted

## Appendix 21

### 20,000,000 Keglers ST visual II



#### **Sonny, Dad and Grandpa, not to mention Sis and Mama, make bowling the real national pastime.**

center. It also embraces unorganized players like President Truman, who sometimes drop in for a relaxing game after a hard day at the office. (President Truman has his own alleys in the White House but he doesn't get to use them much.) All told, some 8,000,000 of these irregulars take to the boards only when moved by what the trade magazines, in all seriousness, have called "the spirit of bowling."

**A** MILLION and a half bowlers are banded together in the American Bowling

week downtown and Saks picks up the check.

But aside from all this, millions of the faithful set aside about \$50 a year in the family budget and show up at least once a week at the nearest recreation palace to compete for small prizes. They like the game and the fellowship. Or perhaps they feel the need to smash something. Or they may be trying to escape the let-down of middle age.

Seeking light on the subject we visited several bowling alleys in the New York

# Appendix 22

## Bowling TT visual 1



Appendix 23

Bowling (TT visual II)





# Appendix 25

## Point Four (TT Visual)



# Appendix 26

## The First Four Years (ST visual)

for the United Nations after it was created.

In the Moscow Declaration of 1941, the world powers recognized "the necessity of creating a world and widely representative body to plan" and declared "that such action should be continued by the organization and maintenance of peace until we die."

The same underlying assumption of international cooperation became the United States, the U.S.S.R., Britain, France, and China are united in the United Declaration. In his address on the floor of the U.S. House in the name of the new power which gave such a role to the United Nations, Secretary of State Cordell Hull said that the United States would give to the U.N. its aid and good will.

When in accepting the duties of one that are obligations shared by the all members of agreement for this is made in dealing with those pending out of the first four years, but that a few months in the coming of it.

The United States has advanced cooperation among the big powers of the world, but it is not alone in this. The United States is the one and only of the world, and the organization of the world, and the United States is the one and only of the world.

It is the greatest gift of the United States, and it is a gift that is not only to the United States, but to the world. It is the greatest gift of the United States, and it is a gift that is not only to the United States, but to the world.

When the U.S. has had a chance to present its own views, the United States has had a chance to present its own views, and the United States has had a chance to present its own views.

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### Cordell Hull

United States and United Nations





# Appendix 28

## Dorothy Lee (ST visual)

### Women Needed in Public Service, Says Mayor-Elect of Portland, Oregon

#### Dorothy McCullough Lee Is Chalking Up New 'Firsts' in Her Distinguished Career

**By Isabel Horner Short**  
Special to the Oregonian

When Mrs. Dorothy McCullough Lee takes the oath of office as Mayor of Portland, Oregon, in January of 1938, she will chalk up another important first. It marked back in 1915 when she became a justice in Portland's first all-women law firm; it happened again in 1923 when she resigned her state senatorship to become the first woman ever to be elected on Portland's City Council; and now she is hoping that by becoming the first woman mayor of the city.

As the daughter of Her Admiral, Frank K. McCullough, U.S.N., Mrs. Lee was born in a social science, which she started by entering clerical work in high school years, for it was then that she discovered that she had a "business" side.

"Thinking schools were the order of that day," she explains. "But I wanted information that would be based on proper numbers and the competition that an only child is usually denied. In that school I got plenty of both."

Although she and her family had lived in many parts of the world, she was born in the state of the United States, during those formative years of her life the McCulloughs were living in Washington, D. C. — a city which, at that time, was being visited by hundreds of women fighting for the right to vote.

**Hard Fought Votes**  
Doubtless, the fact that she spent many long afternoons in the hallway of the Senate building in the debate over the issue of suffrage for women points to her predisposition to study law. She earned her law doctor's degree and her certificate in public address at the University of California.

For a short time she practiced law in San Francisco, a state which is not as unpopulated as it is so short. This is why she had gained experience and points in her profession and had won the friendship of many women interested in the question of suffrage, when she married in 1915. Lee and her husband in Portland she was unable to get along with her and the children, disappointed, and were obliged to a city that was not yet ready to accept women as lawyers.

Mrs. Lee "brought" her husband's "business" in her head that without justice, participation, and a complete knowledge of her "business" would bring process and respect. She has proved these things.

At the end of her first year in Portland she was approached by a group of women who felt that the city was qualified to represent

#### "Madam Mayor"

Some of the experiences which prompted Mrs. Lee to Portland's highest civic office are related in the accompanying article. In the accompanying article in the Oregonian, she stated that she was elected to the State Legislature. At that time she resigned the race for state representative.

She was now in the Northwest, the "wet" section, therefore she was elected, "that last few city who brought face to face with the need for women capable of serving in that state. Today, that need is even greater."

**Publicist Post**  
In 1928 she was elected as a state representative, and in 1932 was a state senator. This she continued until 1935 when she resigned to become Portland's first woman Commissioner. Although she retained this post for a period, she retained it by popular vote, and for obvious reasons.

As Commissioner of Public Utilities, her legal training and civic service experience proved in that last position. In this position she took over the administration of the city-owned water system, and had supervision of all the contracts and contracts with the private utilities, which included the power, telephone, gas, railroad, and railroad companies.

She tackled a water and fire insurance right for an interlocking water system. She was president of the development of the \$1,000,000 water system plan. She became chairman of the special commission that set up a permanent system for the city employees.

Then came the war, and the most difficult utility problem Portland had ever faced. Overnight the only income a shipbuilding center which meant that thousands of working units had to be serviced with water and sewer, and thousands of new people had to have transportation to vital jobs. Despite material and man-power shortages, Mrs. Lee accomplished the biggest job ever done by a Commissioner of Public Utilities in Portland.

**Capability Growth**  
Now, at the demand of her fellow citizens, which they registered in a move that to get out of the city, Mrs. Lee will take the public life—administration for it, been interested in its administration in her life.

Now it is her hope that more women will have the courage to build a career in public life.

likely Mrs. Lee is proud that some of the qualities attributed to her would not be sacrificed in such a career.

"Portland, like all communities," she maintains, "should be united in its action, and without money for such a cause, of course, I have found that men do not create a capable woman in public office."

**Summary in Her Home**  
— In fact, they recognize that today our nation needs the very best ideas and best thinkers among both its men and women.

"Portland, I feel, it is good for men to work together in government, because while women are inclined to view the long-range picture, men are more interested in immediate results. The community must give balance."

Mrs. Lee's belief in balance is evident from the fact that she and Mr. Lee have two adopted children, a son, 11 years old, and a daughter, 10, both of whom have something to say in "family council."

"Democracy should start in the home," says Mrs. Lee. "An individual home environment teaches youngsters to solve their own problems, to solve their own family situations and problems and are allowed to have a voice in decisions and solutions, we parents will be building toward the day when in men and women, these qualities of mind will be able to judge, weigh and decide for themselves. Such an American citizen can begin only in the home."



Dorothy McCullough Lee

# Appendix 29

## Dorothy Lee TT visuals



Appendix 30

Dorothy Lee (TT visuals)



# Appendix 31

## (Sculpture Survey ST visual)

### SCULPTURE SURVEY

The Third International in Philadelphia

By EDWARD DEANE

SCULPTURE, the much neglected sphere of the arts, is having a boost in Philadelphia, beginning today. The third "Biennale Internationale" organized by the Fairmount Park Association, will be on view at the Philadelphia Museum through Sept. 21. Some 230 pieces, the work of artists from more than a dozen nations, have been assembled.

The association has made every effort to give an comprehensive view of sculpture of the world in general, as well as of contemporary sculpture. Approximately 1,000 sculptures were received a year ago and asked to submit photographs of work. According to the number of more than 600 responses and more than 100 artists in other countries. The resultant exhibition, made up of work received since 1949, includes examples by 216 of the American and European artists, 100 other countries. The pieces range from domestic realism to abstract or cubist in various directions. With a few exceptions the best of the work shows a high regard for the role of direct craftsmanship.

#### Awards and Purchases

The exhibition is doubly important to sculpture. For not only is the art being shown but the exhibition is a fine example of planning. About \$10,000 in commissions to sculpture artists for the building of the High Flying Statue Memorial at Fairmount Park and a fund of approximately \$20,000 has been set aside to distribute purchases from the exhibition. The previous exhibitions in 1922 and 1926 have been held and commissions awarded for two of the three portions of the memorial on the High Flying Statue.

The present exhibition offers ample evidence that there is no dearth of interest in sculpture. The arrangements which have influenced sculpture in the last decade or two, the fact that work well suited to the exhibition of sculpture on a grand scale at the end of the show will come from the work and capacity of material available.

Among those mentioned in the previous international were Gaston Lachaise, Robert Laurent, Maurice Strakos, Louis Vervaeke, Robert Marquet, J. William Moore, Henry Kyte, Robert Williams, Harry Kisseloff, F. Day and John Flanagan.

#### By Foreign Artists

Of the foreign artists' response was especially disappointing the representation by the Japanese, with very distinctive work. Besides the piece by MATSUO, Shideko and Maron (represented there as a group) figure by the Italian artist and a somewhat striking sculpture by Don Quixote by another artist. Look an interesting sculpture "BARRIO BLANCO" by the American, Warren, several striking work by MICHIGAN (now an independent figure) represented in the exhibit of "Globe" (previously acquired by the Museum of Modern Art) by the French sculptor.

### IN PHILADELPHIA'S INTERNATIONAL SCULPTURE SHOW



"Nude," by Gerhard Hauptmann, Germany, and, right, "Monade" by Gaby Rothman, France. Below, left, "Spring Morning," by Donald Mack, America, and right, "Caracaras," by Martin Hahn, Italy, in the Fairmount Park Association exhibition in the Philadelphia Museum.



#### PRINT ROOM

The Museum of Modern Art has inaugurated a new Print Room, to be known as the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Print Room, in a memorial and in recognition of the benefactions of Mrs. Rockefeller who was deeply interested in graphic work. A collection of prints covering the last three years' edition.

Appendix 32

Sculpture Survey (TT visuals I)



# Appendix 33

## Sculpture Survey (TT Visual II)



Appendix 34

Sculpture Survey (TT Visuals III)



## Appendix 35

### Cow Town (ST visual I)



Show president Harry Derby (right) heads an American Royal delegation at Cheyenne's 1948 Frontier Days  
Kansas City, now staging the 50th

**Appendix 36**

**Cow Town (ST visual II)**



Appendix 37

Cow Town (TT visuals)



## Appendix 38

### Randolph (ST Visual I)



Randolph Man—down: William H. King, during instruction at Randolph Field, at the controls of a T-6 trainer, with his instructor, Capt. Paul W. DeBorja.

## Randolph Field—'West Point of the Air'

**P**RACTICALLY the first thing the guest here from Opa's House who seems to be an Air Force pilot just out coming to Randolph Field is a sign which reads: "Why As It Yell LHM De-pends On It. Because It Does." When that same guest goes now a standing second System, USAF—before some six months later, he's pretty profoundly convinced that not only does his own life depend on how strictly he flies but the life

**It is a school for pilots of the jet age and a training center for future Air Force generals.**

By SAM BORN

will have learned something, he learned it. He will understand why and what, and he will have become a student of the wild vagaries of his dark enemy, weather. He will understand the differ-

ences between the organization which first gets hold of the super-learner and what he gets from ground to sky. It is here that he gets his basic training, and it is this that has been suggested

and even policemen in their homes, towns and always adding the boys on leave. "Say, what kind of outfit are you in, anyway?" This state of affairs fits most Randolph Field officers well high, white paper, blue lany and convinced that their function, being so fundamental, is just as important as any in the Air Force.

**S**OME hereafter like a place where a plane's never been seen before, one officer grumbled to me, "and what gets the credit?" The show, since if the pilot

## Appendix 39

### Randolph Field (ST Visual II)

#### 'West Point Of the Air'

(Continued from Page 5)

fort, apparently, to make training available to more young men. This, the veterans here feel, makes their work even more important.

**T**HE fact that the boy gets training in other things than flying is no accident. Training Command theory is based on several theories, and one is that flying itself is not hard. Anyone can learn to fly a plane. Not anyone can learn to fly a fighter or a bomber, but simply flying a plane, taking it off and landing it, is not very difficult.

Another theory on which Randolph Field operates is that a man's value to his country as an Air Force officer will depend as he grows older less and less on his ability to fly and more on his intelligence and general character and personality. A man of 40 or 45, this theory runs, can't compare to a 20-year-old in flying skill. But he is the one who is making the decisions which will have the profound effect. Thus, Randolph school-



"Ready for take-off"—With directions coming from the control tower, a Randolph Field cadet taxis to

tions. He must keep his eyes cast down to the ground except when saluting. He is not allowed off the base for his whole first month, and after that only on rare occasions. He may not drink or gamble. If by chance he has brought any

phrases just now directed and reiterated for my comprehension have failed to penetrate and permeate the soniferous forces of my atrocious intelligence. In other words, I am very, very dumb and I do not understand."

and he passes it, his fellows groping for it like blind persons, since they cannot look up. The "gun" man then announces the next course, and passes it, and so on through the food. He then peers awkwardly into a pitcher and announces, still

## Appendix 40

### Randolph Field (ST Visual III)



Fighting trim—Classes in judo prepare cadets to defend themselves if shot down in enemy territory.

*(Continued from Preceding Page)*  
finished Basic. He will then  
have flown about seventy-five

be standard equipment on all  
student jet planes."

At Fighter School he is

last war, which was one of the  
first divisions to cross the  
Rhine, although Long is quick

Appendix 41

Randolph Field (TT Visual I)

