

## **Building a Cultural Hierarchy in “Free Asia”:**

### **Depiction of Korean Traditional Arts through Local USIS Films**

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In 1957 and 1958, the Syngman Rhee administration dispatched South Korean cultural goodwill missions to Southeast Asian countries on two separate occasions. One of these tours, both of which were sponsored by the ROK government and the Asian Peoples’ Anti-Communist League (APACL), was recorded in a documentary, *Korean Cultural Goodwill Mission to South East Asia*, by the United States Information Service, Korea (USIS-Korea) in 1958. This paper will focus on these two events, the dispatch of the missions and the production of the documentary, and will examine how the technique of government to visualize cultural peculiarities and the hierarchy among “Free Asian” countries<sup>1</sup> was combined with the nation-building project in South Korea.

#### **Characteristics and Environments of the USIS’ Motion Picture Activities in South Korea in the 1950s**

##### **a. America, an Immanent Outsider**

1958 was officially the tenth year since USIS-Korea was activated in South Korea. As the Headquarters of the U.S. XXIV Army Corps was withdrawn from Korea in January 1949 following the establishment of the ROK government (*Kyunghyang Shinmun*, January 15, 1949: 1), the Office of Civil Information (OCI), which had conducted public information activities under the U.S. Army Forces In Korea, was taken over by the U.S. Department of State from the U.S. Army (Schmidt, February 28, 1989). The civilianization of the OCI was a turning point of American public information activities in South Korea in characteristics and status. In comparison with the pre-ROK period, when the Department of Public Information (DPI) under the U.S. Army Military Government had publicized governmental policies and activities, and when the OCI had concentrated on educating Korean people about election in order to build a pro-US state on the south of the 38th parallel (Han Sang Kim, 2011b), the post-establishment period was the first stage for the US public information agencies to conduct their activities on a

‘diplomatic’ basis, in a position actually ‘outside’ the South Korean nation-state. The OCI seemed to change its title to the USIS, which contains the meaning of US overseas information service, as early as in 1949, when it was transferred to the Department of State.<sup>2</sup>

Even before the conversion into USIS-Korea, the OCI already registered its motion picture unit as a film company based in Seoul and conducted production and distribution activities (*Kyunghyang Shinmun*, October 26, 1948: 3). However it was not until the outbreak of the Korean War that USIS-Korea's film unit improved its production facilities into a full-scale studio. After the hostilities had begun, the unit at first moved its base to Chinhae, a military port city in the southeastern region of Korea, and then relocated itself to a nearby small town, Sangnam, early in 1952. In Sangnam, the unit could establish its own film studio which was equipped with a real sound stage, modern automatic development and printing equipment, a new processing machine, and sound recording equipment that used magnetic film (Schmidt, February 28, 1989). William G. Ridgeway, who was the Chief Production Officer of the organization from 1950 to 1958, recalls that the films made in Sangnam were much better in quality than in Chinhae, because of the good performance of new machines (Schmidt, February 28, 1989). After securing the working environment, the film unit became able to regularly produce more works in better quality than before. Such works consisted of newsreel series like *Liberty News* (1952~1967), documentaries like *Building Together* (1955) and a few feature films including Ki-young Kim's debut film, *Boxes of Death* (1955) (Han Sang Kim, 2011a). These films were shown in cinemas regularly before commercial features, in each branch's projection room for public screenings, and in rural areas where mobile education units visited on provincial tours. And the extent of distribution was considerably high. For instance, according to a secret report to the Department of State in October 1954, 75 cinemas in the nation regularly screened USIS films, 20 mobile screening units toured the country, and average 3,750,000 people watched the films per month (Tenny, October 5, 1954).

In such a technological environment, the main topic of the films produced by USIS-Korea in the 1950s was ‘reconstruction.’ This was one of the reasons for the existence of USIS-Korea's film production as well. As written in a report of the American Embassy in Pusan, US public information activities in South Korea became recognized as a model of global information warfare in the front line of the Cold War (Higgins, May 12, 1953). Thus the support of the United States for the reconstruction of South Korea after the war against the Communist could not be stressed enough. Being fully equipped with new facilities in Sangnam studio and securing the brand identity of ‘Liberty Production,’ USIS-Korea's film unit kept pace with US aid and support provided to other economic areas. In USIS-Korea films such as *The Second Enemy* (1954) and *Building Together* (1955), which depict local communities succeeding in restoring and modernizing their neighborhood with supports from the UN Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA) and the US Armed Forces Assistance to Korea (AFAK), economic help from America and the West was filled in culturally.

On the one hand, it was a way to emphasize the fact that America was helping its allied nation to rehabilitate, in such films as *Gift of Friendship* (1952?) and *Ward of Affection* (1953). However, America was not merely an ‘allied nation of Korea’ in USIS-Korea films. While the protagonists are all Koreans and American characters are not represented as key roles in those films, the presence of the United States and the United Nations is verified by their decided aids. They engage in support activities in a brief space of time when the Korean protagonists take pains to stand on their own legs. In *Hands that Moved the Sea*

(1958), shovels and tools for reclamation supplied by the UN Office of Economic Coordinator arrives right at the moment when the displaced people from North seek a way to make a living through the land-fill project. When Mr. Kim, the protagonist of *The Second Enemy*, tries to improve his town's public health, a mobile health clinic unit and two Caucasian UN public health councilors are sent to the town by the UNKRA. Also in *Lighthouse on the Street* (1955), USIS-Korea provides textbooks when the ROK first lieutenant Park establishes an institute for underprivileged children and war orphans through his own efforts.

In other words, even at the time when Korean subjects sought for ways of self-reliance and self-help, America always showed its strong presence as an outsider who is not an actual outsider, or as an immanent outsider.

#### b. Censorship and the Invisible Knowledge

The strong presence of America in USIS-Korea's films also shows the ambivalent status of America which was both an outsider of Korean nation-state and one of the state-builders of South Korea at the same time. And this was similar to the status of USIS-Korea in its actual relations with Syngman Rhee's government. While USIS-Korea was privileged with special environments for public information corresponding to ROK government in pursuit of pro-American anti-communist state-building, it thoroughly identified itself as an outsider in time of occasional dissension with Rhee administration.

At first, Rhee's government and USIS-Korea seem to have started from an amicable relationship. In May 1950 Rhee himself delivered a congratulatory address to the USIS on their performance (*Donga Ilbo*, May 12, 1950: 2). *Liberty News* could be shown as regularly in commercial cinemas as ROK Office of Public Information (OPI)'s *Daehan News* series could (*Donga Ilbo*, January 22, 1960: 4).

However, Rhee government, on the other hand, was sometimes an opposer which imposed restrictions on USIS-Korea's activities (Il Joon Chung, 2003: 35). Especially as news media, *Liberty News* became subject to an uncomfortable relationship with Rhee government several times since the mid-1950s. A notable case was the request of the ROK Ministry of Education to cut some scenes from *Liberty News* No. 164, which were containing images of the deceased opposition candidate for President, Ik-hee Shin (*Donga Ilbo*, June 9, 1956: 3). Shin died suddenly on May 5, 1956 during his presidential campaign, and some footage of his successful campaign speech on May 3 was used as file pictures in *Liberty News*. The Ministry of Education demanded deletion of those scenes for the reason that the campaign speech had no relation with Shin's death. This ignited a social debate, and was finally concluded with uncut release and censure on the persons concerned (*Chosun Ilbo*, June 13, 1956: E3). This was not only the case of infringement on freedom of the press following Rhee government's strategy of 'ghettoizing the nation's attention by repressing any competitive and challenging images' (Hwa-jin Lee, 2007: 197-228), but also the case that showed USIS-Korea's privileged status, which ROK government could not fully control because of its identity as an agency of the US government.

Two years later, on May 1958, there was the other case which was tied to censorship over the same newsreel series. The Ministry of Education pointed out that news coverage in *Liberty News* No. 253

of the joint lecture by municipal electoral candidates of the Democratic Party on April 31 was ‘unfair since it contained only one party’s lecture scene,’ and requested to cut it out (*Kyunghyang Shinmun*, May 16, 1958: 2). This time USIS-Korea deleted the discussed scene, but, interestingly, they emphasized that it was carried out ‘from their own decision’ after reviewing Ministry of Education’s suggestion (*Kyunghyang Shinmun*, May 16, 1958: 2). This can be understood as a declaration that the final arbiter of such action was not ROK government but USIS-Korea itself.

A case of severer conflict was shown at the beginning of 1959. Since December 24, 1958 when Rhee government and the ruling party rushed through the third revised bill of the National Security Law (NSL), the ‘NSL Scandal’ followed and lasted. On January 13, 1959, a USIS-affiliated Korean cinematographer was chased by Korean police officers for filming protesters of the opposition party (*Kyunghyang Shinmun*, January 15, 1959: 1). Since the officers had tried to trespass the American embassy building to arrest the cinematographer, the embassy made formal complaints against ROK Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Donga Ilbo*, January 15, 1959: 1). This basically resulted from Eisenhower administration’s continuous criticism on Rhee government’s suppression of political opponents, and Rhee’s discontent about it (Seung Hee Hyun, 2000; Chul Soon Lee, 2007). However, in terms of the social status of USIS-Korea’s film unit, this was a result of its ambivalent identity: a whistle-blower who filmed and disclosed Korean political reality, and an outsider who had extraterritoriality to protect his employees. During the post-Korean War period, Korean film makers were exposed to hybridity in subject formation, identifying themselves as both nation-builders and ‘Free World’ bloc-builders under the umbrella of the United States (Han Sang Kim, 2011a). In the ‘NSL Scandal’ situation, the Korean cinematographer’s identity of ‘a whistle-blower who belonged to the outside’ was a re-enactment of this hybrid subjectivity.

On account of this string of troubles, USIS-Korea and Liberty Production was recognized by the Korean press as the media organization with an emphasis on criticism of Rhee government from the perspective of an oppositionist (*Chosun Ilbo*, December 26, 1960: E4). As pointed out in several precedent studies, this was a stand taken in order to preserve the dignity of the United States in South Korea, ‘a showcase for democracy,’ by settling down a conservative two-party system and succeeding a change of leadership (Chul Soon Lee, 2007; Wan-bom Lee, 2007; Seung Hee Hyun, 2000). In terms of film propaganda, more attention should be paid here on the ‘strategy of visualization,’ which disclosed domains concealed by a sovereign state (Thomas, 1994: 105-142). USIS was a network of agencies which were not only in charge of distribution of US government’s public information, but also in duty to collect and relocate the information from overseas. USIS-Korea’s visualization of the undemocratic political situation in South Korea, therefore, signified that such news was collected as comprehensible information to the US government and accumulated as its own knowledge. While the ‘uncut’ *Liberty News* was a tool for showing Korean audiences off USIS-Korea’s status, production of such films was a way of securing visual evidence whether Rhee government corresponded to the order of ‘Free World’ led by the United States.

### c. Recognition of Cultural Peculiarities

Another case of USIS-Korea's strategy of visualization can be observed in its representations of Korean traditional culture. Klein defines the idea that exploration and exchange of cultural peculiarities was necessary for understanding one another among countries in the so-called Free World as 'global imagery of integration.' This was one of the two major global strategies of the United States during the Cold War, along with 'global imagery of containment' (Klein, 2003). Global imagery of integration accorded with the context of 'rhetoric of peace' used by Eisenhower administration as a tool for psychological warfare since Stalin's death and the Korean War Armistice in 1953 (Insook Park, 2005). The People to People program, which commenced in 1956, was a key example policy based on this strategy (Klein, 2003). USIS was also an important tool for integration through mutual understanding and its representation of local traditional cultures was aimed at the very understanding. This kind of project to appreciate and learn obscure cultures of other nations can be understood in terms of the strategy of visualization.

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

An interesting case in point is USIS-Korea's serial filming of a Korean traditional dancer, Paik-bong Kim. Kim personified the superiority of the 'Free World,' since she had defected to South Korea during the Korean War (*Donga Ilbo*, November 23, 1954: 2). Her teacher was Seung-hee Choi, who had been a top star in the colonial dancing scene for her talent and local identity. While Choi had remained in North Korea, Kim became 'the founder of Korean traditional dance' (Hae-ri Choi, 2009). USIS-Korea produced live-recording films of her first recital in South Korea (November 26-28, 1954), and her original dance drama *Story of Our Village* (April 12-16, 1956). Their titles are: *Filial Piety*, *Fan Dance*, and *Story of Our Village*.

The stylistic features of introductory parts in these films are worthy of attention. They all shows the credits and titles of the performances at first, freeze-frames capturing playbill pages with the narrator's brief introduction of the performances in the second place, and then the beginnings of the live performances. This bears a close parallel to the style of the films on Western classical music which had been screened many times since the Liberation period by the US Army and USIS-Korea. *Arturo Toscanini – Hymn of the Nation* (1944), a film which is recorded to have been distributed by DPI before February 1947 (Noce, February 20, 1947), also starts with similar style that shows names of performers, title of the performance, screenshot of the music book, and the playing scene in order (see figure 1). The

illustrations of intertitles produce image of higher art, and visualization of music books and playbills makes educational impressions. Besides this film, US public information agencies had introduced many other films to South Korean audiences, showing live performances of Artur Rubinstein, Maria Anderson and Jascha Heifetz, music festivals such as the Tanglewood, and special features on Toronto Symphony Orchestra (USIS-Seoul, 1958).

This parallel between live recording films of Korean traditional dance and introductory films on Western high arts makes us to reconsider the very function of Korean dance films. Since they were not parts of newsreels but in the form of self-contained documentaries, it is obvious that those films were not merely for reporting purposes. And it is probable that similar stylistic features of the live recording films might have induced audiences to appreciate Paik-bong Kim's

performance in conformity with Western classical art. This was a process not only of visualizing Korean cultural peculiarities, but also of showing off the prestige of US authority by taking a role to acknowledge other nation's outstanding characteristics. Thus, this whole process should be understood as dual work of South Korean nation-building and establishment of US cultural hegemony.



**Figure 1 – Arturo Toscanini – Hymn of the Nation (1944, left column) and Story of Our Village (1956, right column)**

## **Korean Cultural Goodwill Mission's Southeast Asian Tour and USIS Film's Depiction of It**

### **a. APACL's Dispatch of Korean Artists**

Meanwhile, a feud between Eisenhower administration and Rhee government also arose on the matter of US strategy toward Asia. US government's intention to integrate Asian region economically with Japan as the central state was in discord with ROK government's stance to militarily unite with Asian nations excluding Japan (Ki Yong Rho, 2002). Eisenhower administration was carrying out the New Look policy, which rhetorically put emphasis on 'peaceful coexistence' with the Communist bloc under mutual deterrents of strategic nuclear weapons and prosecuted economical integration among non-Communist states. Thus Rhee government's strong anticommunist military alliance line was difficult to accept for the US government (Insook Park, 2005; Moo Hyung Cho, 2008). The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL), which later would organize the Korean cultural goodwill mission tour, was established in June 1956 in the midst of this disagreement, led by Syngman Rhee. Its first conference was attended by delegates from five governments including South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand

and South Vietnam, and three regions including Hong Kong, Macau and Okinawa. APACL was tinged with not only anticommunism but also anti-Japanese sentiments, and was designed to prevent US strategy to give Japan a leading role in Asia (Ki Yong Rho, 2002). However, the US pushed to create the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in September the same year, excluding South Korea, Taiwan and Japan, and practically neutralized the status of APACL as a regional security alliance (Ki Yong Rho, 2002; Moo Hyung Cho, 2008). Therefore, the Korean goodwill mission's Southeast Asian tours in 1957 and 1958 were cultural events held after APACL had been already incapacitated in international politics. The basic anti-Japanese trend seemed to be maintained up to that time, so that two rounds of touring designated member countries and regions excluding Japan.

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

However, in the film *Korean Cultural Goodwill Mission to South East Asia*, it clearly turns out that USIS-Korea's involvement was more than reporting. According to intertitles of the intro, the filming was made possible by 'united endeavors' of every USIS branches in the visited countries, and all the events were shoot by cameramen dispatched by USIS-Korea. That is to say, this film was a product of a transnational network of USIS branches which had their own strongholds in major cities of East and Southeast Asia. This collaborative production was also a process of showing off the prestige of US authority in Asia, by confirming its status and ability to visualize cultural peculiarities in each nation and region.

#### b. Tourist Film Convention as a Strategy to Visualize Cultural Peculiarities and Regional Hierarchy

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

In this development of the narratives, a repetitive structure is observed in each sequence depicting each destination:

Map of the destination → encountering the welcoming crowd → sightseeing native cultures and/or visiting local authorities → mission's performance of Korean traditional arts and Western classics (see figure 2).

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

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

In each ending of the repetitive structure, closing with the mission's performance, three different eyes in and out of the film suggest an interesting composition. First, there are eyes of Southeast Asian audiences who are watching Korean performers. Second, the camera as an eye of US public information agencies is looking at Korean performers as well as Southeast Asian audiences. Lastly, eyes of Korean cinematic audiences who must have watched Korean performers, Southeast Asian audiences and the signature of US authority should be regarded. This composition of eyes produces a kind of cultural hierarchy in the Asian Region, in terms of the strategy of visualization. While Southeast Asian eyes identify Korean authenticity and collect the knowledge of it, Korean eyes recognize and observe the process as well-planned showing off of Koreanness. In this process, Southeast Asians are reversedly visualized as objects to be comprehended and the knowledge about them is collected: how they look; how they live; what the authenticity of them is; and how they react to the Korean authenticity. Nevertheless, this film, as a product of 'united endeavors' of every USIS branches, proves that eyes of US authority are located on the highest peak of the hierarchy. The whole process of Korean showing off and Southeast Asian appreciation is recognized and collected by eyes of USIS, as an object of visualization. At the same time, by screening the film at the cinemas, USIS is showing off their power of seeing.

Similar structure of seeing is observed in *Kim Paik Bong Dancing in Bangkok* (1958), which depicts Paik-bong Kim's performance in Bangkok during the tour. This film takes a film-within-a-film form, containing USIS-Thailand's documentary on the performance. After Korean movie star Hye-sook Bok introduces the contents, the title back of USIS-Thailand follows and then the inner film comes (see figure 3). This shows how technically Korean authenticity was embraced in Thailand and, at the same time, how USIS combined and relocated all eyes, as an owner of transcendental eyes.



**Figure 2 – Korean Cultural Goodwill Mission to South East Asia (1958)**



**Figure 3 – Kim Paik Bong Dancing in Bangkok (1958)**

This composition points out the remarkable positioning of South Korea between the US and Southeast Asian countries. The fact that this film was targeting on Korean audience is important above all. In this exhibiting process, Korean people’s self-awareness as second-in-command and their sense of superiority over Southeast Asian people are mediated. Followed by the US, a supranational authority which can recognize and collect each nation’s cultural peculiarities, South Korea displays capability to exhibit its ‘recognized’ traditional culture and perform Western high culture which was imported and learned through modern school system. This corresponds to Rhee government’s framing to gain the leadership in Asia under US hegemony, by leading APACL and excluding Japan (Ki Yong Rho, 2002).

### **Visualization of the Cold War Asia as Technology of Government**

Three focal points for attention are marked out from those USIS films: the recognition of cultural peculiarity by a ‘supranational’ authority; Korea’s positioning as the second-in-command in the Asian Region; and Korean people’s sense of superiority over Southeast Asians. All of these are also observed to have existed in colonial Korea as well. While Japanese colonial authority carried out a strict assimilation policy, colonial Korea’s cultural peculiarity was not a target for destruction but an attractive product to display diverse features of the Empire. In the mid to late 1930s when modern tourism was combined with imperial expansion, a large number of propaganda films with tourist narratives were produced, and induced colonial audiences to ride on imperialist’s eyes (Han Sang Kim, 2010). Paik-bong Kim’s teacher Seung-hee Choi was a star of the Empire, who showed such a local peculiarity in a tourist propaganda film (*Donga Ilbo*, March 11, 1938: 2).

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

In this sense, the second-in-command identity in colonial Korea is of importance in that it resulted from a specific combination of technology of power and technology of the self. A classic example can be found in the representations of natives of Southeast Asian and the South Pacific, who were called 'Southerners.' Since as early as the 1910s when Japan had first reached the South Sea Islands, the perception of Southern region in colonial Korea had been changed from both 'savage and barbarous primitive society' and 'fertile and natural lands' to 'lands and society which must be cultivated by Japanese Empire.' This was a process to 'schematize the hierarchy of civilizations' (Seung Ik Kim, 2009). Koreans' awareness and interest in Southern region was heightened in the concrete with Japan's occupation of Singapore in December, 1941. Intellectuals of colonial Korea, the oldest colony of Japan, regarded themselves to be the second-in-command in the pan Asian Region, and thought that they had the mission to enlighten Southeast Asian uncivilized races. According to Myung-a Kwon, this 'Southern fever' resulted from 'a imperialist fantasy that compose themselves as a subject of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, a subject of the Japanese Empire' (Myung-a Kwon, 2005). In the 'Southern fever,' Southerners were represented as an ethnically and culturally inferior kind. Even when they were represented as 'rivals and cooperators' or perceived as a case of 'misery loves company' like Taiwanese, 'a certain sense of superiority' was still persisting (Myung-a Kwon, 2005; Jun Shik Sohn, 2010). In these hierarchical representations, colonial Koreans were self-defined as a subject who was charged with a mission to civilize and enlighten Southerners (Myung-a Kwon, 2005).

There seems to be a similarity between colonial Koreans' self-awareness as the second-in-command in the Asian Region and that of South Koreans during the Cold War. Especially representations of Southeast Asians and a sense of superiority over them are presumed to result from the legacy of the colonial period. However, as it is evident in the feud between Eisenhower administration and Rhee government, the relationship among South Korea, Southeast Asian countries and the US cannot be inferred from colonial experiences and, by all appearances, each state obviously possessed the status of a sovereign country. Then, how could we define the true nature of the seeming similarity between these two deferent periods?

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

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<sup>1</sup> For an account on the visualization of the invisible colonial object as ‘the technique of government,’ see Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism’s Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Princeton University Press, 1994).

<sup>2</sup> For instance, the title ‘USIS’ appears in a news article in October 1949 (*Donga Ilbo*, October 19, 1949: 2) and a letter from the American Embassy in Seoul to the Secretary of State in December of the same year (American Embassy, Seoul, 1949).