

RATIONALE

Since 1953 the relationship between the two Koreas has undergone many challenges and changes. At the current time, the United States sees North Korea as one of its greatest threats in East Asia. Ironically, while the United States has enjoyed an excellent relationship for many years with South Korea, anti-American feelings in South Korea are on the rise while South Koreans look more favorably upon their neighbor to the north. The roots of this situation go back many years and students need to understand the complexity of it.

It is envisioned that this lesson, or series of lessons, would take place in the context of a World Humanities course at the Columbus Alternative High School. The World Humanities program is a team-taught course with 80-minute blocks in which students receive both a Language Arts and a Social Studies credit. At C.A.H.S. the two disciplines are taught as complementary and the lessons below reflect this belief. The lessons below will take place within a larger unit on the Cold War. At this point, students will have learned about the causes of both World War I and World War II, including the motivations behind, and the effects of, both Western and Japanese imperialism. They will have learned about the end of the war in which the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, began to scramble for power and territory. Students will have learned about the formation of the United Nations. Finally, the Korean War will have been explained in very broad strokes, ie. nations involved, objectives, final stalemate.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- *Students will understand the connections between World War II, the Cold War and contemporary conflicts.
- *Students will explain how the Cold War and related conflicts influenced U.S. foreign policy after 1945, particularly in regards to the Korean War and the Vietnam War
- *Students will identify the causes of oppression and evaluate the effectiveness of the United Nations in the global arena.
- *Students will analyze the historical, social, and cultural context of setting.
- *Students will analyze variations of universal themes in a literary text.
- *Students will analyze how authors use symbols to create broader meanings.
- *Students will analyze the rhetorical devices used in public documents, including newspaper editorials and speeches.
- *Students will evaluate the effectiveness of and validity of arguments in public documents and their appeal to various audiences.

BENCHMARKS & STANDARDS

SOCIAL STUDIES

Grades 9-10

HISTORY

Students use materials drawn from the diversity of human experience to analyze and interpret significant events, patterns and themes in the history of Ohio, the United States and the world.

Benchmark E:

Analyze the connections between World War II, the Cold War and contemporary conflicts.

Grade Nine

20th Century Conflict

11. Analyze the consequences of World War II including:

- e. The United Nations

Grade Ten

20th Century Conflict

8. Explain how the Cold War and related conflicts influenced U.S. foreign policy after 1945 with emphasis on

- c. The Korean War and the Vietnam War

Grades 11-12

PEOPLE IN SOCIETIES

Students use knowledge of perspectives, practices and products of cultural, ethnic and social groups to analyze the impact of their commonality and diversity within local, national, regional and global settings.

Benchmark B: Identify the causes of political, economic and social oppression and analyze ways individuals, organizations and countries respond to resulting conflicts.

Interaction

4. Evaluate the effectiveness of international governmental organizations (e.g., United Nations, European Union, World Court and Organization of American States), multinational corporations, and nongovernmental organizations (e.g., Amnesty International, Red Cross and World Council of Churches) in the global arena.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE ARTS

Reading Applications: Literary Text

2. Analyze the historical, social, and cultural context of setting.

5. Analyze variations of universal themes in a literary text.

9. Analyze how authors use symbols to create broader meanings.

Reading Applications: Informational, Technical, and Persuasive Text

1. Analyze the rhetorical devices used in public documents, including newspaper editorials and speeches.

6. Evaluate the effectiveness of and validity of arguments in public documents and their appeal to various audiences.

DAY 1

Prompt students to brainstorm about Korea, including Korean War and contemporary issues. 10 min.

Discuss with students President Bush's 2002 State of The Union Address in which he describes North Korea as "a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction." [Appendix 1] 5 min.

Discuss BBC News report in which North Korea likens Bush to Hitler. [Appendix 2] 5 min.

Review formation of the United Nations and organizational structure; ie. General Assembly, Security Council, permanent members on Security Council. Be sure students understand that it was the Nationalist government in Taiwan, not the Communist government in mainland China, that was officially recognized by the United Nations and that this angered the Soviet Union. 10 min.

Read with students the Cairo Declaration and the West's commitment to protect the Korean peninsula until it "shall become free and independent." [Appendix 4] 10 min.

Remind students of the deteriorating relationship between the United States and its former Communist allies the Soviet Union and China at the end of World War II and the perception U.S. leaders had of communism as "monolithic" and the belief in "containment." 10 min.

Remind students of the civil war in China that led to the Chinese Nationalists leaving for Taiwan and the takeover of Mao and the Chinese Communists and that this led to heated policy debates in the U.S. about who "lost" China to the Communists. This will be accompanied by a satellite map showing the Korean peninsula and its relationship to Japan, its colonizer of nearly fifty years, the proximity of China and the Soviet Union. [Appendix 5] It will also include a map of Korea as part of the Japanese Empire. [Appendix 6] 15 min.

Explain the decision to partition the Korean peninsula at the 38th parallel. 5 min.

Describe the competing political parties in Korea that preceded partition. 10 min.

HOMEWORK:

Students read the excerpts entitled "Foreign Contention for Korea" and "Korea Under Japanese Rule" [Appendix 7]

DAY 2

Discuss homework reading with students. Highlight areas in which scholars argue that Korea was particularly unfit for independence after Japanese rule. 20 min.

Discuss the "aggression" of the North into the South beyond the 38th parallel and the very important resolution by the United Nations to prevent this "aggression." [Appendix 8] 10 min.

Discuss the findings of the UN Commission that placed the blame for this "aggression" on the North. [Appendix 9] 10 min.

Next, read with students the preamble to the UN Charter. [Appendix 10] 5 min.

Explain why the Soviet Union was not part of the Security Council vote, that they were boycotting the U.N. in their anger about the U.N. not recognizing Communist China. 5 min.

Examine with students various recollections by United States military and political leaders about the decision to send troops to Korea. [Appendix 11] 15 min.

Remind students of the end of the war and the return to stalemate. 5 min.

Read and discuss the Mutual Defense Treaty between the U.S. and South Korea in October, 1953. [Appendix 12] 10 min.

Present an overview of border clashes and the 50 year presence of U.S. troops along the DMZ. 5 min.

HOMEWORK

Read the short story "Cranes" by the Korean author Hwang Sun-won. Connect the theme of displacement and longing with similar works read this year. Discuss the symbolism of the cranes. [Appendix 13]

Examine the Picasso painting "Massacre in Korea." [Appendix 14] Students will have already examined the painting "Guernica" in the unit on World War II and Germany and Italy's early aggression in Spain. Tell students about the history of "Massacre in Korea," that it is about atrocities committed by U.N. troops and therefore was not allowed to be shown in South Korea until fairly recently.

Writing Prompt: With the information you have gathered thus far about the Cold War and the Korean conflict, what do you believe might be the current feeling in Korea about the United States? About North Korea? About the United Nations? Your response must be a minimum of 15-20 sentence. It must include a topic sentence, transitions, and specific references to the discussions and handouts you have received about Korea.

DAY 3

Begin with brief discussion of written responses.

10 min.

Read with students the 2003 CNN report in which former president Bill Clinton visits the DMZ and describes it as "the scariest place on Earth." [Appendix 15]

10 min.

Show a clip from the Korean film "Joint Security Area" that shows the soldiers from both sides coming together in an uneasy and ultimately tragic friendship along the DMZ.

10 min.

Discuss bar graphs with indices of South Korea's economy and modernization in recent years [Appendix 16]

15 min.

Examine the graphs compiled by The Pew Charitable Trust. Note the position Koreans take on a number of issues. Note as well the apparent contradictions of attitudes toward the U.S. and toward their own government. [Appendices 17]

30 min.

HOMEWORK

Revise earlier written response. **Writing Prompt:** With the information you have gathered thus far about the Cold War and the Korean conflict, what do you believe might be the current feeling in Korea about the United States? About North Korea? About the United Nations? Your response must be a minimum of 15-20 sentence. It must include a topic sentence, transitions, and specific references to the discussions and handouts you have received about Korea.



For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
January 29, 2002

President Delivers State of the Union Address

The President's State of the Union Address
The United States Capitol
Washington, D.C.

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9:15 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Mr. Speaker, Vice President Cheney, members of Congress, distinguished guests, fellow citizens: As we gather tonight, our nation is at war, our economy is in recession, and the civilized world faces unprecedented dangers. Yet the state of our Union has never been stronger. (Applause.)

We last met in an hour of shock and suffering. In four short months, our nation has comforted the victims, begun to rebuild New York and the Pentagon, rallied a great coalition, captured, arrested, and rid the world of thousands of terrorists, destroyed Afghanistan's terrorist training camps, saved a people from starvation, and freed a country from brutal oppression. (Applause.)

The American flag flies again over our embassy in Kabul. Terrorists who once occupied Afghanistan now occupy cells at Guantanamo Bay. (Applause.) And terrorist leaders who urged followers to sacrifice their lives are running for their own. (Applause.)

America and Afghanistan are now allies against terror. We'll be partners in rebuilding that country. And this evening we welcome the distinguished interim leader of a liberated Afghanistan: Chairman Hamid Karzai. (Applause.)

The last time we met in this chamber, the mothers and daughters of Afghanistan were captives in their own homes, forbidden from working or going to school. Today women are free, and are part of Afghanistan's new government. And we welcome the new Minister of Women's Affairs, Doctor Sima Samar. (Applause.)

Our progress is a tribute to the spirit of the Afghan people, to the resolve of our coalition, and to the might of the United States military. (Applause.) When I called our troops into action, I did so with complete confidence in their courage and skill. And tonight, thanks to them, we are winning the war on terror. (Applause.) The man and women of our Armed Forces have delivered a message now clear to every enemy of the United States: Even 7,000 miles away, across oceans and continents, on mountaintops and in caves -- you will not escape the justice of this nation. (Applause.)

For many Americans, these four months have brought sorrow, and pain that will never completely go away. Every day a retired firefighter returns to Ground Zero, to feel closer to his two sons who died there. At a memorial in New York, a little boy left his football with a note for his lost father: Dear Daddy, please take this to heaven. I don't want to play football until I can play with you again some day.

Last month, at the grave of her husband, Michael, a CIA officer and Marine who died in Mazur-e-Sharif, Shannon Spann said these words of farewell: "Semper Fi, my love." Shannon is with us tonight. (Applause.)

Shannon, I assure you and all who have lost a loved one that our cause is just, and our country will never forget the debt we owe Michael and all who gave their lives for freedom.

Our cause is just, and it continues. Our discoveries in Afghanistan confirmed our worst fears, and showed us the true scope of the task ahead. We have seen the depth of our enemies' hatred in videos, where they laugh about the loss of innocent life. And the depth of their hatred is equaled by the madness of the destruction they design. We have found diagrams of American nuclear power plants and public water facilities, detailed instructions for making chemical weapons, surveillance maps of American cities, and thorough descriptions of landmarks in America and throughout the world.

What we have found in Afghanistan confirms that, far from ending there, our war against terror is only beginning. Most of the 19 men who hijacked planes on September the 11th were trained in Afghanistan's camps, and so were tens of thousands of others. Thousands of dangerous killers, schooled in the methods of murder, often supported by outlaw regimes, are now spread throughout the world like ticking time bombs, set to go off without warning.

Thanks to the work of our law enforcement officials and coalition partners, hundreds of terrorists have been arrested. Yet, tens of thousands of trained terrorists are still at large. These enemies view the entire world as a battlefield, and we must pursue them wherever they are. (Applause.) So long as training camps operate, so long as nations harbor terrorists, freedom is at risk. And America and our allies must not, and will not, allow it. (Applause.)

Our nation will continue to be steadfast and patient and persistent in the pursuit of two great objectives. First, we will shut down terrorist camps, disrupt terrorist plans, and bring terrorists to justice. And, second, we must prevent the terrorists and regimes who seek chemical, biological or nuclear weapons from threatening the United States and the world. (Applause.)

Our military has put the terror training camps of Afghanistan out of business, yet camps still exist in at least a dozen countries. A terrorist underworld -- including groups like Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, Jaish-i-Mohammed -- operates in remote jungles and deserts, and hides in the centers of large cities.

While the most visible military action is in Afghanistan, America is acting elsewhere. We now have troops in the Philippines, helping to train that country's armed forces to go after terrorist cells that have executed an American, and still hold hostages. Our soldiers, working with the Bosnian government, seized terrorists who were plotting to bomb our embassy. Our Navy is patrolling the coast of Africa to block the shipment of weapons and the establishment of terrorist camps in Somalia.

My hope is that all nations will heed our call, and eliminate the terrorist parasites who threaten their countries and our own. Many nations are acting forcefully. Pakistan is now cracking down on terror, and I admire the strong leadership of President Musharraf. (Applause.)

But some governments will be timid in the face of terror. And make no mistake about it: If they do not act, America will. (Applause.)

Our second goal is to prevent regimes that sponsor terror from threatening America or our friends and allies with weapons of mass destruction. Some of these regimes have been pretty quiet since September the 11th. But we know their true nature. North Korea is a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens.

Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom.

Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax, and nerve gas, and nuclear weapons for over a decade. This is a regime that has already used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens -- leaving the bodies of mothers huddled over their dead children. This is a regime that agreed to international inspections -- then kicked out the inspectors. This is a regime that has something to hide from the civilized world.

North Korea likens Bush to Hitler

North Korea has described US President George W Bush as an "imbecile" and a "tyrant that puts Hitler in the shade".

A Foreign Ministry spokesman was responding to comments President Bush made last week in which he described the North's Kim Jong-il as a "tyrant".

The spokesman also reiterated that North Korea will not attend a working meeting ahead of the next round of six-party talks on its nuclear programme.

The working group is due to meet later this month in New York.

President Bush explained in a speech in Hudson, Wisconsin, last Wednesday, his decision to ask other countries in the region to help him persuade the North to disarm.

Bush is ridiculed and censured as an idiot, an ignorant, a tyrant and a man-killer
North Korean Foreign Ministry spokesman

"I felt it was important to bring other countries into the mix, like China and Japan and South Korea and Russia, so there's now five countries saying to the tyrant in North Korea, disarm, disarm," he said.

A North Korean Foreign Ministry spokesman, in comments carried by state news agency KCNA, responded: "This clearly proves that the DPRK [North Korea] was right when it commented that he is a political imbecile bereft of even elementary morality...."

"Bush is a tyrant that puts Hitler into the shade and his group of such tyrants is a typical gang of political gangsters," he said.

North Korea reiterated comments it made last week that it could not now take part in working-level talks ahead of six-party discussions on its nuclear programme scheduled to take place by the end of September.

The spokesman said this was because "the US has become more undisguised in pursuing its hostile policy towards the DPRK, backtracking from all agreements and common understanding reached at the third round of the six-party talks" [held in June].

Talks impasse

At those latest talks, the US proposed North Korea freeze its nuclear programme as a step towards eventual dismantlement and consequent economic rewards.

But Pyongyang has questioned the timeframe, and also continues to deny US claims that it has a second enriched uranium weapons programme.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman said on Monday that instead North Korea would boost a "thousand times" its capacity for self-defence.

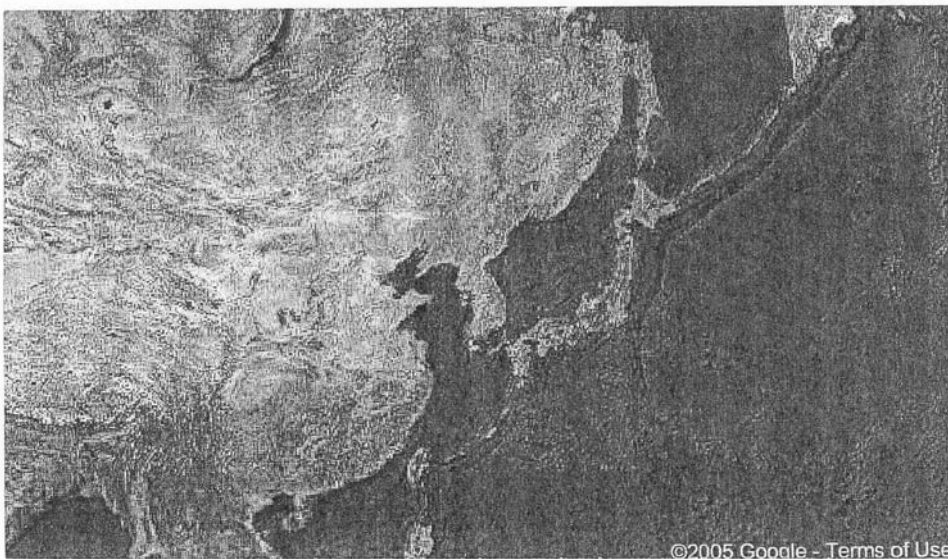
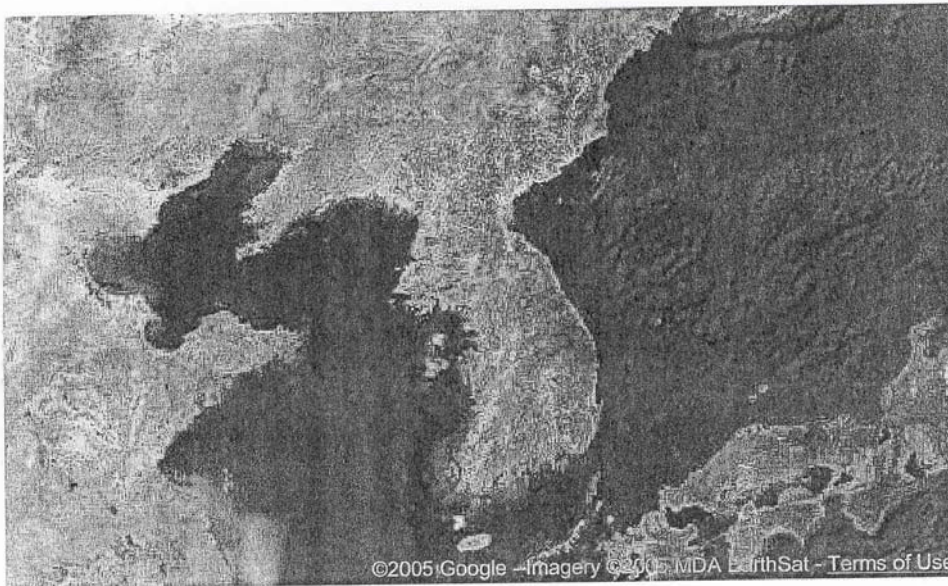
The nuclear dispute flared up in 2002, when US officials accused North Korea of running a secret nuclear programme in violation of international agreements.

Since then there have been a series of talks in an effort to resolve the crisis, but a deal has yet to be reached.

"The several military missions have agreed upon future military operations against Japan. The Three Great Allies expressed their resolve to bring unrelenting pressure against their brutal enemies by sea, land, and air. This pressure is already rising.

"The Three Great Allies are fighting this war to restrain and punish the aggression of Japan. They covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion. It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first World War in 1914, and that all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China. Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed. The aforesaid three great powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent.

"With these objectives in view the three Allies, in harmony with those of the United Nations at war with Japan, will continue to persevere in the serious and prolonged operations necessary to procure the unconditional surrender of Japan."





Foreign Contention for Korea

Japanese had continued to trade at the southeast port of Pusan, by special permission rather like the Dutch trade at Nagasaki under the Tokugawa. With the Meiji Restoration of 1868, Japan began to acquire new strength, and new ambition. The Japanese had had a long history of interaction with nearby Korea, and had even maintained footholds on the southeast coast in the past (see Chapter 10). Now they saw it as their first foreign opportunity to demonstrate their new power. But it was, after all, the Americans who had first succeeded in "opening" Japan in 1853, and in the growing rivalry over who would manage to do the same for Korea, the U.S. minister to China went in 1871 with five warships to the mouth of the Han River and sent his surveyors up river toward Seoul. The Koreans fired on them, wounding two. The Americans demanded an apology, and when none was forthcoming, destroyed five forts by gunfire and killed some 250 Koreans. But the government refused to deal with them and finally they had to sail away, leaving the Koreans sure they had won a victory. Japanese *samurai* soon decided to try to provoke a war with Korea and to detach it from the Chinese sphere into their own. Their first plan was stopped by the still cautious Meiji government, but in 1875 Japanese who landed from warships to survey the Korean coast were fired on, and the Tokyo government determined to use this as a pretext for demanding that Korea open its doors. A Japanese fleet anchored off Inchon, the port of Seoul, in early 1876, and forced the government to sign an "unequal treaty" concluded at Kanghwa patterned on those imposed earlier on China and Japan, opening the ports of Pusan, Inchon, and Wonsan to Japanese trade, and declaring Korea an "independent state."

The Taewongun, now formally out of power, nevertheless promoted an antforeign riot in 1882, and a mob attacked the Japanese legation. Both China, still regarding itself as the ultimate legitimate authority, and Japan sent troops. Japan received an indemnity, and China removed the Taewongun and held him in China for the next three years. Li Hongzhang (see Chapter 14) took control of relations with and for Korea and tried to foster "self-strengthening" measures there. Li saw it was best for Korea to develop some counters to the overwhelming Japanese presence and ambitions and urged trade and diplomatic treaties with the Western powers. Such treaties were negotiated between 1882 and 1886, first with the United States, but the efforts at self-strengthening produced few results, blocked by Korean conservatism and by continuing factional conflict internally. Among many younger Koreans, Japan had become the most attractive model, given its success in modernization. But the Chinese removal of the Taewongun left the archconservative Min family, especially the current queen known as Queen Min, in power, and they largely undid the few feeble efforts at rational change. Nevertheless, foreign influences increased, including those brought by a new flood of mainly American missionaries, and a Korean diplomatic mission was established in Washington in 1888.

But the major influence was still from Japan, whose example of modern development and strength since 1869 inspired most Korean patriots and reformers. They welcomed a larger role for Japan in Korea's overdue development, and when the Min faction at court blocked their efforts, they tried to stage a coup in 1884. In Japanese style, they assassinated several conservative ministers and seized the king. This had all been done with the knowledge of the Japanese legation, but their coup failed when the young Chinese commander in Korea, Yuan Shikai (see Chapter 17) defeated the guards of the Japanese legation and rescued the king. The affair was settled in 1885 by an agreement between Li Hongzhang and Ito Hirobumi (representing Japan—see Chapter 15), known as the Li-Ito Convention. Both powers agreed to withdraw their troops and military advisers and to notify each other before sending them back. Li proceeded to push for Korea's modernization, including a Customs Service, telegraph lines, and new military training.

But the Tonghak movement was still very much alive, and in 1894 it rose in rebellion, once again against unaddressed poverty and governmental ineffectiveness, including its inability to keep foreign influences out. China and Japan once more intervened, but now Japan was clearly superior militarily. In the brief undeclared war between the two, with China still attempting to act as Korea's protector, Japanese naval and ground forces won a quick and decisive victory (see Chapter 15). Korea was declared independent of China, but from 1895 it became

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in effect a Japanese sphere, and in 1910 was formally annexed as part of the new Japanese empire.

Korea would clearly have done better to have followed the Meiji pattern, or even that of post-1860 China or Siam (Thailand), letting in all foreign nations in order to balance each other out, while pursuing its own modernization along Western lines. As it was, Korea became Japanese property, and suffered terribly. Russian ambitions in Korea were ended with the Japanese victory over the Czarist empire in 1905 (see Chapter 15), when Korea was officially declared to be a Japanese protectorate. The weak Korean king, successor to Queen Min, (who had been brutally murdered by the Japanese in 1895 because she was not compliant enough to suit them), was left nominally in power, but when he complained to Western powers of Japanese domination, Tokyo forced him to abdicate and turn over the throne to his feeble-minded son. Japanese now filled most official posts, and the Korean army was disbanded. Efforts at protest, which the Japanese labeled "riots," were brutally suppressed, killing over 12,000 people. Ito, from 1905 the Japanese Resident-General, was assassinated by a Korean patriot late in 1909, and Korea was officially annexed to Japan the following year, as the "Province of Chosen." From 1908 there had been open rebellion, met by brutal Japanese reprisals, in which over 17,000 "rebels" were killed.

Korea under Japanese Rule

Korea was perhaps more brutally exploited than any colonial country in the world, under an exceptionally harsh Japanese rule from 1910 to 1945. Living standards, already dangerously low, fell sharply during this period as Japan milked Korea of much of its raw materials and food. Modern mines, railways, roads, postal service, and factories were built for the first time, but most of the coal, iron, and food crops (including over half of the rice) were shipped to Japan, and the forests stripped. Public health measures and an enforced civil order led to a substantial population increase, but with people living in increasing poverty. Koreans were obliged from 1932 to take Japanese names; their language could not be used publicly or taught in schools. Most Koreans were denied even elementary education. Most nonmenial jobs, including even engine drivers, were filled by Japanese, while Koreans labored as near-slaves. A few found lower-level positions in the colonial bureaucracy, but Korean efforts at self-expression and movement for political reform and representation were ruthlessly suppressed, their supporters jailed, killed, or driven out as refugees. By 1945, there were too few Koreans with the education or administrative experience to form a viable government. Japanese claimed that they and the Koreans had the same origins and that the takeover by Japan was thus a natural development. Nevertheless, the Japanese

tried during their period of control to eradicate Korean separate identity.

Even before Japan's victory over China in 1894–1895 and its consequent rise to dominance in Korea there had been strong resistance to the growing Japanese presence. After 1895 this became increasingly violent, and the Japanese response of brutal retaliation and counter-terror, including the burning of whole villages suspected of aiding insurgents, merely stimulated more determined resistance, as did the similar Nazi policies in occupied Europe 40 years later, and perhaps more directly, the cruel Japanese policies in the parts of China which they occupied after 1937. Japanese records show nearly 3,000 clashes involving nearly 142,000 insurgents in Korea between August of 1907 and June of 1911 alone, and this arbitrary period was generally typical of the entire span of Japanese control. The insurgents were helped by the mountainous terrain, but Japanese countermeasures were ruthless.

One of the worst aspects of the Japanese exploitation of Korea was their stripping of most of the country's tree cover for export to Japan, which left even the mountain hideouts exposed. The savage repression increased with the demonstrations of March 1919 (see below), and again as Japan entered the path to war mapped out by its now militarist-dominated government from 1931. A few Japanese were encouraged to move to Korea as farmers in addition to officials, engineers, and teachers, but Korea was never very popular as a home for most Japanese despite their favored position there. There were a few Korean collaborators, including some of the large landowners, but the biggest landowner of all was the semiofficial Oriental Development Company, which bought up and controlled a large part of Korea's rice land, worked by Korean tenants. Total rice production was increased with the application of the new technology already in place in Japan, but most of it was exported.

A mass demonstration of nationalist feelings and grievances took place on March 1, 1919, designed to make a point with the Western statesmen then meeting at the Versailles Conference, and appealing to U.S. President Wilson's call for "self-determination of nations." Over a million Koreans marched peacefully in Seoul, to be met by brutal Japanese force, killing or injuring over 20,000 and jailing a similar number. It was followed by a little softening of Japanese controls, and a few private schools continued to teach Korean subjects, but by 1929 they were forced to use only Japanese textbooks and language. Under all these conditions it is understandable that Korean nationalism flourished as never before. Japanese regarded Koreans as second-class Japanese, but in any case as inferior, and hence as proper subjects for exploitation. Cultural differences in diet, dress, speech, and behavior were cited as evidence of Korean "inferiority." Japanese spoke of them as "dirty" and as smelling of garlic. But they were now a conquered people and could be abused with impunity, forgetting Japan-

ese civilization's heavy debt to Korea (see Chapter 10), which more and more Japanese came to deny. Koreans who fled to Japan in hope of a better material life, and the many others who went as forced labor, were crudely discriminated against, as they still are.

Western missionaries hung on in Korea, mainly American, and now began to make many new converts, who found the Christian message with its Western connections both an antidote to the Japanese and a consolation. In time, Korea became second to the Philippines as the Asian country with the largest Christian proportion of its population, nearly a fifth by 1950. Missionaries also founded schools and hospitals, as in China and elsewhere in Asia, and were periodically in trouble with the Japanese authorities, as were of course their converts. Many Korean nationalists, including the first postwar President Syngman Rhee (Yi Sung-man, 1875-1965), began their education in mission schools, although most, like Rhee, were imprisoned and tortured by the Japanese and then forced to flee. Marxist ideas also appealed to other Korean nationalists, and Russia was an obvious counter to Japan. The Korean Communist party was founded in 1925, but was kept ineffective by the Japanese police and their agents.

The Japanese colonial record in Korea ranks with the worst of those imposed elsewhere by Western powers. It left behind a deep legacy of bitterness, hatred, and resentment among Koreans which is still very much in evidence. Most Korean rice, the staple of the diet there as elsewhere in East Asia, was siphoned off to Japan to help feed the growing Japanese population. Koreans were forced to subsist, at greatly reduced nutritional levels, on cheaper and less desirable millet, sorghum, and barley, but the total was inadequate to their needs. Japanese investments in railways, mines, and factories did lay Korea's first modern infrastructure, but it was all for Japanese rather than Korean benefit. Korea was at least largely spared the fate of China as a theater of war from 1937 to 1945, but many Koreans were forced into the Japanese army or drafted as labor. By the war's end Korea was seriously impoverished, and many of its people on the brink of starvation. Korea had been cruelly oppressed under Japanese rule, but had still to face the arbitrary and damaging partition of the country, and the unprecedented devastation of the Korean War from 1950 to 1953 in which Korea suffered as a battleground of the Cold War between rival outside powers who cared little for the welfare of its people.

8
RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY SECURITY COUNCIL

[June 11, 1950]

The Security Council

Recalling the finding of the General Assembly in its Resolution of 21 October 1949 that the Government of the Republic of Korea is a lawfully established Government "having effective control and jurisdiction over that part of Korea where the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea was able to observe and consult, and in which the great majority of the people of Korea reside; and that this Government is based on elections which were a valid expression of the free will of the electorate of that part of Korea, and which were observed by the Temporary Commission; and that this is the only such government in Korea";

Mindful of the concern expressed by the General Assembly in its Resolutions of 12 December 1948 and 21 October 1949 of the consequences which might follow unless member states refrained from acts derogatory to the results sought to be achieved by the United Nations in bringing about the complete independence and unity of Korea; and the concern expressed that the situation described by the United Nations Commission on Korea in its report menaces the safety and well-being of the Republic of Korea and of the people of

Korea and might lead to open military conflict there;

Noting with grave concern the armed attack upon the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea,

Determines that this action constitutes a breach of the peace,

I. Calls for the immediate cessation of hostilities; and

Calls upon the authorities of North Korea to withdraw forthwith their armed forces to the thirty-eighth parallel.

II. Requests the United Nations Commission on Korea

(a) to communicate its fully considered recommendations on the situation with the least possible delay;

(b) to observe the withdrawal of the North Korean forces to the thirty-eighth parallel; and

(c) to keep the Security Council informed on the execution of this resolution.

III. Calls upon all members to render every assistance to the United Nations in the execution of this resolution and to refrain from giving assistance to the North Korean authorities.

**Modern History Sourcebook:
Report of The United Nations Commission on Korea, 1950**

Covering the Period from December 15, 1949 to September 4, 1950

Analysis and Conclusions

A. Responsibility for the aggression. The invasion of the territory of the Republic of Korea by the armed forces of the North Korean authorities, which began on June 25, 1950, was an act of aggression initiated without warning and without provocation, in execution of a carefully prepared plan.

This plan of aggression, it is now clear, was an essential part of the policy of the North Korean authorities, the object of which was to secure control over the whole of Korea. If control could not be gained by peaceful means, it would be achieved by overthrowing the Republic of Korea, either by undermining it from within or, should that prove ineffective, by resorting to direct aggression. As the methods used for undermining the Republic from within proved unsuccessful, the North Korean authorities launched an invasion of the territory of the Republic of Korea.

B. Origin and nature of the conflict. The origin of the conflict is to be found in the artificial division of Korea and in the failure, in 1945, of the occupying Powers to reach agreement on the method to be used for giving independence to Korea. This failure was not due to anything inherent in the attitude of the people of Korea themselves, but was a reflection of those wider and more fundamental differences of outlook and policy which have become so marked a feature of the international scene.

This artificial division was consolidated by the exclusion from North Korea of the United Nations Temporary Commission, which had been charged by the General Assembly to observe the holding of elections on a democratic basis in the whole of Korea. In the circumstances, it was decided to hold such elections in South Korea alone.

Had internationally supervised elections been allowed to take place in the whole of Korea, and had a unified and independent Korea thereby come into existence, the present conflict could never have arisen.

C. Prospects of unification. The Korean people, one in race, language and culture, fervently desire to live in a unified and independent Korea. Unification can be the only aim regarding Korea. It did, however, appear to the Commission, before the aggression took place, that unification through negotiation was unlikely to be achieved if such negotiation involved the holding of internationally-supervised elections on a democratic basis in the whole of Korea. Experience suggested that the North Korean authorities would never agree to such elections.

It was hoped that, at some stage, it might be possible to break down the economic and social barriers between the two political entities as a step toward unification. That too proved illusory, as the North Korean authorities persisted in their policy, of aiming at the overthrow of the Republic of Korea.

After the consolidation of the division of Korea, propaganda and hostile activities on the part of the North Korean authorities accentuated tension which, in turn, stiffened the attitude of the Government and people of the Republic of Korea, and even further prejudiced such possibility, of unification by negotiation as might have remained. Notwithstanding the continued efforts of the Commission, it appeared on the eve of the aggression that the Korean peninsula would remain divided indefinitely, or at least until international tension had slackened.

CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Preamble

WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED

to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

AND FOR THESE ENDS

to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and

to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and

to ensure by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

//

We had word [earlier in 1950] that they were building up [the North Korean army] in equipment and [the] size of their services and training, but I don't believe we had anything definite which would indicate that they were about to launch an all-out war with complete equipment and large forces. I believe that we felt that the principal thing to be feared or most apt to happen were small raids into South Korea. They'd had those before. And I don't believe any of us had the feeling that they were about to launch an all-out attack. I know I didn't.

General Omar Bradley
Talent Associates interview, January 24, 1962
Papers of Merle Miller

[Deputy Ambassador to the United Nations Ernest] Gross was an able lawyer and a very energetic man. We burned up the telephone throughout the night. . . . We talked about the possibility of whether [Jacob A.] Malik, the Soviet representative who had walked out because he wouldn't sit with the [Nationalist] Chinese representative, would return. I asked Gross, since Malik had walked out if Lie felt that the Russians ought to be notified, Gross said that he had thought about that and hadn't talked to [U.N. Secretary General Trygve] Lie, but he would mention it to him, but he was pretty sure that in all of the meetings notification was simply a matter of course, because they were a member and entitled to come, that they were sent a routine notification. Then we speculated, and incidentally we agreed that the chances were unlikely that Malik would come back. . . . He would have to get instructions from home about that, and he probably assumed they couldn't do anything since the Security Council can't order forces or take any real military action without unanimity. He probably assumed that he'd have time to come in. . . .

Well, he stayed away. The Security Council passed one resolution that day--calling on the North Koreans to go back. That passed unanimously.

Assistant Secretary of State for U.N. Affairs John Hickerson
Oral history interview, June 5, 1973

Around 10:30 A.M., E.D.T., a telegram was received in the State Department from [Consultant to the Secretary] John Foster Dulles and Mr. [John] Allison [the Director of the Office of Northeast Asian Affairs] in Tokyo. They recommended that if the South Koreans could not repulse the attack, United States forces should be used, even though this would risk a counter-move by the Russians. They stated this was the only alternative to starting a disastrous chain of events which would probably lead to a world war.

Administrative Assistant to the President George Elsey
Memorandum for the record based on Secretary of State's Briefing Book "borrowed . . . from Averell Harriman," no date
Papers of George M. Elsey

On the way there I was going over in my mind the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 And then I thought about Mussolini's entrance into Ethiopia and Haile Selassie's protest to the League of Nations on that invasion. I also thought about Hitler's march into the Saar Valley, which could have been stopped by the French and the British if they had acted in unison on the subject. Then Hitler's march into Austria and his overthrow of Czechoslovakia and Poland, and it occurred to me that if the Russian totalitarian state was intending to follow in the path of the dictatorships of Hitler and Mussolini, they should be met head on in Korea

I was sure that they [the Russians] had trained the North Koreans in order to create a communist state in Korea as a whole and that their intention was to overthrow the Republic of Korea which had been set up by the United Nations with the Russians' approval. . . . The conclusion that I had come to was that force was the only language that the Russian dictatorship could understand. We had to meet them on that basis

President Harry S. Truman
Presidential memoirs interview, August 21, 1953
Papers of Harry S. Truman: Post-presidential Files

11 (Cont.)

I've been asked several times whether, in these crucial meetings of Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Friday [June 25 to 30, 1950], during the Korean decisions, we considered as a group, what would be done in the event that the United Nations refused to take any action. I think . . . in asking these questions - those who do so have not participated in decisions of this sort. This business of making decisions is a continuous process. One does not say, we will do this - then someone says - well, suppose this doesn't work, what do you do? This is not the way the thing was done, or usually is done, -- particularly when action is as vague and as general as proceeding through the . . . United Nations as against proceeding unilaterally.

For instance, it was perfectly clear that the United Nations would and must denounce an aggression. It could not do otherwise. The charter prohibited an aggression. This was clearly one. There was a report from the United Nations Commission [on Korea] itself in Korea branding this as an aggression from the North. Therefore, it was certain that the United Nations, in some form or other would denounce this action . . . This we knew would occur.

Now, it was doubtful as to whether it would go further - whether it would call on its members to fight. However, it had gone far enough, so that those who wanted to fight would be fighting with its blessing and not against it.

But one says, suppose [the Soviet Ambassador to the United Nations] Mr. [Jacob A.] Malik appeared and interposed a veto? He might have appeared. It was extremely unlikely. The very fact that it was unlikely underlined the importance of immediate action.

One thing that one can be fairly sure about in the Soviet system is that they are not capable of making instantaneous decisions. There has to be even more palaver in the Soviet system than there does in the democratic system. They can make decisions over a long period of time, so that action appears to be peremptory - but it really isn't. And, here was something which occurred. Undoubtedly, they had inspired it. Undoubtedly, they had not expected us to take the action that we did. They had boycotted the United Nations because of the Nationalist Chinese. This would have taken a major decision of the Politburo to turn this around. And the betting was all in favor of Malik's not appearing, if we acted fast. If we didn't act fast, why anything would have happened.

And therefore, I think, to all of us it would have been a waste of time to say - spend the precious minutes saying what'll we do if Malik appears tomorrow? Well, the answer is, let's wait and see. Chances are seventy-five out of a hundred that he won't appear. We haven't got time to deal with the twenty-five percent chance. Let's get forward with the job.

Now, I think if he had appeared, we would have immediately adjusted ourselves to that and taken some other action, either through the General Assembly or unilaterally. I think Mr. Truman is quite

right that the interest of the United States and its allies, and of the free world was so great in defeating this aggression against Korea that it had to be done. And if, through some sort of legal mechanism one operation was blocked, then another operation would have to be found to do it.

My own view was not to worry about things that were not likely to happen. Because we had plenty of worries about things that were likely to happen.

*Secretary of State Dean Acheson
Undated Talent Associates interview, c. 1961-2
Papers of Merle Miller*

Mutual Defense Treaty Between the United States and the Republic of Korea; October 1,

The Parties to this Treaty,

Reaffirming their desire to live in peace with all peoples and an governments, and desiring to strengthen the fabric of peace in the Pacific area,

Desiring to declare publicly and formally their common determination to defend themselves against external armed attack so that no potential aggressor could be under the illusion that either of them stands alone in the Pacific area,

Desiring further to strengthen their efforts for collective defense for the preservation of peace and security pending the development of a more comprehensive and effective system of regional security in the Pacific area,

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

The Parties undertake to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations, or obligations assumed by any Party toward the United Nations.

ARTICLE II

The Parties will consult together whenever, in the opinion of either of them, the political independence or security of either of the Parties is threatened by external armed attack. Separately and jointly, by self help and mutual aid, the Parties will maintain and develop appropriate means to deter armed attack and will take suitable measures in consultation and agreement to implement this Treaty and to further its purposes.

ARTICLE III

Each Party recognizes that an armed attack in the Pacific area on either of the Parties in territories now under their respective administrative control, or hereafter recognized by one of the Parties as lawfully brought under the administrative control of the other, would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes.

ARTICLE IV

The Republic of Korea grants, and the United States of America accepts, the right to dispose United States land, air and sea forces in and about the territory of the Republic of Korea as determined by mutual agreement.

ARTICLE V

This Treaty shall be ratified by the United States of America and the Republic of Korea in accordance with their respective constitutional processes and will come into force when instruments of ratification thereof have been exchanged by them at Washington.(2)



Hwang Sun-won

b. 1915, Korea



Courtesy of Mercury House Books

Hwang Sun-won has lived through many tragic times in his homeland. Born when Korea was a colony of Japan, Hwang saw the Japanese imprison his father for supporting the unsuccessful Korean rebellion of 1919. He went to Japanese-language schools in Korea and then attended a university in Tokyo. Hwang returned home just as Japanese expansionist policies escalated into World War II. Although he was able to publish his first story collection, *The Marsh*, in 1940, Japanese authorities banned Korean writing soon afterward and Hwang had to continue his work in secret.

With the Japanese surrender in 1945, Korea was free of Japanese oppression, but

Hwang and others who lived in the north were now subject to Soviet oppression. As communism spread in the north, Hwang and his family fled to the south, then occupied by American forces. They settled for a time in the capital city of Seoul (sŏl), but became refugees again when the Communists invaded Seoul at the beginning of the Korean War. The end of the war in 1953 brought only limited happiness to most Koreans, for their nation remained divided and many people found themselves separated from friends and relatives.

Throughout these turbulent times, Hwang continued to produce fiction, even though its publication was often delayed. "Cranes," reprinted here, and many of Hwang's other works suggest that the political divisions between North Korea and South Korea are arbitrary and cruel.

Hwang has enjoyed widespread acclaim in South Korea since the mid-1950s, when his short novel *Descendants of Cain* (1954) won the Free Literature Prize. Although his work, like that of other Korean writers, has been slow to draw the attention of the West, Hwang recently became one of the first Koreans to have his tales appear in English translations in two full-length volumes, *The Book of Masks* (1989) and *Shadows of a Sound* (1990).

CRANES

Hwang Sun-won

translated by

PETER H. LEE

As you read this story, pay special attention to the conflicting emotions felt by the main character, Song-sam. How is his internal conflict related to the external conflict in which he is involved? Can you sympathize with his feelings?

The northern village at the border of the Thirty-eighth Parallel was snugly settled under the high, bright autumn sky.

One white gourd lay against another on the dirt floor of an empty farmhouse. The occasional village elders first put out their bamboo pipes before passing by, and the children, too, turned aside some distance off. Their faces were ridden with fear.

The village as a whole showed few traces of destruction from the war, but it did not seem like the same village Song-sam¹ had known as a boy.

At the foot of a chestnut grove on the hill behind the village he stopped and climbed a chestnut tree. Somewhere far back in his mind he heard the old man with a wen² shout, "You bad boy, you're climbing up my chestnut tree again!"

The old man must have passed away, for among the few village elders Song-sam had met, the old man was not to be found. Holding the trunk of the tree, Song-sam gazed at the blue sky for a while. Some chestnuts fell

to the ground as the dry clusters opened of their own accord.

In front of the farmhouse that had been turned into a public peace-police office, a young man stood, tied up. He seemed to be a stranger, so Song-sam approached him to have a close look. He was taken aback; it was none other than his boyhood playmate, Tok-chae.³

Song-sam asked the police officer who had come with him from Chontae⁴ what it was all about. The prisoner was vice-chairman of the Farmers' Communist League and had just been flushed out of his hideout in his own house, Song-sam learned.

Song-sam sat down on the dirt floor and lit a cigarette.

Tok-chae was to be escorted to Chongdan⁵ by one of the peace policemen.

After a time, Song-sam lit a new cigarette from the first and stood up.

"I'll take the fellow with me."

1. Song-sam (sung'säm')

2. wen: benign fatty tumor, often on the scalp or face.

3. Tok-chae (tuk'chä')

4. Chontae (chun'tä')

5. Chongdan (chung'dän')

Tok-chae, his face averted, refused to look at Song-sam. They left the village.

Song-sam kept on smoking, but the tobacco had no taste. He just kept drawing in the smoke and blowing it out. Then suddenly he thought that Tok-chae, too, must want a puff. He thought of the days when they used to share dried gourd leaves behind walls, hidden from the adults. But today, how could he offer a cigarette to a fellow like this?

Once, when they were small, he went with Tok-chae to steal some chestnuts from the grandpa⁶ with the wen. It was Song-sam's turn to go up the tree. Suddenly there came shouts from the old man. He slipped and fell to the ground. Song-sam got chestnut needles all over his bottom, but he kept on running. It was only when they reached a safe place where the old man could not overtake them that he turned his bottom to Tok-chae. Plucking out those needles hurt so much that he could not keep tears from welling up in his eyes. Tok-chae produced a fistful of chestnuts from his pocket and thrust them into Song-sam's . . . Song-sam threw away the cigarette he had just lit. Then he made up his mind not to light another while he was escorting Tok-chae.

They reached the hill pass, the hill where he and Tok-chae used to cut fodder for the cows until Song-sam had had to move near Chontae, south of the Thirty-eighth Parallel, two years before the liberation.

Song-sam felt a sudden surge of anger in spite of himself and shouted, "So how many have you killed?"

For the first time, Tok-chae cast a quick glance at him and then turned away.

6. grandpa: here, not a relative, but a colloquial term for any elderly man.

"How many did you kill, you?" he asked again.

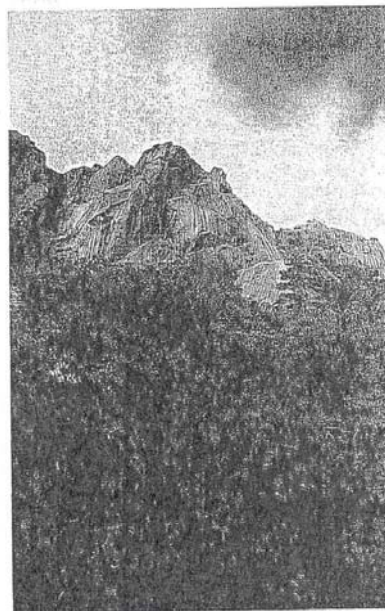
Tok-chae turned toward him once again and glared. The glare grew intense and his mouth twitched.

"So you managed to kill many, eh?" Song-sam felt his heart becoming clear from within, as if an obstruction had been removed. "If you were vice-chairman of the Communist League, why didn't you run? You must have been lying low with a secret mission."

Tok-chae did not answer.

"Speak up, what was your mission?"

Tok-chae kept walking. Tok-chae is hiding



Mt. Sorak, Korea.

something, Song-sam thought. He wanted to take a good look at him, but Tok-chae would not turn his averted face.

Fingering the revolver at his side, Song-sam went on: "No excuse is necessary. You are sure to be shot anyway. Why don't you tell the truth, here and now?"

"I'm not going to make any excuses. They made me vice-chairman of the league because I was one of the poorest and I was a hard-working farmer. If that constitutes a crime worthy of death, so be it. I am still what I used to be—the only thing I'm good at is digging in the soil." After a short pause, he added, "My old man is bedridden at home. He's been ill almost half a year." Tok-chae's father was a widower, a hard-working poor farmer who lived only for his son. Seven years ago his back had given out and his skin had become diseased.

"You married?"

"Yes," replied Tok-chae after a while.

"To whom?"

"Shorty."

"To Shorty?" How interesting! A woman so small and plump that she knew the earth's vastness but not the sky's altitude. Such a cold fish! He and Tok-chae used to tease her and make her cry. And Tok-chae had married that girl.

"How many kids?"

"The first is arriving this fall, she says."

Song-sam had difficulty swallowing a laugh about to explode in spite of himself. Although he had asked how many kids Tok-chae had, he could not help wanting to burst into laughter at the image of her sitting down, with a large stomach, one span around. But he realized this was no time to laugh or joke over such matters.

"Anyway, it's strange you did not run away."

"I tried to escape. They said that once the



Cranes, highly symbolic in all parts of Asia, adorn this Chinese drum stand, 481-221 B.C.

The Cleveland Museum of Art. Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 38.9

South invaded, no man would be spared. So men between seventeen and forty were forcibly taken to the North. I thought of evacuating, even if I had to carry my father on my back. But father said no. How could the farmers leave the land behind when the crops were ready for harvest? He grew old on that farm depending on me as the prop and mainstay of the family. I wanted to be with him in his last moments so that I could close his eyes with my own hand. Besides, where can farmers like us go, who know only living on the land?"

Last June Song-sam had had to take refuge. At night he had broken the news privately to his father. But his father had said

the same thing! Where can a farmer go, leaving all the chores behind? So Song-sam left alone. Roaming about the strange streets and villages in the South, Song-sam had been haunted by thoughts of his old parents and the young children, left with all the chores. Fortunately, his family was safe then, as now.

They crossed the ridge of a hill. This time Song-sam walked with his face averted. The autumn sun was hot on his forehead. This was an ideal day for the harvest, he thought.

When they reached the foot of the hill, Song-sam hesitatingly stopped. In the middle of a field he spied a group of cranes that looked like men in white clothes bending over. This used to be the neutralized zone⁷ along the Thirty-eighth Parallel. The cranes were still living here, as before, while the people were all gone.

Once, when Song-sam and Tok-chae were about twelve, they had set a trap here, without the knowledge of the adults, and had caught a crane, a Tanjong crane.⁸ They had roped the crane, even its wings, and had paid daily visits, patting its neck and riding on its back. Then one day they overheard the neighbors whispering. Someone had come from Seoul with a permit from the governor-general's office⁹ to catch cranes as specimens or something. Then and there the two boys dashed off to the field. That they would be found out and punished was no longer a

weighty concern; all they worried about was the fate of their crane. Without a moment's delay, still out of breath from running, they untied the crane's feet and wings. But the bird could hardly walk. It must have been worn out from being bound.

The two held it up in the air. Then, all of a sudden, a shot was fired. The crane fluttered its wings a couple of times and came down again.

It was shot, they thought. But the next moment, as another crane from a nearby bush fluttered its wings, the boys' crane stretched its long neck with a whoop and disappeared into the sky. For a long time the two boys could not take their eyes away from the blue sky into which their crane had soared.

"Hey, why don't we stop here for a crane hunt?" Song-sam spoke up suddenly.

Tok-chae was puzzled, struck dumb.

"I'll make a trap with this rope; you flush¹⁰ a crane over here."

Having untied Tok-chae's hands, Song-sam had already started crawling among the weeds.

Tok-chae's face turned white. "You are sure to be shot anyway"—these words flashed through his mind. Pretty soon a bullet would fly from where Song-sam has gone, he thought.

Some paces away, Song-sam quickly turned toward him.

"Hey, how come you're standing there like you're dumb? Go flush the crane!"

Only then did Tok-chae catch on. He started crawling among the weeds.

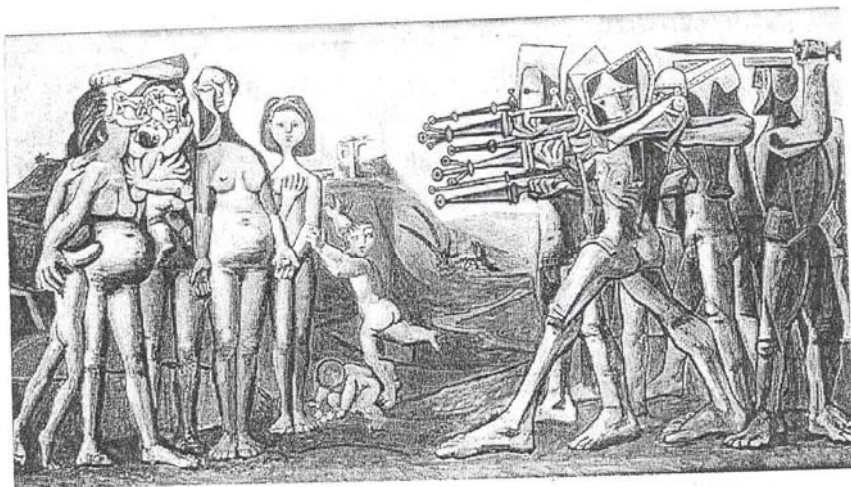
A couple of Tanjong cranes soared high into the clear blue autumn sky, fluttering their huge wings.

7. neutralized zone: demilitarized zone, or strip of no man's land, separating North and South Korea at the Thirty-eighth Parallel.

8. Tanjong (tân'jung') crane: large, long-legged bird that breeds in North Korea.

9. governor-general's office: headquarters of Korea's chief executive appointed by the Japanese government when Korea was a colony of Japan (during Song-sam's boyhood).

10. flush: to drive a bird from cover.



Korea's DMZ: 'Scariest place on Earth'

By Joe Havely
CNN Hong Kong

(CNN) --Former U.S. President Bill Clinton described it as "the scariest place on Earth."

The Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) that divides the two Koreas is the most heavily fortified border in the world, bristling with watchtowers, razor wire, landmines, tank-traps and heavy weaponry.

On either side of its 151-mile (248 km) length almost two million troops face each other off ready to go to war at a moment's notice.

They have been on a hair trigger for almost 50 years, ever since the last shot was fired in the Korean War and an uneasy truce came into force.

Officially that war has not yet ended -- no formal peace deal has ever been signed and the war could start again at any moment.

Between North and South is a strip of rugged no man's land -- the DMZ proper -- averaging two and a half miles (4km) wide.

A sense of tension fills the air -- along with, from time to time, the sounds of martial music and propaganda blasted out from giant speakers installed along the North Korean side.

Also on the North Korean side is what the Guinness Book of Records lists as the world's tallest flagpole soaring some 160 meters (525ft) into the air.

Flashpoint

Monitoring the edgy standoff is a small group of Swiss and Swedish officers who make up the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission.

For its part North Korea is thought to maintain about one million troops along its side of the frontier.

On the southern side, stationed alongside some 600,000 South Korean soldiers are 37,000 U.S. troops, one of the largest single overseas deployments of American forces.

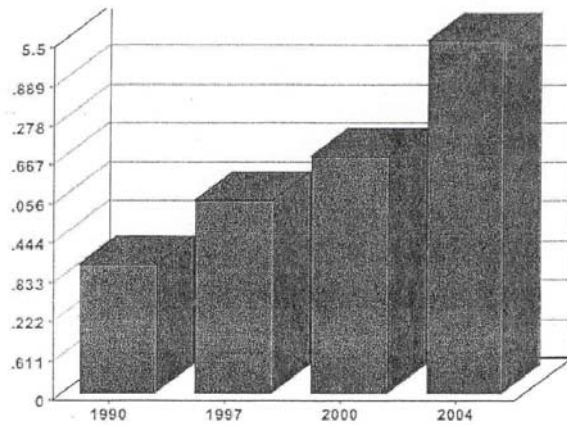
If North Korean forces ever crossed the DMZ again the United States is automatically at war -- under a 1954 treaty backed by United Nations resolutions the U.S. is committed to defend South Korea.

Although one of the world's major flashpoints, the DMZ has become a major tourist attraction drawing in hundreds of thousands of visitors a year.

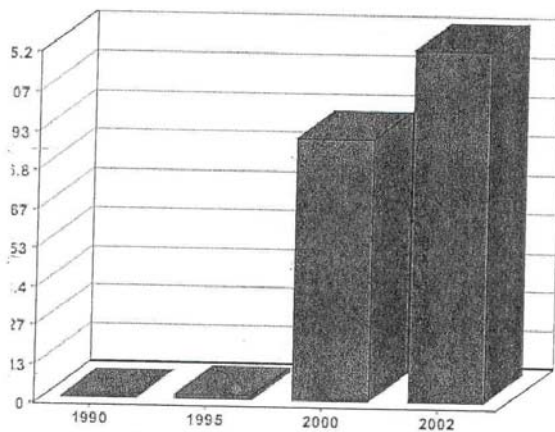
Many come to gawp at the rigid North Korean soldiers stationed along the frontline.

Others take in visits to one of a number of tunnels dug secretly under the DMZ by the North for use in a possible invasion.

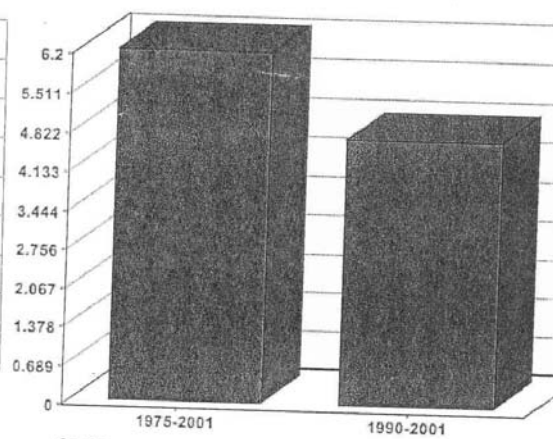
Virtually undisturbed for half a century the zone has also become a rugged natural haven for several endangered species including the white-naped and red-crowned cranes as well as nearly extinct Korean subspecies of tiger and leopard.



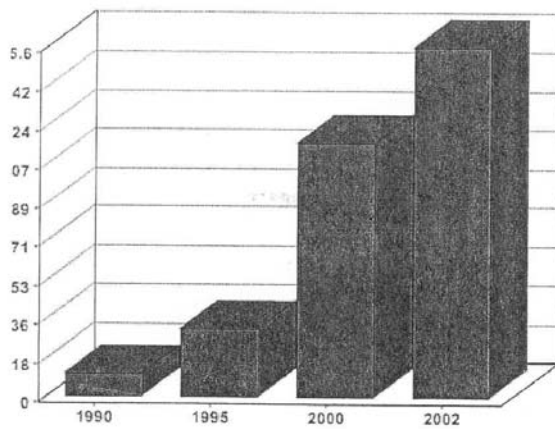
Seats in parliament held by women



Internet users

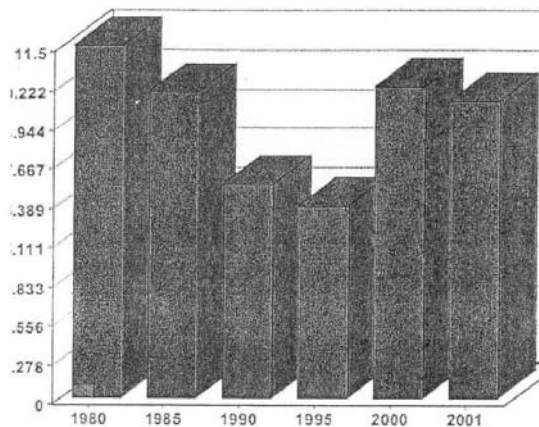


GDP per capita annual growth rate

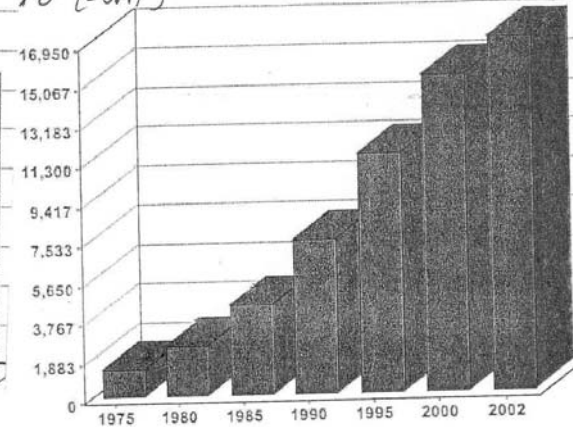


Personal computers in use

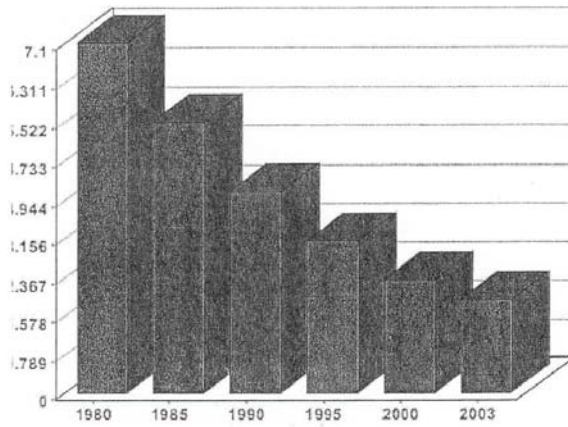
16 (cont)



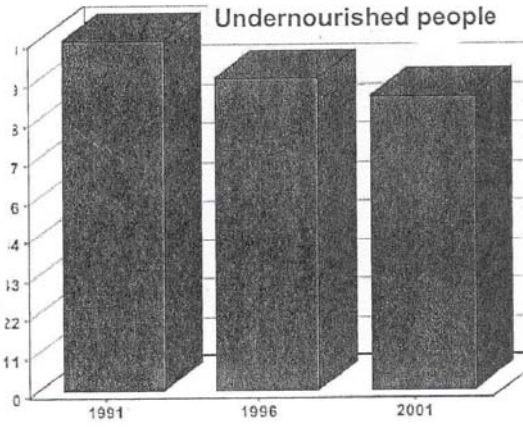
Youth unemployment: Total



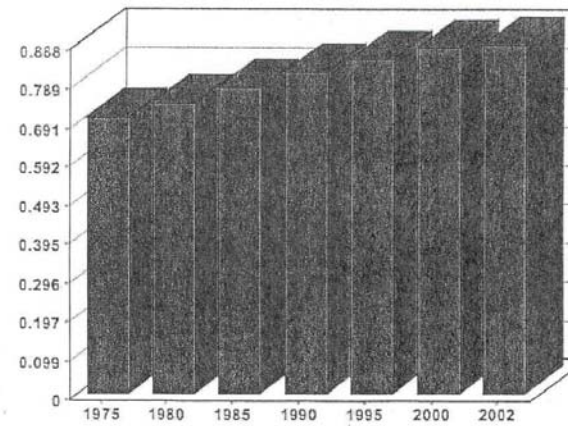
GDP per capita



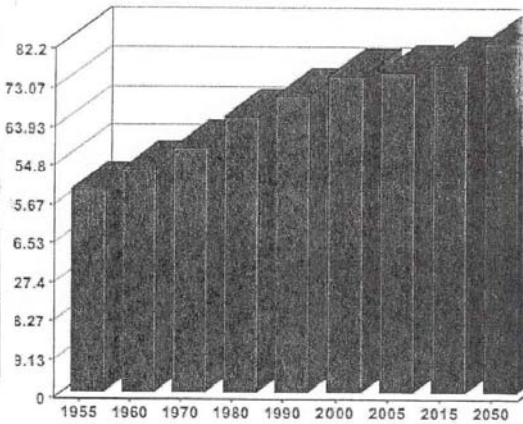
Adult illiteracy



Undernourished people



Life expectancy at birth



Asia: Democratic Government or Strong Leader

	Country should rely on...		
	Democratic government	Strong leader	DK/Ref
	%	%	%
Bangladesh	70	24	6
India	54	34	12
Indonesia	65	32	3
Philippines	41	55	4
South Korea	61	38	3

This question not permitted in Vietnam

U.N. Less Important Now

	May, 2003	March, 2003
Israel	72	
South Korea	71	
Japan	65	
Palest. Auth.	65	
Lebanon	62	
Brazil	61	
France	61	42
Pakistan	60	
United States	60	32
Russia	58	57
Great Britain	57	35
Australia	57	
Morocco	56	
Spain	55	40
Germany	53	24
Indonesia	52	
Italy	52	39
Canada	50	
Kuwait	46	
Turkey	44	
Nigeria	42	

Growing Trade and Business Ties Seen as Better for Country than for Individuals

	Very Good for--		Diff.
	Country	Yourselves	
	%	%	%
Greatest Gaps			
Kenya	63	10	+53
Bangladesh	46	22	+24
South Korea	37	15	+22
Uzbekistan	60	38	+22
Former E. Germany	40	19	+21
Slovak Republic	32	13	+19
Bulgaria	41	22	+19
Senegal	63	44	+19
South Africa	63	45	+18
Mali	48	31	+17
Ukraine	31	15	+16

Worried about Potential U.S. Military Threat

	Very	Somewhat
Indonesia	36	38
Nigeria	54	18
Pakistan	47	25
Russia	43	28
Turkey	35	36
Lebanon	26	32
Jordan	21	35
Kuwait	35	18
Morocco	24	22

Close Inefficient Factories?

	Yes	No	DK/Ref
	%	%	%
Highest Support			
Vietnam	66	29	5
Czech Republic	63	33	4
Tanzania	54	34	12
Slovak Republic	50	47	3
Highest Opposition			
India	18	78	4
Argentina	16	74	10
Jordan	27	72	1
Guatemala	22	70	7
Turkey	22	70	8
Mali	29	68	3
Venezuela	32	66	2
Honduras	25	64	11
Brazil	29	65	6
Russia	27	64	9

Restrict Entry of People into our Country

	Completely Agree
	%
Highest	
Ivory Coast	76
South Africa	67
Mali	57
India	56
Turkey	56
Venezuela	55
Guatemala	52
Kenya	49
Italy	48
United States	46
Lowest	
Japan	20
Poland	16
Bulgaria	15
Lebanon	14
South Korea	7

A Way for Israeli State and Palestinian Rights to Coexist?

	No	Yes
Germany	17	76
G. Britain	18	71
U.S.	15	67
France	23	74
Canada	14	65
Australia	20	65
Italy	21	65
Israel	29	67
Nigeria	26	63
Brazil	24	48
Spain	32	53
Russia	22	37
S. Korea	35	47
Turkey	49	33
Indonesia	58	28
Pakistan	57	23
Lebanon	65	28
Kuwait	72	23
Palest.	80	17
Jordan	85	14
Morocco	90	5

Asia: Good Democracy or Strong Economy

	Which is more important?		DK/Ref
	Good Democracy	Strong economy	
	%	%	%
Bangladesh	73	19	8
India	56	31	13
Indonesia	30	69	1
Philippines	55	39	6
South Korea	47	49	4
Vietnam	66	32	1

Cultural Imports More Popular Among the Young

Cultural imports seen as "Good"	Age			Diff, young-older
	18-29	30-49	50+	
	%	%	%	
Largest Age Gaps				
Russia	85	66	35	+50
Bangladesh	65	42	22	+43
Senegal	76	60	47	+29
South Korea	93	83	65	+28
Guatemala	89	79	62	+27
Mexico	83	79	58	+25
Uzbekistan	82	72	57	+25

For Comparison...

	60	52	41	+19
Egypt	62	53	49	+13
India	94	87	82	+12
China	93	86	82	+11
United States	96	95	89	+7
France	27	23	21	+6
Pakistan	48	52	51	-3
Jordan				

*Percent saying the availability of movies, TV and music from different parts of the world has a very or somewhat good effect on themselves and their families.

17 (cont)

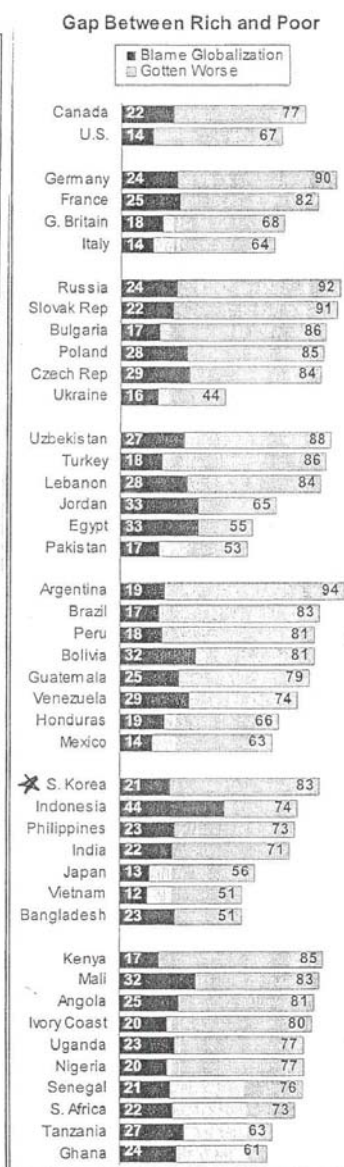


Rating Institutions

(Percent saying a "good influence" on their country)

	Trade unions	Multi-national corps	Internat'l orgs ¹	Anti-global protestors	NGOs ²
North America	%	%	%	%	%
United States	63	50	60	30	89
Canada	54	55	64	39	94
Western Europe					
Great Britain	67	61	67	39	93
France	59	50	66	44	94
Germany	65	57	68	34	84
Italy	38	51	58	27	83
Eastern Europe					
Bulgaria	38	55	48	16	68
Czech Repub.	62	60	70	18	93
Poland	40	44	50	21	78
Russia	37	42	42	9	81
Slovak Repub.	51	71	74	32	93
Ukraine	38	55	62	20	77
Conflict Area					
Egypt	*	*	*	*	*
Jordan	38	42	32	23	57
Lebanon	46	57	44	24	84
Pakistan	41	29	23	9	23
Turkey	41	41	24	29	67
Uzbekistan	52	76	85	5	66
Latin America					
Argentina	12	25	16	24	77
Bolivia	65	61	64	47	83
Brazil	43	63	30	31	65
Guatemala	52	68	73	44	81
Honduras	57	67	69	46	70
Mexico	45	64	59	37	74
Peru	62	57	55	28	57
Venezuela	43	75	68	34	81
Asia					
Bangladesh	44	48	42	22	72
China	49	76	70	*	71
India	58	46	50	24	45
Indonesia	64	71	48	20	61
Japan	56	63	57	17	55
South Korea	66	56	58	21	71
Philippines	75	74	81	54	81
Vietnam	92	93	85	23	83
Africa					
Angola	48	69	74	27	75
Ghana	76	85	72	36	90
Ivory Coast	68	85	87	43	92
Kenya	75	78	71	21	95
Mali	67	65	69	20	83
Nigeria	82	75	79	28	81
Senegal	77	83	81	22	96
South Africa	59	78	68	44	76
Tanzania	54	53	53	20	62
Uganda	67	83	63	22	92

¹ International organizations like the World Bank, IMF and World Trade Organization
² NGOs, that is non-governmental organizations such as [relevant example(s) for each nation]
 * Certain questions not permitted in Egypt and China.



Effect of "Globalization" on Your Country

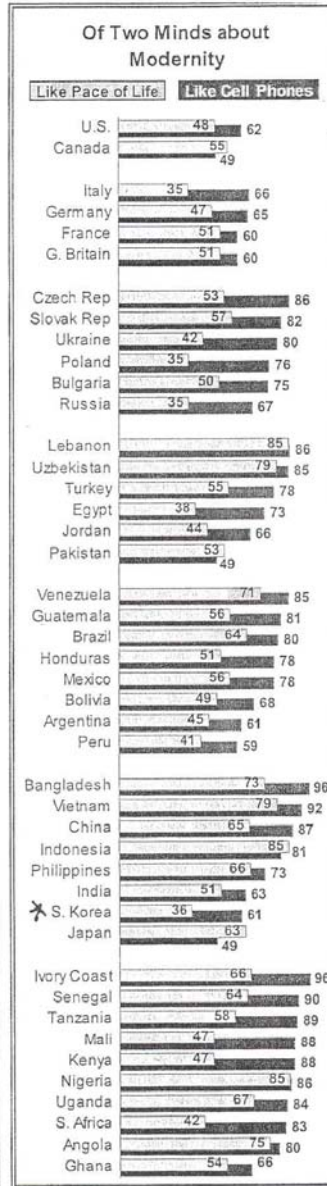
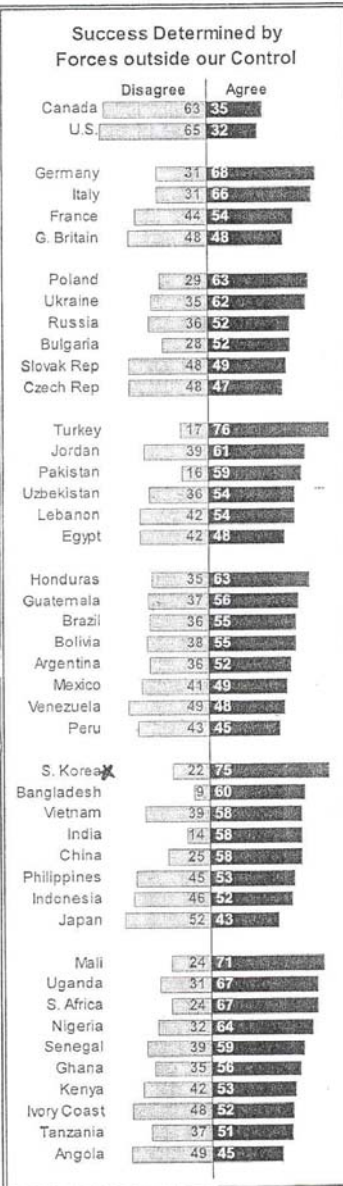


People Are Better Off in a Free Market Economy



Freedom vs. Safety-Net





Mixed Views of Government

	Percent saying the Government		
	Controls too much of our daily lives	Is usually inefficient and wasteful	Is run for the benefit of all people
North America	%	%	%
United States	60	63	65
Canada	57	61	69
Western Europe			
Great Britain	54	66	66
France	55	70	40
Germany	60	65	86
Italy	64	82	88
Eastern Europe			
Bulgaria	36	45	37
Czech Republic	42	56	56
Estonia	28	61	88
Russia	34	57	50
Slovak Republic	45	58	54
Ukraine	53	64	32
Conflict Area			
Egypt	*	*	90
Iran	46	48	50
Libanon	65	56	78
Pakistan	78	43	72
Turkey	59	64	79
Uzbekistan	81	32	85
Latin America			
Argentina	41	71	17
Bolivia	43	67	42
Brazil	74	84	51
Guatemala	48	78	45
Honduras	59	76	63
Mexico	60	66	47
Peru	35	64	51
Venezuela	39	64	54
Asia			
Bangladesh	39	69	93
China	*	*	*
India	48	60	71
Indonesia	28	53	67
Japan	42	74	26
Philippines	49	69	84
South Korea*	48	81*	50
Vietnam	*	*	*
Africa			
Angola	20	46	64
Kenya	33	59	85
Seychelles	46	52	69
Tanzania	61	63	73
Uganda	58	66	61
Zambia	57	76	74
Zimbabwe	38	40	53
South Africa	63	61	75
Botswana	57	63	75
Malawi	54	53	86

*Questions not permitted in China, Vietnam and Egypt

Asia: Political Rights and Civil Liberties

	Want it ¹	Have it ²
Honest Elections³	%	%
Bangladesh	71	17
India	64	38
Indonesia	40	10
Philippines	77	39
South Korea*	43*	11*
Freedom of Press³		
Bangladesh	64	13
India	41	32
Indonesia	40	21
Philippines	47	19
South Korea*	48*	7*
Civilian Control of the Military		
Bangladesh	43	21
India	47	45
Indonesia	22	9
Philippines	38	15
South Korea*	18	5*
Vietnam	60	42

¹ "Very important" to live in a country with [item]

² [item] describes our country "very well"

³ These questions not permitted in Vietnam.

No questions on democracy permitted in China.

Asia: Political Rights and Civil Liberties

	Want it ¹	Have it ²
Fair Judiciary	%	%
Bangladesh	89	6
India	71	45
Indonesia	76	23
Philippines	70	25
South Korea*	58*	9*
Vietnam	60	50
Religious Freedom		
Bangladesh	93	55
India	81	78
Indonesia	88	68
Philippines	65	51
South Korea*	58*	47*
Vietnam	53	52
Free Speech³		
Bangladesh	81	19
India	64	57
Indonesia	56	24
Philippines	65	33
South Korea*	57*	13*

¹ "Very important" to live in a country with [item]

² [item] describes our country "very well"

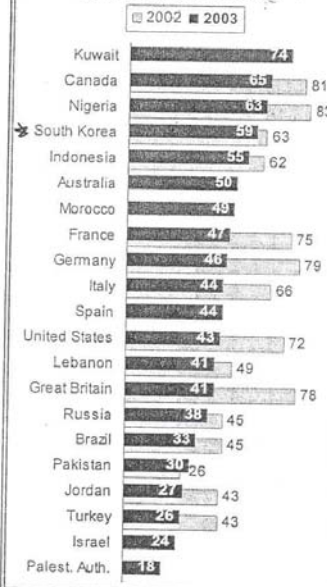
³ This question not permitted in Vietnam

Views on Pace of Modern Life

Highest "Like pace of modern life"	%
Indonesia	85
Lebanon	85
Nigeria	85
Vietnam	79
Uzbekistan	79
Angola	75

Highest "Do not like pace of modern life"	%
Italy	62
Egypt (Cairo)	60
Poland	60
South Korea*	59
South Africa	55
Jordan	55

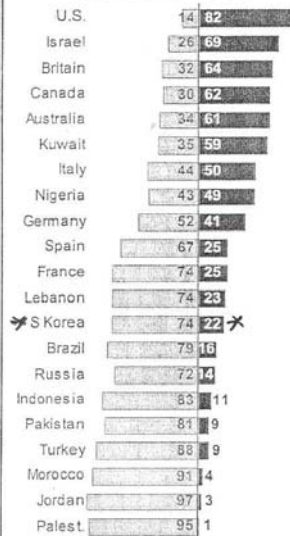
U.N. a Good Influence?



17 (cont.)

U.S. Effort to Avoid Civilian Casualties

■ Didn't try hard enough
■ Tried very hard



Reaction to Lack of Iraqi Military Resistance

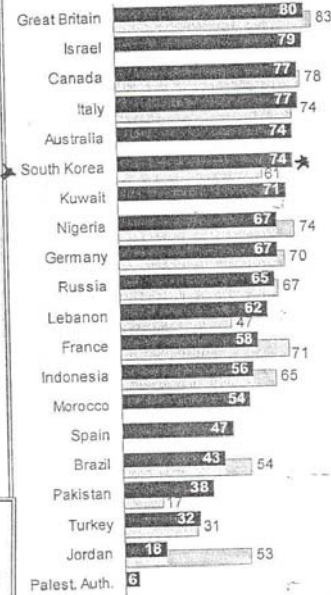
■ Happy ■ Disappointed



Global Views of Americans

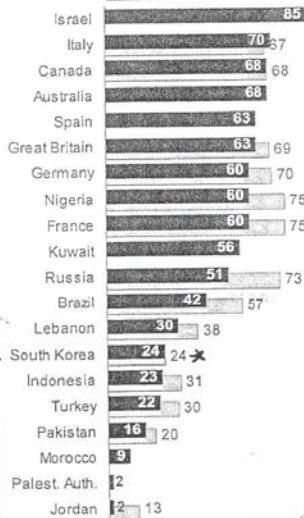
■ 2002 ■ 2003

Percent Favorable



Support U.S.-led War on Terrorism

■ 2002 ■ 2003



Post-War Iraq

Without Saddam, Iraqi people will be...
Better off Worse off

Exc/ Fair/ Good Poor

	Exc/	Fair/	Good	Poor
United States	87	6	59	32
Australia	85	6	40	53
Great Britain	85	7	41	50
Canada	81	9	41	46
Kuwait	80	10	53	40
Israel	78	10	29	60
France	76	21	45	54
Germany	76	15	23	70
Italy	76	11	36	52
Spain	70	14	26	64
South Korea	65	24	10	84
Nigeria	62	25	59	34
Brazil	50	37	31	54
Lebanon	50	37	25	70
Turkey	37	45	23	63
Russia	27	25	10	78
Morocco	24	53	11	67
Jordan	19	80	17	80
Pakistan	17	60	14	60
Indonesia	17	67	12	83
Palestinian Auth	4	85	7	87

U.S. Image

(Percent Favorable View of U.S.)

	1999/2000	Summer 2002	March 2003	Today
Israel	83	75	48	79
Great Britain	83	75	48	70
Kuwait	71	72	61	63
Canada	71	72	61	63
Nigeria	46	77	61	61
Australia	76	70	34	60
Italy	76	70	34	60
South Korea	58	53	46	46
Germany	78	61	25	45
France	62	63	31	43
Spain	50	14	38	38
Russia	37	61	28	36
Brazil	56	52	34	34
Morocco	77	27	27	27
Lebanon	35	15	15	15
Indonesia	75	61	12	15
Turkey	52	30	12	15
Pakistan	23	10	13	13
Jordan	14	25	1	1
Palestinian Auth.	14	1	1	1

1999/2000 survey trends provided by the Office of Research, U.S. Department of State (Canada trend by Environics)

11 (cont.)

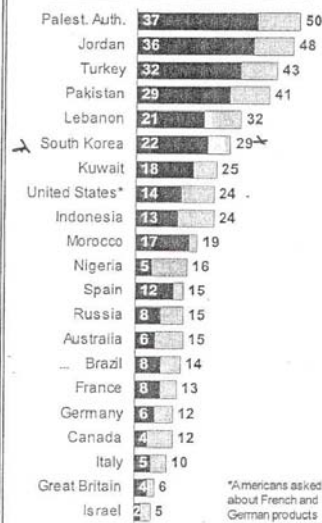
What's the Problem With the U.S.?

	Mostly Bush	America in general	Both (VOL)	DK/ Ref	
	%	%	%	%	
France	74	21	4	*	(N=301)
Germany	74	22	3	1	(N=266)
Indonesia	69	20	7	4	(N=798)
Italy	67	24	9	0	(N=190)
Morocco	66	14	18	2	(N=660)
Pakistan	62	31	2	5	(N=808)
Canada	60	32	6	2	(N=175)
Nigeria	60	22	18	*	(N=366)
Great Britain	59	31	8	3	(N=153)
Brazil	56	36	6	2	(N=608)
Australia	53	40	6	1	(N=190)
Turkey	52	33	12	3	(N=829)
Lebanon	51	32	16	1	(N=710)
Spain	50	37	12	2	(N=281)
Kuwait	44	42	8	6	(N=159)
Russia	43	32	15	10	(N=281)
Jordan	42	28	30	*	(N=988)
Israel	37	42	15	6	(N=304)
Palest. Auth.	31	32	36	1	(N=784)
South Korea	20	72	7	1	(N=262)

Based on those with an unfavorable opinion of the U.S.

Stopped Buying American Products

Have Considered Have stopped



*Americans asked about French and German products